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VOLUME XVII

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The Journal of Theological Studies

OCTOBER, 1915

NOTES AND STUDIES

W AND Θ: STUDIES IN THE WESTERN TEXT OF ST MARK.

SINCE the discovery of the Sinai Palimpsest in 1892 the two Greek codices of the Gospels here called W and Θ are undoubtedly the most important accessions to our stock of information about the text. The two MSS are conveniently discussed together, because they have remarkable affinities with each other and with what used to be called 'Western' authorities, particularly in St Mark's Gospel.

W.

W is the Washington MS, bought in Egypt by Mr C. L. Freer in 1906. It has been designated W by Gregory and ε 014 by von Soden. A complete collation, with full Introduction, has been published by Henry A. Sanders, Professor of Latin in the University of Michigan (New York, 1912), and the whole text has also been published by him in facsimile.

W is a well-preserved uncial codex of the fourth or fifth century, containing the Greek text of the Four Gospels in the 'Western' order (Matt. John Lk. Mk.). It not only has the 'Longer Conclusion' to St Mark's Gospel (xvi 9–20), but is remarkable for containing a longer form of xvi 14, otherwise only known, and that in part, from a quotation by St Jerome. This additional passage is what is now often called 'the Freer Logion'.[1]

Professor Sanders's straightforward and modest Introduction makes the general character of the text of W clear. The greater part, including all Matthew and the latter two-thirds of Luke, agrees in the main with the Constantinopolitan text (v. Soden's *K*), and there seems also to be a large *K*-element in John. But Lk. i–viii 12 goes generally with the text now called Hesychian (v. Soden's *H*, i. e. Hort's 'Neutral' or 'Alexandrian'), while Mk. i–v 30 has a large 'Western' element, i. e. it has many agreements with the Old Latin and the Old Syriac and with Codex Bezae (D). The rest of Mk. has many *K*-readings, but a large peculiar element remains.

It is the text of Mark in W that challenges particular and detailed

[1] On this, see Dr Swete's study of it called *Zwei neue Evangelienfragmente* (Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte* 31).

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attention, because the problems raised are both interesting in themselves and also have not yet received satisfactory solution. The *K*-text was dominant at Constantinople, certainly from A. D. 400, perhaps earlier; it is always associated with Byzantine supremacy, and consequently may have influenced any Greek text produced within the Empire. The *H*-text belongs especially to Egypt; it has almost certainly some connexion with the Biblical labours of Origen, whose works are the earliest witness to it. It creates no surprise to find *H*-elements and *K*-elements in a Greek MS written in Egypt about A. D. 400. What needs investigation in W is the 'Western' element, i. e. that represented strongly in the Old Latin, the Old Syriac, and a group of Greek MSS, of which D is the oldest and the most famous.

Θ.

Θ is the Koridethi Gospel-book, called Θ 038 by Gregory, and ε 050 by v. Soden. It has been admirably edited by G. Beermann and C. R. Gregory (Leipzig, 1913), where the strange story of its discovery in the wilds of the Caucasus may be read in full. The main thing is that, like Codex 565 (Tischendorf's 2^{pe}, v. Soden's ε 93), it is a survival from the region round about Trebizond. As we shall see, it has some most noteworthy points of connexion with 565, but in some respects it is a very different MS. Palaeographically Θ and 565 are as different as two Greek codices can be. 565 is written with gold ink on purple vellum in the earliest and most beautiful minuscule hand, easy for the native Greek to read, though I venture to think it would be puzzling for a foreigner. The rules of spelling and of writing are observed quite as much as in any Christian MS of its date (ninth century). There are critical and harmonistic notes in silver uncials written in the margin, which speak of various readings in 'ancient' MSS: altogether it is a scholarly as well as an artistic production. Θ, on the other hand, is the handiwork of illiterate men, to whom Greek and the rules of writing Greek were equally unfamiliar.[1] It is almost impossible to believe that Θ was ever *read*, either aloud or privately, by any human being.[2] I do not think it is older than the end of the ninth century, for the rules of palaeography tell us nothing about sheer barbarian work. I have the impression that Θ is a mere copy of an older Greek MS, the work of a scribe whose acquaintance with Greek was limited to the alphabet, if indeed he even knew the sounds of the letters he was copying.[3]

[1] One example will suffice. Mk. xii 41^{a} runs in Θ thus: Και εστωσοισ̄ | κατε-ναντιτ | ουγαζοφυλ | ακιου· εθεω | ρειπωσ δ ὐχλ | οσβαλλιτον | χαλκονεισ τ | ογαζοφυλα | κιον : |.

[2] There are Lection marks (ἀρχ. and τελ.) *prima manu*, no doubt copied mechanically from the exemplar.

[3] In the Rylands Library at Manchester may be seen a Syriac MS of Isaiah, the work of a Chinese copyist who evidently could not read what he was copying.

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importance of W and Θ does not depend upon their age, because in any case the readings which excite our interest were antiquated long before the MSS were written. Moreover the irregular distribution of these readings, unevenly distributed even over the Gospel of Mark, is in itself a proof that we are dealing with accidental survivals, rather than with a living local recension. Neither of the Greek codices which we are particularly considering seems ever to have been *used*. W has no liturgical marks or important corrections, such as are found in ℵ, C, D_2, &c. Θ seems to have been a sort of holy object from the beginning, intended perhaps, like the Book of Deer, for the registration of oaths and wills rather than for liturgical purposes, while 565 appears to have been an *evangeliarium de luxe* for an Empress,[1]—possibly it was a copy of some Book of the Gospels kept at a particular shrine. The three MSS have further this in common, that they come to us from the very frontiers of the Byzantine Empire, if not from outside; nearer Constantinople their eccentricities might have been discovered and smoothed away.

On irregular 'mixture' in MSS.

A few words of general Introduction may not be out of place. The Four Gospels in our MSS are found written together in a single volume, and this 'four-fold Canon' is established by Church authority. Speaking generally, therefore, the Four Gospels in any locality or community have had the same textual history. The Latin Vulgate (A. D. 384), the Peshitta (after 411), the Harclean (616), all have approximately the same textual character throughout the Gospels. The chief exception to this rule is connected with the unwritten history of the earliest Versions. It is likely enough that one Gospel may have been translated before the others, St Matthew coming (as it seems) first, both in Latin and in Syriac; but the evidence is slight and inconclusive. What is certain, however, is that there is more variation in our 'Old-Latin' MSS of Mark than in the other Gospels: here as elsewhere the African type (*k*, *e*, Cyprian) stands apart from the rest, but in addition there are two distinct types of European text, best represented by *a* and *b* respectively. That any special attention was paid to the text of St Mark in the fourth century is improbable: what is most likely is that a revision of the other Gospels was made first for liturgical reasons, while that for Mark was made afterwards for completeness, and St Mark being then (as now) less used, both in public and in private, there was less tendency towards uniformity of text and the restriction of alterations.

At a still later period we have the influence of the Vulgate. From the time of Gregory the Great the Vulgate was practically everywhere

[1] Theodora II, mother of Michael III (842–857), herself a native of Paphlagonia.

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the dominant text in the Latin Church: after that all corrections or alterations in Latin MSS were made from the Vulgate. Naturally such corrections to a standard text are far from complete, and this in two ways: the corrector may stop short without going through the Gospel, from want either of time or of industry; this results in whole portions of text escaping correction. Or he may not do his work thoroughly; this results in a few ancient readings occurring here and there in an otherwise conventional text. Or again he may make just a few corrections here and there, whereby we find a few Vulgate readings in an otherwise pure Old-Latin context. Examples of all of these may be found in *c*, the twelfth-century Cod. Colbertinus from the south-west of France. Apparently it was made up from a European text of Matthew and John, and an African text of Luke and Mark; but this African text had been usually corrected, in the exemplar from which *c* was copied, to agree with the ordinary mediaeval Vulgate. In Lk. xxii–xxiv the corrector had confined himself to adding a few striking passages which were absent from the genuine African text. A good many African readings also survive in Mark.

For practical purposes, therefore, the value of *c* as an independent witness is confined to those passages where it differs from the Vulgate.

I have set down the facts about *a* and *c*, familiar as they are to textual critics, partly because I shall be quoting some of their readings later on, but partly because I am sure that we must regard W and Θ in much the same way. What corresponds to the Latin Vulgate in the case of *c* is the Constantinopolitan Vulgate, in other words v. Soden's *K* or Hort's Antiochian text. It is not a matter of undervaluing the Constantinopolitan text in itself, or of speculating about its genesis and ancestry. What is certain is that a text, akin in all essentials to the *Textus Receptus* and the early editions of the New Testament in Greek, was dominant in the Byzantine Empire from about A. D. 400 onwards, as is proved by the Gospel quotations of St Chrysostom and later Greek Fathers. When, therefore, we find a MS of St Mark like W in which the first few chapters differ widely from this dominant text, while the later chapters mainly agree with this text, *though containing many noteworthy readings of the same character as those in the earlier chapters*, it is reasonable to suppose that these later chapters have been corrected, though imperfectly corrected, to the dominant text. And further, for the purpose of reconstructing and judging the value of the basal text of W it is reasonable generally to exclude those readings which agree with the dominant ordinary text. It is just as if we were dealing with codices of which only fragments are extant.

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Intentional and unintentional change.

When Dr Hort characterized the Western readings he started by mentioning 'a love of paraphrase', the famous Western additions coming afterwards for consideration (Introd. § 173). This was how the matter appeared to a trained student of the text; to tyros and amateurs it is generally the other way, and the 'Interpolations' are thought of in the first place. I have no doubt that Hort was right. The 'Interpolations' cannot satisfactorily be judged apart from the other features of the Western texts. In St Mark, especially, scribes seem in early times to have felt themselves authorized to take very great liberties.

The last sentence is somewhat controversial. It implies a view of the transmitted variants in our Greek MSS and early versions that is tacitly excluded by a vigorous school of textual critics, to which I fancy that Professor Sanders, the editor of W, himself belongs. We are faced here by a question of principle and method, that needs clear expression at the beginning of our investigation. According to the view that I am opposing, early Christian scribes made a *minimum* of intentional changes in the text of the Gospels, including St Mark. The actually transmitted variants are as far as possible to be derived from inadequate translations in the case of Latin or Syriac texts, and from inadequate retranslations in the case of Greek MSS. The Golden Rule is supposed to be: 'Accept that explanation of any given variant which involves the least amount of verbal change.' For instance, in Mk. iv 32 W has αὔξει (of the mustard-seed), where the other Greek MSS have ἀναβαίνει. The Latin Vulgate has *ascendit*, but some Old-Latin texts (*b e r*) have *crescit*. Here, therefore, W and lat.vt go together, and Prof. Sanders (p. 68) reckons it as a clear case of Latin influence on W. Apparently the argument runs thus: *crescit* originated as a sense-translation of ἀναβαίνει, which is an odd word to use of plants; αὔξει is a literal retranslation of *crescit*, foisted into an ancestor of W, when the Greek text of W formed one side of a bilingual MS. But this explanation is nothing but a guess: it is a mere hypothesis that a bilingual Greco-Latin MS was one of the ancestors of W. It remains equally possible that the transcriber of an ancestor of W thought ἀναβαίνει an awkward word in the context and so intentionally substituted αὔξει for it. Such a transcriber could have had very little respect for the transmitted text, but I venture to think that most of the variants in the Greek text of Mark originated in this bold type of alteration.

One further example may be given here, the main object of which is to shew that the variants recorded in the full collation of W must

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have been to a certain extent due to intentional change rather than palaeographical or linguistic error. In Mk. iii 34, when our Lord said, 'Behold my mother and my brethren!' He looked round those sitting about Him in a circle as He spoke (*περιβλεψάμενοσ τουσ περὶ αὐτὸν κύκλῳ καθημένουσ λέγει*). At least, this is the text given in ℵ B C L Δ, and it seems in accordance with St Mark's redundant and careless, yet picturesque, style. It is true that *περὶ αὐτόν* and *κύκλῳ* mean much the same thing: perhaps it was for that reason that the 'received text' (headed by A) puts *κύκλῳ* after *περιβλεψάμενοσ*. But redundant as the text is, it did not (in the opinion of some early Christians) tell us enough, for how do we know that these hearers of the word were worthy? Following the lead of Matthew, therefore, we find *μαθητάσ* prefixed to *καθημένουσ* in 565 700 and the Ferrar Group (13&c). D omits *περὶ αὐτόν*, and there are other variants, all of which may be represented as follows:—

καὶ περιβλεψάμενοσ τουσ περὶ αὐτὸν κύκλῳ καθημένουσ λέγει·

κυκλω] *hoc loco* ℵBCLΔ . . . *post τουσ* D 1&c 13&c 28 700 . . . *post περιβλ.* Ϛ A rell (*incl.* W) | *περι αυτον*] *om.* D | *τουσ περι αυτον*] *αυτου* W | *καθημενοσ*] *pr. μαθητασ* Θ 13&c 565 700 sah arm . . . + *τουσ μαθητασ* W | *λεγει*] *ειπεν* DGΘ 13&c 28 700 *a c ff*.

For *τουσ περὶ αὐτὸν καθημένουσ* the Syriac (*S*-vg) has 'those sitting by Him', the Latins have

eos (*om. d q*) qui in circuitu eius (*om. b*) sedebant vg *b d f ff q*.
qui circa eum sedebant *a*.
eos qui circum sedebant *e*.

Truly a welter of disagreement! And W has actually added to the number of 'various readings'. I quote them here at the outset for a special purpose; not to discuss their origin, e.g. whether *μαθητάς* comes directly from Matt. xii 49, or through the expression of the word Tatian's Diatessaron, nor even to enquire whether *circum* in *e* corresponds to *κύκλῳ* or to *περὶ* [*αὐτόν*]. What I want to point out is (1) that it is not likely that W alone has preserved the original by mere fidelity, and (2) that nevertheless the reading of W makes good grammar and sense. It reads:

καὶ περιβλεψάμενοσ κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ καθημένουσ τοὺσ μαθητὰσ λέγει·

Now whatever be the original reading of the passage, the reading of W is too neat to be the result of slavish and anxious equating of two (or more) texts, whether they formed opposite sides of a bilingual codex or belonged to different documents. It seems to me to be the work of a stylist, who considered he had the right to be dissatisfied with the text of St Mark's Gospel as he found it, and also the authority to rewrite it in accordance with his own ideas. The difference here between the

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text of W and the text approved by Westcott and Hort and by v. Soden is like the difference that often exists between a schoolboy's exercise and the schoolmaster's suggested correction. The changes are not palaeographical at all. They are not accidental, but deliberate.

Naturally it is not to be supposed that the transcriber of Codex W was this bold innovator. W is a beautifully written volume, with very few corrections. It is probably a faithful copy of its immediate exemplar. And again, it is probable that the variations of W from the original text, in any single passage, may belong to more than one stage of alteration. It may very well be that there was a damaged or faded exemplar at one stage, that this exemplar was badly and unintelligently copied, and that the resulting text really needed correction. What I doubt is that such correction was always made by means of another roll or codex: I think there were early Christians who thought themselves quite capable of making such corrections by mere instinct, i. e. conjecture, and by their general memory of what the text ought to be. Hence we often find a tendency to harmonization with parallel narratives, rather than accurate assimilation to another Gospel.

'*Harmonization*' and '*Synoptic criticism*'.

It is important also to consider at the outset what are the general principles which should guide our judgement in dealing with 'harmonistic' readings, because different factors in the problem might at first sight seem to point to opposite conclusions. On the one hand it is obvious that there must have been at all times a tendency in Christian scribes to harmonize parallel passages. *Magnus siquidem hic in nostris codicibus error inoleuit, dum quod in eadem re alius euangelista plus dixit, in alio quia minus putauerint addiderunt; uel dum eundem sensum alius aliter expressit, ille qui unum e quattuor primum legerat ad eius exemplum ceteros quoque aestimauerit emendandos. Vnde accidit ut apud nos mixta sint omnia, et in Marco plura Lucae atque Matthei . . . inueniantur.* The well-known words of St Jerome are perfectly true of all Western texts, and he deserves great praise for the carefulness with which he eliminated this source of inaccuracy. In our days, however, St Jerome's judgement as to the cause of harmonistic readings has been challenged, and many of them have been supposed to be due to one definite cause, viz. the influence of Tatian's *Diatessaron*. Those who use v. Soden's apparatus are aware, by the constantly recurring symbol Tα, how frequently this is thought to be the case.

Here I would plead for a very definite suspension of judgement. That the influence of Tatian's *Diatessaron* upon early Syriac texts was considerable no one would doubt, but the work seems to have been almost unknown in the West till Victor of Capua rediscovered a text of

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it—a text which was very possibly Greek and not Latin at all. There are two special reasons why we should suspend judgement. In the first place, it is only likely that any plausible assimilation of one text of the Gospel to its parallel in another should agree with the transmitted text of Tatian, which professes to be a harmony of the text. But besides this, it should be remembered that we are not well acquainted with the actual text of Tatian's Harmony. The Arabic Diatessaron is a late recension in which the wording has been almost wholly assimilated to the renderings of the Syriac Vulgate (i. e. the Peshitta). In doing this the reviser identified the various phrases as coming from Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John, and labelled them as such by critical marks. This was certainly not the method of Tatian, whose proceedings were far more drastic. It will suffice here to refer to Dom Connolly's articles upon the subject in this JOURNAL, particularly to his careful summing-up in vol. xii p. 273.

The results of Synoptic criticism have seemed to some scholars to suggest conclusions opposite to those suggested by St Jerome. From considerations quite independent of textual change, such as the order of the incidents and the general contents of the several Gospels, it has been practically established that Mark is the source of Matthew and of Luke in those narratives where all three Gospels run parallel. One of the reasons which have led to this conclusion, though not the only one, is the actual amount of verbal agreement between Matthew and Mark, Luke and Mark, and all three together, coupled with the extremely small and unimportant verbal agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark. It has been pointed out that the harmonization of two narratives originally expressed in different words is not the only form of textual corruption. It might happen that scribes had introduced differences where there had been original agreement; if Mark be the source of Matthew and Luke, why resort to the hypothesis of an *Ur-Marcus* to explain the residual agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark? Is it not possible that in some of these cases it is merely the existing texts of the Gospels that are at fault?

It is therefore not enough to suggest harmonization as an operating cause in all variants which resemble the wording in parallel passages; it becomes necessary to consider in what circumstances the agreement of, say, Mark with Matthew may be considered more primitive than the difference of Mark from Matthew.

A couple of instances of the reverse case will explain best what is meant. Matt. xvi 16, 20 is parallel to Mk. viii 29, 30. But in Matthew, between *vv.* 16 and 20 we find the blessing on 'Simon bar-Jona' and the passage about Peter and the Rock (*vv.* 17–19). This is explained by supposing that our First Evangelist here incorporated a traditional

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saying of Christ to Peter into the Marcan narrative. Similarly, Matt. xx 28 is parallel to Mk. x 45. But D and many Western texts add to Matt. xx 28 a long passage, roughly corresponding to Lk. xiv 7–10. Here, however, it is generally agreed that the addition is not due to the Evangelist but to a later editor or scribe. The same is also asserted by most critics about the addition concerning the Face of the Sky, Matt. xvi 2, 3, which has no parallel in Mk. viii 12; and also about the addition concerning the piercing by a spear in Matt. xxvii 49, which roughly corresponds to John xix 34 but has no parallel in Mk. xv 36. It is evident that two opposing canons of genuineness are here tacitly employed. Again, in the story of the Rich Young Man, our Lord says 'Why callest thou me Good?' according to Mark and Luke and the inferior MSS of Matthew, while the best MSS of Matthew have 'Why askest thou Me about what is Good?' This is explained as an alteration of the story by the Evangelist, who was unwilling to seem to make Jesus disclaim the epithet of Good, while the reading of the inferior MSS of Matthew is regarded as mere harmonization to the other Gospels.

These things raise rather thorny questions, which are not entirely answered by labelling the additions to Matt. xvi 2 and xx 28 'Western Interpolations', and calling the shorter text in Matt. xxvii 49 a 'Western Non-Interpolation'. I do not propose to answer them here, but I bring them up now in order to point to one characteristic these readings have in common, in which they might conceivably differ from similar readings in Mark.

The common characteristic they have is that the aberrant or longer reading is in all cases secondary and inferior from the strictly historical point of view. Take the case of Matt. xvi 2, 3. The narrative of Matthew is here, as we believe, based on Mark. Who can doubt that *on that occasion* Jesus brought forward no sign, either by word or deed? The Saying about the Face of the Sky may be a true reminiscence of words uttered by Jesus, but if so it belongs to another time and place. The same is true of the other examples, while most likely the alteration in the story of the Rich Young Man, while genuine as part of the text of Matthew, is simply unhistorical regarded as a report of the incident.

Speaking generally, where Matthew and Mark are telling the same story the differences of Matthew from Mark represent at best additions from some other document, probably belonging to some other event, if genuine in any sense; and at the worst represent inferior paraphrases by the later narrator. But we cannot say the same of the differences of Mark from Matthew, of the source from the copy. Who can doubt for instance that the notice of the anger of Jesus (Mk. iii 5), of the boat

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prepared for Him for privacy (iii 11), of the final secret journey through Galilee (ix 30), of the uneventful inspection of the Temple immediately after the Entry (xi 11), although they are absent from Luke and Matthew, are fragments of real historical reminiscence? It is needless to give more examples. In a word, the true text of Mark is historically superior to the corresponding sections of Matthew and Luke, and its differences from them may include some of the most historically valuable parts of the narrative.

All this is outside the proper province of textual criticism, and the conclusions arrived at have been reached by considerations independent of the transmitted various readings. But if the argument be sound it must to some extent influence our judgement upon some of the readings. The genuine text of Mark will be historically superior to the altered text: if the Western text (or texts) preserve original elements, Western readings ought with corresponding frequency to be historically superior to the rival readings.

It is one of the chief objects of this Paper to point out that this is not the case, at least except very occasionally, and to consider what bearing this fact has upon our reconstruction of the history of the text of the Gospels in the Church.

Some characteristic 'Western' readings.

I begin with a number of readings which have this in common, that the 'Neutral' text (*H*), generally supported by the 'Constantinopolitan' text (*K*), is clearly more primitive than the 'Western' text or texts.

(1) Mk. iii 21 ff.

21 καὶ ἀκούσαντεσ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον κρατῆσαι αὐτόν, ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι ἐξέστη. 22 καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖσ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καταβάντεσ ἔλεγον ὅτι Βεελζεβοὺλ ἔχει κτλ. . . . 31 καὶ ἔρχονται ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔξω στήκοντεσ ἀπέστειλαν πρὸσ αὐτὸν καλοῦντεσ αὐτόν. . . .

So ς (i. e. the *Textus Receptus*) and Westcott and Hort, except that W.-H. have Βεεζεβούλ with B, and in *v.* 31 ς has ἔρχονται οὖν οἱ ἀδ. καὶ ἡ μήτηρ. αὐ., and φωνοῦντεσ for καλοῦντεσ.

The variants of W in *vv.* 21 and 22 are περι for οι παρ | +οι γραμματεισ και οι λοιποι after αυτου | ελεγαν | εξηρτηνται αυτου for εξεστη | 22. omit οι γραμματεισ | +γραμματισ (*sic*) after καταβαντεσ.

When these substitutions are made we get—

'And the scribes and the rest hearing about Him went out to lay hold of Him, for they said "They have attached themselves to Him", and the scribes coming down from Jerusalem said "He has Beelzebul".'

There can surely be no doubt that the texts of ℵ B and ς are here primary and that of W secondary. οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ in *v.* 21 are no doubt some of the family of Jesus; it is only our familiarity with the story that

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prevents us from being amazed that it has retained a place in the official documents of the Christian Church. Our Lord's family think He has lost His senses, and they stand outside the house where He is, and send for Him (*v.* 31). No wonder, in the circumstances, that He ignores them (*v.* 33). Here surely, if anywhere in the Gospels, we are listening to the unaltered reminiscences of an eye-witness.

I lay emphasis upon the historical trustworthiness of this account in the genuine text of Mark, in order to draw attention to the general parallel between the Western paraphrase and the corresponding narratives in Matthew and Luke. Neither in Matthew nor in Luke is there any hint that Jesus's family thought He had lost His senses, and in Matt. xii 46, Lk. viii 19, we are only told that they came to Him (Lk.), seeking to speak to Him (Matt.). The peremptory summons of Mk. iii 31 is thereby softened, but the story is spoilt, for no reason is assigned why Jesus should so harshly disclaim His own kith and kin. It is only by reading the passages in Matthew and Luke in the light of Mk. iii 21, 31 ff, i. e. in their true historical setting, that the Saying of Jesus becomes comprehensible.

The general effect of the text of W is similar to that of Matt. xii 22–35. It is the crowds who are amazed (ἐξίσταντο) at the casting out of demons, so that the Pharisees resort to the explanation that Jesus works by Beelzebul; and then at the end of His sayings in answer to this charge comes His apparently unmotived refusal to acknowledge His relations.

Very well, then, W has an inferior text. Certainly that is so: but I wish further to point out (i) that it does not stand alone, and (ii) that neither W nor its allies are directly harmonized to the other Gospels. There are in this verse really two various readings, as is shewn by the groups into which the attesting authorities fall, of which one reading relates to the *persons* who wish to apprehend Jesus, while the other relates to the *charge* they make against Him. As for the persons, οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ is changed into περὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ γραμματεῖσ καὶ οἱ λοιποί in D W *a b* (*c*)[1] *e ff g i r f q* and the Gothic, i. e. the whole phalanx of pre-Vulgate Latin texts: when St Jerome in the Vulgate translated ἐξέστη by *in furorem uersus est* it must have been the first time (with one exception, to be noticed later) that the Latin-speaking Church had ever heard that our Lord's relations had gone out to apprehend Him because they thought He was beside Himself. For the charge, we find wide diversity. (1) D* Θ 13&c 565 read ἐξέσταται for ἐξέστη: this is simply perf. for aorist, and does not change the sense. (2) W has ἐξήρτηνται αὐτοῦ, i. e. 'they (the crowds) have attached themselves to Him': this bold alteration is

[1] *c* has 'scribes and *Pharisees*'.

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not found elsewhere, nor has it any connexion with the parallel narratives in the other Gospels. (3) The 'European Latin' (*a b d ff i q*) has *exsentiat eos*. It seems to be agreed that this means *attonitos facit populos* (to use Wordsworth and White's dignified language), but I cannot find that the word *exsentiare* (*exentiare*) occurs elsewhere. (4) The 'African' Latin (*c e*) simply leaves out the latter half of *v.* 21 and the beginning of *v.* 22: we cannot tell whether this is mere haplography or a deliberate omission of a difficulty.[1] (5) D* has εξεσταται αυτουσ, which a later hand has corrected into εξεσται αυτουσ: I cannot translate either reading, as both εξεσταται and εξεσται must be intransitive. That D^{gr} here has been corrected to agree more or less with the Latin is suggested by the fact that for ἀκούσαντεσ at the beginning of *v.* 21 it reads ὅτε ἤκουσαν. W, on the other hand, shews no sign of Latin influence, for *exsentiat eos* and ἐξήρτηνται αὐτοῦ cannot be equated.

I venture to think we must give the following account of the textual changes; the ordinary text (supported by ς, ℵ B, and the Syriac) is original, the sense being so 'offensive to pious ears' that it was modified independently by Matthew and by Luke; a very early Greek text, earlier than the earliest Latin version, changed οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ (i. e. our Lord's family) into περὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ γραμματεῖσ καὶ οἱ λοιποί (i. e. certain opponents of Jesus hearing about Him); further, the verb ἐξέστη, or ἐξέσταται, was interpreted by the earliest Latin version to mean 'He makes *them* mad', the Greek of Codex Bezae being at a later period unskilfully corrected into passable agreement with this; finally, ἐξέστη or ἐξέσταται was altered to ἐξήρτηνται αὐτοῦ in the ancestor of W, but this last change was independent of, and subsequent to, the original Latin version.

According to the Arabic Diatessaron Tatian inserted Mk. iii 21 between what corresponds to Mk. ii 28 and iii 1, and this arrangement occurs also in *a*, so that the text runs—

. . . filius hominis dominus est etiam ipsius sabbati. Et cum audissent qui ab eo erant exierunt detinere eum, dicebant enim quia extitit mente. Et intrauit iterum in synagoga, &c.

It will be noticed that the wording of this is quite different from the wording of *a* in Mk. iii 20–22.

I have examined Mk. iii 21 at full length, because the internal evidence is particularly clear, both as to the relative originality of the variants, and also as to the independence of W in regard to the specifically Latin readings. Nearly all the chief features of the text of W emerge in connexion with Mk. iii 21: the examples that now follow will give illustrations of these several features.

[1] It is worth notice that in De Bruyne's African *Capitula* (Mk. § xvi) the opponents of Jesus here are called Pharisees (= *c*).

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(2) Mk. v 33:

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

ειπεν αυτω] + *εμπροσθεν παντων* W 13&c

αληθειαν] *αιτιαν* W (1) 13&c (28).

Here again we have a general resemblance to the parallel narrative (Lk. viii 47), but not mechanical assimilation.

(3) Mk. vi 13:

ἐξέβαλλον] *εξεπεμπον* W.[1] This seems to be the arbitrary and unpalaeographical substitution of a synonym, perhaps for a supposed improvement in style.

(4) Mk. vi 29:

(John's disciples came *and took up* his corpse.)

καὶ ἦραν] *κηδευσαι* W 28. Another stylistic paraphrase, which introduces a word foreign to the Greek Bible. No version has any trace of *κηδεῦσαι*, nor is there any approach to it in Matt. xiv 12. It is therefore an arbitrary change in the Greek, a fact that should be borne in mind when considering other variants in the text now represented to us by W and 28, e. g. in (1) Mk. iii 21 *ἐξήρτηνται αὐτοῦ*, and (7) Mk. viii 10 *τὸ ὄρος*.

(5) Mk. vi 35:

ἤδη ὥρα πολλή.

πολλη] *παρηλθεν* W. Syr. *S* has 'past', the Latins mostly *praeteriuit*, followed by the English A.V. But with the other examples before us, it seems to me absurd to explain the aberration of W here from all other Greek MSS by saying that it is 'following the Version-tradition', or that it has been 'corrected' from a bilingual codex. 'The hour is *much*' seemed an odd expression, and I believe the man who turned *καὶ ἦραν* into *κεδεῦσαι* turned *πολλή* into *παρῆλθεν*.

(6) Mk. vii 31:

'*εις* pro *προς*

εις την δεκαπολιν, pro *δεκαπολεως*.'

So Prof. Sanders's collation of W with *f*. But it is worth while to point out that this simple-looking pair of variants contain in themselves when fully expanded evidence for some very drastic treatment of the text of Mark. 'As the questions are stylistic and geographical, questions of editing not of scribal error, the texts must be given at length.

The true text of Mk. vii 31 (ℵ B L Δ 33 boh aeth, D Θ^{txt} 28 565 700 lat. vt-vg) is

καὶ πάλιν ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῶν ὁρίων Τύρου ἦλθεν διὰ Σιδῶνος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὁρίων Δεκαπόλεως.

[1] Prof. Sanders calls this 'a sure case of retranslation from the Coptic', but he does not explain why the Coptic words should be held to represent *ἐξέπεμπον* rather than *ἐξέβαλλον*. ⲛⲉⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ corresponds to *ἐκβάλλειν* in Lk. xiii 32.

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Now this is open to two objections, one trifling and linguistic, the other more serious and geographical. It may be said that εἰσ τὴν θάλασσαν means 'into the sea', and accordingly we find πρόσ substituted for εἰσ in ϛ followed by A N and the mass of Greek MSS, but none of real critical value[1]: W here agrees with B and D. But besides this bit of school pedantry it may be said that the journey here indicated is contradicted by the map, for Sidon does not lie between Tyre and the Sea of Galilee or the Decapolis, but is north of Tyre. The answer to this may be seen in Dr Swete's Note on the passage, or in my *Gospel History and its Transmission* p. 92 note: the way indicated was not the direct way, but is a well-known route and eminently suitable in the circumstances, for Jesus had only gone to Phoenicia in order to be out of Galilee.

The roundabout journey indicated by the true text is therefore appropriate to the historical context. But it seemed odd to some who only considered the route apart from the circumstances: hence we get the corrected Constantinopolitan text, which reads 'Tyre and Sidon' instead of 'Tyre through Sidon', here followed by W. The really interesting thing about this variant is that it is attested by syr. *S* and by the Sahidic, facts which at once prove its antiquity. It is characteristic of the variations in the Gospel that the oldest are on the most extensive scale, and are generally of the greatest intrinsic importance. First we get the drastic rewriting of the narrative of Mark by Matthew and Luke, then come the bold Western alterations, and last of all are the trifling stylistic corrections characteristic of the Constantinopolitan Vulgate.

Mk. vii 31 is not the only instance where a geographical detail which at first sight presents a difficulty, though on closer consideration it proves appropriate, is better preserved in Latin texts than in the Syriac. Latin scribes often make a sad mess of Semitic proper names, but their total unfamiliarity with Palestinian Geography saved them from making conjectural interpretations based on a not quite adequate knowledge of the Holy Places.[2]

In any case the corrector of the exemplar of W went further still, making the journey of Jesus end in the Decapolis after passing 'by the borders' of the Sea of Galilee. It is not a really satisfactory change,

[1] The Lectionary directions by the original hand of Θ appear to enjoin the reading of πρόσ for εἰσ.

[2] Another instance is *Bezatha-Bethesda* (John v 2): see my *Syriac Forms of N. T. Proper Names*, p. 21 (*Proc. of the British Academy*, vol. v). It should be noticed that the reading of syr. *S* in Mk. vii 31 is not quite certain as the word corresponding to καί or διά is illegible. But Σιδῶνοσ certainly comes before ἦλθεν in syr. *S*.

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for the next departure (viii 10) is by boat. But it is characteristic of the text of W that it should present a further change in passages where other variants occur (see nos. 1 and 8).

(7) Mk viii 10:

εἰσ τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθά

εἰσ] προσ W | τα μερη] τα ορια D^{gr} *cf* (*k*), τα ορη N, το οροσ W 28 syr. *S* | Δαλμ.] Δαλμανουνθα B, Δαλμανουναι W, *Dalmanounea* arm; Μαγαιδα D^{1} (Μελεγαδα D*), Μαγεδα 565, Μαγεδαν 28, *Mageda ck*, *Magedan a*, *Magedam bffir*, *Magidan d*, 'Magdan' syr. *S*; Μαγδαλα Θ 1&c 13&c 271 347, *Magdalam* goth, 'Magdal' (*sic*) syr.palest.

It should further be noticed that the true text of Matt. xv 39 is εἰσ τὰ ὅρια Μαγαδάν (τησ Μαγαδαν D, *Magedan* latt), but Μαγδαλα ϛ. The Syriac texts have 'Magdan' *S* (as Mk.), 'Magdun' *C*, 'Magdu' syr. vg (i. e. Megiddo).

The text of Matt. xv 39 is presumably an interpretation of that of Mark, but it is at best somewhat obscure and must have been so in early times, as is seen by the variants Μαγδαλά, i. e. a town on the west shore of the Sea of Tiberias, and Megiddo, i. e. a town in Esdraelon. But the obscurity of the text very likely comes from our comparatively meagre geographical information. I see no valid reason why we should not accept the statement of Eusebius (*O S* 282_{81}), who says: Μαγέδαν· εἰσ τὰ ὅρια Μαγεδὰν ὁ Χριστὸσ ἐπεδήμησεν, ὡσ ὁ Ματθαῖοσ. καὶ ὁ Μάρκοσ δὲ τῆσ Μαγεδὰν μνημονεύει. καὶ ἔστι νῦν ἡ Μαγεδανὴ περὶ τὴν Γερασάν. According to this, the district round Gerasa was called *Magedan*, or at least some name that could be similarly spelt. The Greek form in Eusebius makes one think that the information (? from Origen) was gathered locally. Possibly the Semitic form was מעדן, like ܡܥܕܢ (*Ma'danta*) in Ephraim (*Opp. Syr.* i 22 f). It would then be parallel to Matthew's substitution of Gadarenes for Gerasenes in the story of the swine. In the present instance the way the whole story is told in Matthew is geographically so vague, that any district in the Decapolis would be almost equally appropriate. The mention of 'the borders of Magadan', in fact, merely tells us that St Mark's text was as obscure to Matthew as it is to us.

According to the context in Mark, on the other hand, the locality intended ought to be some place actually on the shore of the Sea of Tiberias. Jesus comes to the place in a boat, and goes away from it in a boat. Nevertheless no place Dalmanutha is known. Yet when it is considered that the whole of the evidence for Magedan or Magdala in Mark is explicable as a later assimilation to the parallel narrative in Matthew, while 'Dalmanutha' is inexplicable as a correction, it is evident that Dalmanutha is the more primitive reading.

What appears to have escaped notice is that τὰ μέρη is quite as odd

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as Δαλμανουθά. If Dalmanutha be so important a place that you do not simply say εἰσ Δ., like εἰσ Βηθσαιδάν or even εἰσ Ἱεροσόλυμα, then it is inexplicable that the name should be unfamiliar. And that this difficulty was felt in ancient times we see from the crop of various readings.[1] Probably therefore there is a primitive graphical error not only in the place-name, but also in τὰ μέρη. I now think that

εἰσ ταμερηδαλμανουθα

may be a corruption of

εἰσ τιβεριαδαδαμαθουσ

(or some such form). Probably St Mark wrote εἰσ Ἀμαθούσ, and on second thoughts wrote Τιβεριάδα above the native name, and so the double form may have been perpetuated by all copyists. That Tiberias was called *Am(m)athus*, i. e. the Biblical Hamath (2 Kings xiv 25), before its new foundation by Herod we know from Josephus (*Ant.* xviii 2, 3; *B. I.* iv 1). When it is considered that we are in search of an important town, containing Pharisees, on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, and further that a hurried visit there makes Jesus refer to 'the leaven of Herod' (Mk. viii 15), it is difficult not to think that Tiberias must be meant. And when the inexplicable τὰ μέρη is included in the letters supposed to contain the corrupted form of the name, the very name Tiberias in the required accusative case is found almost intact.

Here again, then, though no branch of transmission has escaped error, the most primitive form is that found in ℵ B and φ, and all the Western texts are conjecturally emended. The agreement of W 28 and the Sinai Palimpsest in interpreting τὰ μέρη as τὸ ὄροσ is particularly noticeable. This probably is ultimately based on a combination of Matt. xv 29 with xv 39, i. e. the sort of inaccurate Harmony that most persons make in their own minds from a general acquaintance with the Gospels, rather than that combination of parallel accounts that is sought to be attained by actually verifying the references.

(8) Mk. ix 49:

πᾶσ γὰρ πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται.

αλισθησεται] αλισγηθησεται W

As is well known, this verse is very variously transmitted in our MSS, but ἁλισγηθήσεται (i. e. 'shall be polluted') was hitherto unknown.

The exact meaning of the imagery of the Saying is rather obscure, but the text as given above is the only one that both fits the context and also could give rise to the other variants. For ἁλισθήσεται we find (besides ἁλισγηθήσεται in W) ἀναλωθήσεται in Θ Ψ and *k*, δοκιμασθήσεται in three minuscules and in *g*. In the Old Latin and in D the whole

[1] The Latin equivalents are: ad finem *k*, in finibus *cf*, in terra *i*, in partem *b q r*, in partes *a d ff* vg. The Syriac Vulgate has 'to the place of Dalmanutha'.

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phrase is changed to πᾶσα γὰρ θυσία ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται, and in the Constantinopolitan text this is added to πᾶσ γὰρ π. ἁλ. with πᾶσα γὰρ changed into καὶ πᾶσα. Finally, a couple of minuscules, supporters of the Constantinopolitan text, insert ἄρτοσ after πᾶσ γάρ.

This is one of Dr Hort's 'conflate readings', i. e. those in which the Constantinopolitan text has fused together two ancient rival readings instead of adopting one or the other, as is usually the case. That the longer reading is not original is strongly suggested by the fact that no ancient version has it: syr. *S* here supports Dr Hort, while the Latins, including *k*, go with D.

Another reason, equally cogent, is that the shorter reading (πᾶσ γὰρ ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται) is the only one that fits the context. There is really nothing in the whole set of Sayings about sacrifices; to cut off your hand or your foot, if it be a 'scandal' to you, is not a θυσία but a precaution. If we are to seek for a theological expression corresponding to being 'salted with fire' I venture to think it would be 'baptized by the Holy Ghost and with fire'. The only salting I know in Hebrew literature of living persons is that alluded to in Ezek. xvi 4, according to which properly cared for new-born infants are washed in salt water. I don't suppose the passage in Ezekiel was in our Lord's mind, but the custom alluded to may have been. The whole context speaks about 'entering into life' and about 'little ones', and ἁλισθήσεται may refer to the first bath of a Jewish infant.

But the wording, apart from the context, suggested Lev. ii 13; so we get the Western interpretation, and (at a later period) the curious interpretation of πᾶσ as every sacrificial (? eucharistic) loaf. This sacrificial interpretation, in any case, starts from ἁλισθήσεται, so that for this reason also ἁλιγηθήσεται and ἀναλωθήσεται must be regarded as later alterations of ἁλισθήσεται.

It should be noticed that Θ Ψ and *k* appear to have arrived at ἀναλωθήσεται independently. Θ and Ψ are both supporters of the conflate Constantinopolitan text, but whereas Θ has 'for every one shall be consumed (ἀναλωθήσεται) with fire and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt', Ψ, on the contrary, tells us that 'every one shall be salted with fire and every sacrifice shall be consumed'. *k* has *omnia autem substantia consumitur* (sic), where it is supposed that *substantia* stands for ογcια, a corruption of θγcια, but the false concord of *omnia* seems to shew that the corruption is more extensive.[1] No other Latin text has *autem* for γάρ here.

The variants in this verse shew clearly that not palaeographical error

[1] It is possible that πᾶσα γὰρ οὐσία ἁλισθήσεται was the earliest form of the Western text here, and the direct parent of *k* on the one hand and D lat.eur on the other.

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but arbitrary conjectural alteration is the main parent of the 'various readings' in our MSS.

Before leaving this passage it may be worth while to note that W changes *ἄναλον γένηται* in *v.* 50 into the more familiar *μωρανθῇ* of Matt. v 13, Lk. xiv 34. One minuscule does the same. Had this very natural harmonistic change invaded the 'received text' we should no doubt have been told that the occurrence of the characteristic word *μωραίνειν* indicated that St Mark knew and used Q!

(9) Mk. xiii 2:

'that shall not be thrown down'] +*καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλος ἀναστήσεται ἄνευ χειρῶν* W = D lat.vt (incl. Cyprian).

I include this interpolation here for three reasons. (i) In the first place it is eminently a Western reading, found in every Old Latin text, but not elsewhere, except in Codex Bezae: W therefore does contain in this latter part of Mark an element akin to the strongly Western element in the earlier part. (ii) The Greek of W agrees word for word with D, though *ἄνευ χειρῶν* occurs neither in Mk. xiv 58 nor in John ii 19, a fact which tends to make it more probable that the interpolation originated in Greek. (iii) The interpolation does not come from the Diatessaron: Tatian joined the story of the Widow's Mites to John ii 14–22 (*Diat. Arab.* xxxii), but gave what corresponds to Mk. xiii 1–2 much later, in connexion with John xii 36 (*Diat.* xli).

The main object of the foregoing list has been to exhibit the 'Western' tendency to paraphrase and unscientific harmonization. So much has been written in late years about the value of Western readings, that those who are not really familiar with the continuous texts of D, the Old Latin MSS, and (I may add) the Sinai Palimpsest itself, do not realize how often the readings of these authorities are inferior.

When the general inferiority of Western readings is clearly realized, another problem arises. If, after all, the text as edited by Dr Hort (or something very like it) be early and primitive, how did it manage to survive? For the real issue is not the old one so violently championed by Dean Burgon. It is not whether *H* or *K* be better, to use v. Soden's notation. Both are 'recensions', i. e. editions in the modern sense of the word, and that comes to mean *corrected* editions of the text. But by what authority were they corrected? Whether we call the authorities which agree with the Old Latin and the Old Syriac 'Western', or label them I^a with v. Soden, what right have we to reject these ancient witnesses? If we do reject most of the Western variants, as we must, on the ground of their intrinsic inferiority, we must nevertheless find some historical reason which will plausibly explain the survival of their non-Western rival.

The first and most obvious answer to this difficulty, which fits a very

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large majority of the cases, is that most Western aberrant readings did not affect the whole of the unrevised texts. There is a great difference between the texts current in the East and in the West, at Edessa and at Carthage, to take the extreme cases. It generally happens that the reading accepted by Dr Hort, principally on the authority of B and ℵ, is supported either by the Old Latin (or a leading branch of it) or by the best text of the Old Syriac. For instance, in the nine readings examined above, the 'true' text is in all cases supported by the Old Syriac or the Old Latin, or by both, except in Mk. viii 10 (Dalmanutha).

The case of Dalmanutha suggests a second explanation. Assimilation to parallel narratives may take place independently. In this case the change of *τὰ μέρη* into *τὸ ὄροσ* is not attested by any Latin document, so that the assimilation of Dalmanutha to Magadan (i. e. to Matt. xv 39) may have taken place independently. Certainly in syr. *S* and syr. *C* we have to allow for the influence of early forms of Tatian's Diatessaron, even if the work were unknown in the West.

But these considerations will not explain every case. And there is at least one passage where all the Western phalanxes agree in error. This passage is so important for our judgement of the Western texts and their rival that I give it here at once. It is

(10) Mk. vi 53 f:

καὶ διαπεράσαντεσ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἦλθον εἰσ Γεννησαρὲτ καὶ προσωρμίσθησαν. 54 *καὶ ἐξελθόντων αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου κτλ.*

These words are satisfactory enough. The disciples reach the land somewhere in 'Gennesaret' and make the boat safe. That done, they go on shore and Jesus is recognized. But *καὶ προσωρμίσθησαν* is omitted by

D W Θ 1&c 28 565 700 *a b c ff i q r* syr.*S*-vg arm

i.e. by every single 'Western' Greek MS of interest except the 'Ferrar Group' (13 &c), every extant Old Latin MS, the Sinai Palimpsest, the Peshitta, and the Armenian.

It is true that there is nothing corresponding to *καὶ προσωρμίσθησαν* in Matt. xiv 34, but that alone is not a sufficient reason for the omission here, though very likely the absence of these words is due to a similar cause, viz. impatience at the inclusion of details not directly edifying. Of course it is possible that the words were omitted independently by the original Latin translator of the Gospel and the original Syriac translator; or, again, that the words were not included by Tatian, and that here, as elsewhere, syr. *S* is influenced by the Diatessaron. But however we look at it, we must acknowledge that the words must have been generally absent from the text of Mark in the first half of the third century.

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Yet they must be genuine, for what Christian writer would have thought it worth while to invent them?

It seems to me that this is a clear indication that somebody in the third century really did have access to a very pure line of transmission, i. e., in plain English, to a very ancient MS, and who else could this somebody be but Origen? So far as we know Origen was the first Christian to interest himself in the correct text of the Gospels.

The history of this various reading will then be as follows: the words *καὶ προσωρμίσθησαν* are genuine, but they were dropped out by almost all texts in very early times, perhaps by two lines of transmission independently. Origen (if it be he) restored them to the text he used on the authority of some ancient or 'correct' copy, and from Origen's emended copy the words became current in Egypt and ultimately in Constantinople. This may seem a complicated explanation; but I feel that an omission of genuine words, the omission being attested by D and the Old Latin, by W and 28, by Θ 565 700, by 1&c, and by the Syriac, indicates so wide an area of omission as to amount practically to disappearance. Now, it is true, the words are in the majority of extant Greek MSS, but this must be by what Dr Rendel Harris once called 'the grace of repentance'.

In any case the evidence with regard to Mk. vi 53 does call for wide generalizations, and it may not be altogether out of place to conclude this part of the present study of W and its allies with a word or two upon ancient recensions of the Gospels. Beyond all controversy we possess one such ancient recension, dating from the fourth century, in the Vulgate Gospels; the Peshitta Gospels is another, dating from the first quarter of the fifth century. What is more, we have in each case a very good idea of what the texts were, of which these recensions were a revision; we know pretty well the kind of texts these two great Vulgates were meant to supersede. The exact type used by St Jerome or Rabbula as the basis does not so much matter, as the main fact that the Latin Vulgate was intended to supersede *k* and *e*, *a b* and *ff*, and the Syriac Vulgate to supersede syr. *S* and syr. *C* and the Diatessaron.

To us modern critics these earlier types of text are of the greatest interest, not only because they illustrate for us the history of the Gospels in the early Church, but because we hope to pick up from them here and there stray fragments of genuine readings, which for one reason or another did not find favour in the texts approved in the fourth and fifth centuries. We can do this at our leisure, without danger in the meanwhile of losing sight of the main lines of the genuine text, for we have *H* and *K* ready to our hands as standards of reference. But this should not make us forget how very much better Jerome's Revised Version is on the whole, compared with *a b* or *ff*, or *e* or *k*, when we

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consider these texts not as witnesses to be cross-examined, but as narrators of the Gospel story.[1] And much the same may be said of Rabbula's revision of the Syriac, though Rabbula's work is as much inferior to Jerome's as the text of syr. *S* is more intelligent and intelligible than that of *k*.

But if the text of the Latin Vulgate be more correct than that of the Old Latin codices it must be because St Jerome had access to more correct Greek MSS than those represented by the Old Latin. Professor Sanders and Mr Hoskier sometimes speak of the 'Version-tradition', as if the texts attested by the ancient Latin and Syriac translations were a separate tradition. They are more than that: they *are* tradition. And when we add to them the witness of Clement of Alexandria we have to ask, where could any other traditions have survived? Whence came the materials by which St Jerome could recreate the passages that had been harmonized out of recognition?

These are old questions, but the discovery of the Washington MS gives them fresh urgency. Cod. W proves in very numerous instances to give the Greek text of readings hitherto only known from Old-Latin MSS, readings which therefore were under the suspicion of being no readings at all, but only corruptions current in Latin or paraphrastic renderings of the 'ordinary' Greek text. Now we see that they must have been in the actual text of the Greek MS from which the Old Latin was made.

The history of the text of the Gospels during the second and third centuries must be more or less hypothetical, more or less a plausible attempt to invent causes that will explain the surviving phenomena. Not all of these are fully realized; and, least of all, the fact that a good many readings, which approve themselves as genuine on internal grounds, cannot be traced further back than the days of Origen. Some of these readings were accepted in *K* and so are found in the great majority of Greek MSS, others of the same sort failed to be taken up in *K* and are now attested only by a few MSS. The hypothesis that Origen himself unearthed a very accurate MS, at least of certain parts of the New Testament, seems to me best to explain the facts. And if this hypothesis be true of any book, it will be true of St Mark's Gospel.

F. C. BURKITT.

[1] See above, e.g. on Mk. iii 21, vi 53, viii 10.

(*To be continued.*)

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A COMMENTARY BY REMIGIUS AUTISSIODORENSIS ON THE *DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIAE* OF BOETHIUS.

As long ago as 1881, and again in 1894, the late Dr Georg Schepss, whom students of Boethius must always remember with respect and regret, pointed to the unharvested field of Latin scholia on the *De consolatione philosophiae* and called for labourers.[1] These glosses, which are a familiar feature of Boethius manuscripts, not only help, as Schepss shewed, to explain many of the eccentricities of mediaeval translators and imitators,[2] but also raise some interesting questions of origin and authorship. To unravel successfully the different commentaries, which by the tenth and eleventh centuries had become a regular tangle, would bring a reward proportionate to the difficulty of the task. So far as I am aware the problem has been seriously attacked by no one, although Professor E. K. Rand, of Harvard, touched it lightly, but with a sure hand, in the course of his brilliant study of the commentaries on the *Opuscula sacra*. In the volume of Traube's *Quellen und Unters. zur lat. Philologie des Mittelalters* entitled *Johannes Scottus*, noteworthy as bringing to light an unknown work of the great Irishman, Professor Rand mentions a Trèves manuscript (1093) of the eleventh century, on fol. 115^{v} of which is the rubric: INCIPIT EXPOSITIO IN LIBRO BOETII DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIAE REMIGII AUTISIODORIENSIS MAGISTRI. Upon this there follow two of the usual *Vitae Boetii*, and then the text of the *De consolatione philosophiae*, accompanied by a very full commentary, marginal and interlinear. Professor Rand at once noticed the mixed character of the commentary, and opined, no doubt correctly, that the better glosses were borrowings and not original contributions.[3] But his chief business being with the *Opuscula sacra*, he did not

[1] *Handschriftliche Studien zu Boethius: Programm* Würzburg 1881; *Wochenschrift für kl. Philologie* April 11, 1894.

[2] These curiosities hardly fall within the scope of the *J.T.S.*, but to whet the reader's interest I may mention that Remigius is apparently accountable for the mediaeval fancy that Alcibiades was a woman (cf. Villon, *Ballade des dames du temps jadis*, 'Archipiades'), and for a knowledge of the name of Croesus's daughter 'Fania' (cf. Chaucer *Monks Tale* 3917, *Roman de la Rose* 7232–7258), and that 'Mythographus Vaticanus II' is quite possibly none other than the monk of Auxerre. (See Manitius *Geschichte der lat. Litt. des Mittelalters* p. 509).

[3] Cf. below, p. 4 n. 2.

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embark on a detailed examination of a manuscript from which these were absent. By the kindness of the librarian at Trèves the codex was placed at my disposal in Cambridge for three months last year, and I was able to examine it at leisure. While I was looking for some clue which should enable me to differentiate the work of Remi from his predecessors', I happened on words which were plainly not his at first-hand. The passage in *Cons.* iii pr. 12 πάντοθεν εὐκύκλου σφαίρης ἐναλίγκιον ὄγκῳ *Rerum orbem mobilem rotat* is glossed thus: *Secundum commentum Remigii explanatio graeci uersus deest quia penitus corruptus est.* Now the same gloss, without the qualification *secundum commentum Remigii*, occurs in a continuous commentary contained in an eleventh-century manuscript of the Öttingen-Wallerstein collection at Maihingen, with which Schepps dealt minutely in his *Programm*, calling it *K*, and of which I possess a photograph. The suspicion raised by this discovery became a conviction when I found that practically the whole of the continuous commentary could be extracted from the margin or from between the lines of the Trèves manuscript (which I call *L*). The obvious conclusion, borne out by other internal evidence, is that *K* is what *L* claims to be, viz. the Commentary of Remigius. Acting upon this assumption I transcribed *K*, controlling its very defective readings (the manuscript is evidently written by a novice) by reference to *L* and other manuscripts, of which there is no lack in Cambridge, London, and Paris. I had hoped to print the commentary *in extenso* this year, and projected a visit to Trèves and Munich last autumn for the purpose of verifying some details. My harmless excursion having been alas! indefinitely postponed, I gladly avail myself of the hospitality offered by the *Journal of Theological Studies* in respect of a few glosses which have a theological or philosophical content, and which exhibit a ninth-century commentator bent on edification.

A brief notice of the man and his activities may be of interest.

Remigius[1] was probably a Burgundian and a relative of Lupus of Ferrières, and certainly the pupil of Heiric in the Benedictine house of St Germain at Auxerre. He was born not long after his master, about 841, and succeeded him as head of the school. He did so well and won such fame that he was presently summoned to Reims by Archbishop Fulco for the purpose of building up the double school there (*canonicorum scilicet loci atque ruralium clericorum*) after the Norman devastation. When Fulco was assassinated in 900 by [illegible]

[1] This account of Remigius is founded upon *Hist. litt. de la France* Hauréau *Histoire de la phil. scolastique* t. i pp. 199 ff; the same writer's 'Remi d'Auxerre' in Didot's *Biographie générale*; Manitius *Geschichte der [illegible] Lit. des Mittelalters* pp. 504 ff..

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Count of Flanders, Remigius removed to Paris, where he opened a school, probably connected with the Monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, which the authors of the *Histoire littéraire de la France* do not hesitate to call the germ of the University of Paris. It was not that. Dr Rashdall has shewn (*Univ. of Europe* vol. i p. 277 ff) that the University grew out of the Cathedral schools which did not rise to prominence before the end of the eleventh century. But if we may not claim University standing for the School of Remigius, it is at least memorable as the first Public School at Paris known to history, and Remigius is the first master of note in the city which came to be known as the nurse of letters.

We know something of the programme of studies there from the *Life* of Odo, afterwards Abbot of Cluny, who, like Hildebold of St Mihiel, the grammarian, and Blidulf, archdeacon of Metz, sat at the feet of Remigius. *His diebus (Odo) adiit Parisius ibique dialecticam Sancti Augustini Deodato filio suo missam*[1] *perlegit et Marcianum in liberalibus artibus frequenter lectitauit. Praeceptorem quippe in his omnibus habuit Remigium* (see Migne *P. L.* 133 col. 62). The matter and method of Remigius's instruction may be gathered from the glosses printed below, at least so far as concerns the interpretation of a Christian text; for the men of the ninth century, with surer instinct than those of the nineteenth, regarded Boethius as a Christian and a martyr.[2] In the same category as the Boethius may be placed the commentary on Sedulius, of which extracts are given by Huemer in the appendix to his edition (Vienna *Corpus* vol. x). Remigius also busied himself both with theology proper, and with authors whom no amount of gymnastic could render other than secular. Thus he certainly expounded Genesis and the Psalms (Migne *P. L.* 131), probably also the Song of Songs, and possibly other books of the Bible[3]; while the liberal arts which are handled with affection whenever Boethius, Sedulius, or Martianus Capella provide occasion, would claim full play in the commentaries on Donatus, Priscian, Phocas, Eutyches, Cato Minor, Juvenal, Persius, Terence, and the *Ars metrica* of Bede. All of these are attributed to our author; but the only one which has, so far as I am aware, been printed in entirety is the Donatus Minor, edited by W. Fox for Teubner's Series (1902). Twelve of Remigius's Homilies are given by Migne, and his work on the Mass, to which ancient catalogues of MSS frequently

[1] i.e. the spurious *Categoriae decem*, which is chiefly interesting as supplying the theme of Alcuin's verses addressed to Charles the Great, *Continet iste decem naturae uerba libellus*, &c., *ap.* Aug. *Op.* (ed. Gaume) 1 col. 1329.

[2] It is true that this instinct leads Remigius to read into the *De cons. phil.* more explicit Christianity than it really contains.

[3] Cf. Manitius *op. cit.* pp. 516 ff.

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refer, is probably that which figures as ch. 40 of pseudo-Alcuin's *De diuinis officiis*.

Of Remigius outside his school and his commentaries we know practically nothing. He is said to have retired to Lorraine where he died in the first decade of the tenth century. His obit in the Auxerre Necrology (May 2) calls him *Monachus et egregius doctor*. To this we may add that in regard to the 'scholastic problem' he was an extreme Realist, going back to John the Scot across his own master Heiric, who had adopted Nominalism. In realizing abstractions, indeed, he out-Plato's Plato. The commentary on *Cons.* iii m. 9 (see below) proves his intimate acquaintance with the *Timaeus*, which Boethius had in that *metrum* versified, but it contains nothing so pronounced as the passage from his commentary on Martianus Capella, where *à propos* of *Celatam sphaeram*, he says: *Per sphaeram uult intelligi mundum inuisibilem qui in mente Dei latebat antequam iste uisibilis per uarias perduceretur causas; quem mundum, id est inuisibilem, philosophi uocant ideas, id est formas.*[1] There is thus no doubt of the character of the philosophy professed by this first teacher of dialectic at Paris.

Hard things have been said of Remi as a commentator,[2] and it is true that few of his remarks are likely to make the pulse beat quicker. But it must be remembered that they are but lecture notes, from which originality is not necessarily or as a rule expected. To settle the sources whence they are drawn is a matter of great delicacy. It is quite certain that he used the notes of Heiric, as Heiric had used those of John the Scot; it is possible that his adventures in Greek (of which he has no reason to be proud) are not his own. But whether forged on his own anvil or taken ready-made from elsewhere, the comments are, I believe, of value as exemplifying the educational methods of the early Middle Ages.

Note. K = Maihingen I 2 lat. (x–xi cent.).
L = Trèves 1093 (xi cent.).
C = Trin. Coll. Camb. o. 3. 7. (xi cent.).
F = MS belonging to S. C. Cockerell, Esq. (x–xi cent.).
Words enclosed in ( ) are wanting in K.
" " " ⟨⟩ " " " L.
I have in the text used the ordinary orthography, and I have not encumbered my *apparatus criticus* with all the wrong spellings of K. The *lemmata* are quoted from R. Peiper's edition of the *Cons. phil.* in the Teubner Text Series.

[1] Quoted by Hauréau *Hist. de la phil. scol.* t. i 205.
[2] e.g. 'Je mehr Werke des Remigius wir finden, um so [illegible] Originalität seines Geistes.' Rand *op. cit.* p. 96.

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I pr. 1 (Peiper, pp. 4, 5). *Supra uerticem.* Quia ibi sedes est sapientiae. *Mulier.* (Ideo) Boetius in specie mulieris philosophiam sibi uisam esse dixit, quia et apud Graecos et apud Latinos feminini generis pronuntiatur, haec philosophia haec sapientia ; uel ideo quia auditores suos quasi quibusdam rudimentis ad perfectam scientiam adducit ueluti mater lacte teneros lactat et nutrit [a]. *Venerandi uultus* dicitur esse quia philosophia quos repleuerit reuerentia dignos facit. *Ultra hominum ualentiam* .i. possibilitatem (quia nullus potest naturam dei comprehendere). *Perspicacibus autem* .i. ualde aspicientibus, acutis, lucidis, quia nihil perspicacius est sapientia. *Pulsare caelum* dicit propter astrologiam. Philosophia duobus modis pulsare caelum dicitur cacumine sui uerticis, cum sublimioribus et perfectioribus sublimiora loquitur et disputat, uel tunc cum de diuinis disserit totidem modis. Et sese ad mensuram hominum cohibere dicitur scil. cum modicis condescendit intellectibus uel cum de temporalibus disputat, altius autem caput extollere, propter theologiam .i. propter diuinam rationem.

(*Vestes* liberales artes uel doctrinae ingenia uel diuersae disciplinae.) Vestes philosophiae tenuissimis filis perfectae esse dicuntur, quia VII liberales artes adeo subtilissimae sunt ut nec origo earum nec finis aduerti possit. Unde et a Graecis cyclicae [b] [1] dicuntur eo quod origo illarum sicut et circuli omni modo lateat, eoque ipsae artes indissolubiles materiae sunt (ut etiam) desint qui eas capiant ; ipsae tamen nullo modo pereunt, licet enim desit scientia, scibile tamen semper erit.

Caligo quaedam. Caligo quae obduxerat uestes philosophiae errores intelleguntur philosophorum, quia in multis locis contraria dixerunt, uel quia neglegentia in artibus accesserat. *Ab inferiori* scil. elemento .i. II ad superius elementum .i. litteram Θ, quia per actiuam peruenitur ad contemplatiuam, nam ab actuali scandendum est ad uitam speculatiuam et a terrenis ad caelestia.

Vestem Violentorum sciderant manus .i. Sensus uim inferentium haereticorum praue intellegentium qui scindunt sanam doctrinam suis haeresibus. Haereticos dicit qui nequaquam perfectam sapientiam sed quandam partem sapientiae adepti sunt. Unde et suis sectatoribus ex suis nominibus uocabula dederunt, ut alii dicerentur platonici, alii epicurei.

Libellos. Libelli quos in manu dextera gestabat ipsi sunt in quibus liberales artes continentur. Unde et legitur : In dextera eius ignea lex.[2] Aut libellos disertam doctrinam uel theoricam uitam accipimus [c]. Per sceptrum mundana gloria intellegitur quae per sapientiam regitur [d]. In

[1] Cf. Mart. Capella ix 998. [2] Deut. xxxiii 2.

[a] lacte nutrit filios *L* [b] ciclyce *L* : ciclide *K* [c] accipitur *L* : insignificiant *K* [d] quaeque sapientia legitur *K*

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sinistra tenetur quia: In sinistra illius diuitiae et gloria.[1] Sceptrum namque primum uirga est, deinde inauratur et per disciplinam peruenitur ad gloriam.

I pr. 3 (p. 8, l. 18). *Praeceptor eius Socrates.* In Socrate[a] magistro Platonis magnum certamen sustinuit philosophia, quia[b] cicutam compulsus est bibere, herbam ueneniferam, eo quod nollet iurare per deos, per Iouem uid. et per Apollinem et alios. Iurabat autem per lignum, per petram et per similia, dicens deos nihil esse, lapides[c] uero esse. Passus est hic ab Atheniensibus sicut beatus Augustinus dicit,[2] unde et patientiae famam apud philosophos promeruit[d].

Epicureum uulgus (l. 20). Philosophicum. Physici. Epicurei summum bonum dicunt uoluptatem[e], et animam perire cum corpore; Stoici autem dicunt uniforme esse[f] omne peccatum, qui dicti sunt a stoa .i. porticu.

Abreptis ... panniculis (l. 24). Partibus de haereticis dicit, quia quidam sapientiae assecuti plenam in se putauerunt accepisse sapientiam cum ipsi, sicut hic loquitur, non nisi panniculos[g] assumpserunt. Unde ab improbis uere sapientes arbitrati pro sapientia sunt damnati. Nulla est enim haeresis quae non habeat aliquid ueritatis. Panniculos autem sententiolas aut singulas artes uix habentes, cum integritas[h] philosophiae in septem artibus constet.

Anaxagorae fugam etc. (l. 28). Nomina Graecorum philosophorum. Anaxagoras philosophus propter sapientiam fugatus est a patria et diu exulatus.

I m. 4 (p. 10, l. 5). *Minaeque ponti* etc. Sb. mouebunt (a stabilitate mentis). Per pontum .i. mare designat mundum, populorum commotionem per rabiem ponti. Per montem ignem[i] exhalantem principum comminationem; per uiam fulminis soliti ferire turres, iram regum, fulmen enim turres euertere solet et reges sublimioribus indignantur. Quicumque ergo subiicit sub pedibus suis superbum illud fatum, ille et popularem commotionem[j] et comminationem principum et minas contemnere potest.

Aestum (l. 6). Commotionem uel ebullitionem. Per commotionem ponti significat perturbationem saeculi in monte superbi atque elati. Intellegitur in fulmine regia potestas[k] quae turres .i. potentes saeculi deicere solet.

I pr. 4 (p. 15, l. 133). *Ut consimilem deo faceres* .i. Rationabilem, non aequalem[l] .i. secundum iustum[m] ad cuius imaginem conditi sumus.

[1] Prou. iii 16. [2] *De Ciu. Dei* viii 3.

[a] In Socr. uid. *L* [b] phil. qua *L* [c] lapidibus *K*: lap. autem *L* [d] meruit *L* [e] dicuntur uoluntatem *K* [f] uniformę cum esse *K* [g] non in pann. *K* [h] integritate *K* [i] et ignem *L* [j] prin. comm. *L* [k] intelleguntur regina potestasque *K* [l] rationalem non equidem *K* [m] sēm et iustum *K*

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Et imago quidem dei nobis est in intellectu et mentis rationabilitate. Similitudo est in morum probitate et animae puritate.

I m. v (p. 16, l. 2). *Perpetuo nixus solio.* Non transitoria residens potestate. Deum ergo inmutabilem in se esse ostendit quamuis cuncta uerset.

I pr. v (p. 19, l. 14). *An ignoras illam . . . legem.* Hoc tam ad Romae ciuitatem quam ad ecclesiam seu ad caelestem Hierusalem referri potest. Siquidem olim lex romanis sancita est ut quicumque domum habitandi Romae fundasset iam non esset ei fas usquam exsulare, quippe cum totus orbis romanus esset et ubique essent ciues romani. Sic ergo quisquis ecclesiam dei per consortium adierit ab ea peregrinari non debet. Nemo, inquit, mittens manum suam in aratrum [a] et respiciens retro aptus est regno dei,[1] seu etiam quicumque supernorum ciuium societatem et sedem in illa superna ciuitate semel exceperit numquam ei fas esse potuerit exsulare a deo, quia erit deus omnia in omnibus.

Tuae ciuitatis (*ib.*). Supernae scil. Hierusalem.

I m. vi (p. 20, l. 15). *Bacchus.* Poetice deum posuit.

I pr. vi (p. 21, l. 7). *Rationis.* Diuinae dispositionis. Ratio dei alia est et alia hominis. Ratio hominis est discernere inter bonum et uerum, ratio (uero) est aeterna dispositio.

ib. (l. 8). *Certa.* Neutraliter posuit [b], ea uid. quae a uero deo in ueritate sunt facta non fortuitis casibus disponuntur sed creatoris moderatione.

ib. (l. 9). *Praesidere.* Praesidere est auxiliando praeesse. Unde praesidere dicitur deus omnibus creaturis gubernando et regendo. Hac etiam ratione semper operari dicitur, non noua creando sed gubernando creata.

ib. (l. 23). *Quid sit rerum finis* .i. deus, finis enim omnium rerum deus est. Corpora enim in quattuor elementis resoluuntur ex quibus constant. Rursus elementa in ylen .i. informem materiam. Yle enim ad deum reuertitur [c] quod utique (a deo) factum est. Necesse est enim [d] ut unde originem sumant ibi separentur. Omnis quidem creatura a deo originem capit et in eo cuncta resoluuntur.

I m. vii (p. 23, l. 25). *Gaudia pelle.* Quattuor animae notissimas passiones hic tangit, quarum duae ab opinatis bonis sunt, hoc est et gaudium et spes, et una de praesenti, altera est de futuro, gaudium de praesenti, spes de futuro. Duae etiam ab opinatis malis, quarum una est de praesenti et altera de futuro similiter, dolor sc. de praesenti, timor de futuro. Quae etiam Virgilius commemorat: Hinc cupiunt, metuunt, gaudentque dolentque.[2] Nam spes et cupiditas idem. Dicit

[1] Luke ix 62.

[2] *Aen.* vi 733.

[a] in aratrum et cętera *K*

[b] posuit certa cuncta *K*

[c] uertitur *K*

[d] est autem *L*

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ergo quicumque his subiacent passionibus animum liberum et rationis plenum procul dubio se non habere demonstrant. Nam et Cicero dicit quia si iudex has tulerit passiones uerum fari non poterit.

II m. iv (p. 35, l. 92). *Quod si multos* etc. Hic sanctos martyres uult intellegi qui ut beatitudinem per hominem acciperent, diuersa potius tormenta quam simplicem mortem desiderabant.

II m. 8 (p. 49, l. 15). *Caelo imperitans amor.* Amorem uocat deum quia elementa uel tempora cum inter se discordare uideantur, in eo tamen concordant et ad eum (cuncta) quasi ad certum finem contendunt; non ad eius quidem naturam sed ad id quod dicitur omne quod est deus qui omnia fecit et omnia regit.

ib. (l. 18). *Bellum continuo geret.* Faciat. Si deus (inquit) sua uirtute mundum disponendo non regeret, omnia essent illico confusa. Ideo ait in euangelio ⟨dominus noster Iesus Christus⟩: Pater meus usque modo operatur et ego operor[1]; non quia noua condat sed quod condita seruet[a]. Ita ergo deus semper operari dicitur.

III pr. 2 (p. 52, l. 13). *Veri boni cupiditas.* Quia bonae sunt creatae ad similitudinem (dei).

ib. (l. 25). *Felicissimum putant uoluptate diffluere.* Secundum Epicurum qui summum bonum dicit esse. (Sunt qui) uoluptatem adhuc uoluerunt diuitiis abundare ut uoluptuose uiuant sicut Epicurei et eneruati.

III m. 2 (p. 54, l. 1). *Quantas rerum flectat habenas* etc. Thema hoc sumptum est ex eo ubi paulo supra dictum est (quod mentibus hominum naturaliter inserta est ueri boni cupiditas), in quo quanta sit naturae uis facile monstratur. Ostendit autem omnem rem suam retinere naturam et licet aliquid deuiet ⟨,ad eandem tamen redire conatur⟩. Demonstrat etiam omnia essentialiter esse bona, quia deus bonus omnia bona creauit. Non tamen iusta sunt (omnia) quae sunt bona. Bona enim in essentia et natura, iusta uero sunt in actu et opere. Hinc et diabolus bonus dicitur essentialiter, non tamen iustus ⟨est⟩ in opere.[2]

III pr. 1 (p. 50, l. 13). *Degustata mordeant.* Sapientia dum primum sensibus percipitur dura uidetur. Unde legitur: Verba sapientiae quasi stimuli et claui in altum defixi.[3] Cum uero arcano corde perpenditur dulcescit. Unde est: De ore prudentis procedit mel,[4] quia uid. cum uerba sapientiae utiliter meditantur, dulcedinem quasi mellis tribuunt menti.

III m. 6 (p. 63, l. 6). *Mortales igitur cunctos edit nobile germen.* Quia a deo omnes immortales et rationales conditi sunt, et plures quidem elephantos multos(que) leones et de aliis animalibus deus

[1] John v 17.
[2] Cf. Aug. *De uera relig.* 26; *De Ciu. Dei* xix 13.
[3] *Eccl.* xii 11.
[4] I cannot trace this quotation.

[a] seruat *K*

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plura fecit, ad maiorem uero conciliationem humani generis unum tantum [a] hominem creauit, de quo mulierem produxit. De quibus duobus omnes sumus nati pariter [b]. Omnes igitur similiter (nobiles sunt homines).

III m. 8 (p. 66, l. 1). *Eheu quae miseros* etc. Dolet ignorantiam hominum per quam a uero bono deuiant, et eo modo argumentatur quomodo dominus ad Iudaeos [c] dicens: Si uideritis caelum sero rubere dicitis serenum; si mane, dicitis nubilium erit. Hypocritae, faciem caeli cognoscitis, et aduentum filii hominis ignoratis.[1] Ita hoc loco dicitur, et reprehenduntur homines quod callent agnoscere bona corporum exteriora et nunc quae res quo loco melius reperiantur, uerum autem bonum ad quod naturaliter tendunt patiantur quasi caeci ignorare.

III pr. 9 (p. 67, l. 12). *Traducit.* Transfundit. Tradux proprie est transmissio et transfusio. Unde legitur traducem originalem peccati.

ib. (p. 68, l. 41). *Nomina quidem esse diuersa, nullo modo uero discrepare substantiam.* Sicut in deo cognoscitur qui [d] omnia uirtutum dona in se continens [e] diuersis censetur nominibus, ipsa autem eius substantia una est et in deitate simplex.

III m. 9 (pp. 70, 71). *O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas.* Rationem dicit sapientiam dei per quem omnia creata sunt et gubernantur. Ipse est enim uerbum dei, filius dei, sermo dei, ⟨ratio dei⟩ et sapientia. Vel perpetuam dicit rationem aeternam dei dispositionem secundum quam omnia constant et creata sunt. *Gubernas.* Regis. *Terrarum caelique sator.* Aut simpliciter per caelum et terram quattuor uult accipi elementa quibus omnia constant, aut per caelum angelos, per terram uero homines qui in ea habitant designat. *Sator.* Metaphora ⟨est⟩ ab animali ad creatorem. *Ab aeuo* ⟨.i.⟩ ex quo dixisti: Fiat lux,[2] quoniam [f] ex tunc coepit [g] reuolutio esse temporis. Nam antea non erat tempus sed aeuum .i. perpetuitas quaedam. Aeon enim graeci dicunt perpetuum.[3] *Ire* ⟨.i.⟩ currere uniformiter. *Das.* Facis; zeugma ab inferioribus: Da, pater, augustam menti conscendere sedem [h]. *Cuncta moueri* .i. cuncta quae das facis uel loco uel tempore moueri [i]. Nam corporalia [j] omnia loco simul et tempore mouentur, spiritalia uero ut anima tempore tantum, non autem loco mouentur.[4] Deus uero nec loco nec tempore mouetur, sed omnem locum maiestate sua implet et omnia simul in eo sunt tempora. *Quem non externae* etc. Quem

[1] Luke xii 56. [2] Gen. i 3. [3] Cf. Isid. *Etym.* v 38. 4.
[4] Cf. Aug. *de Gen. ad litt.* viii 39.

[a] tantum modo *L* [b] aequaliter *L* [c] ad eos dicens *KL* [d] quia *K* [e] continet *K* [f] qño *K* [g] cepit *K* [h] In *K* this gloss follows immediately after that on cuncta moueri. [i] mouere *K* [j] temporalia *L*

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.i. ⟨te⟩ creatorem non coegerunt causae extrinsecus tibi[a] accidentes ut fingeres mundum, sed ipsa tua beniuolentia naturaliter tibi insita[b].

Materiae fluitantis opus. Fluitantem materiam uocat illam informem materiam quae in mente dei in primordio fuit[1] antequam mundus fieret quando omnia fluitabant, neque adhuc facies terrae uel aeris apparebat. Terra namque cooperta[c] erat aqua licet tenui uel nebula[d]; aeris quoque claritas non apparebat, quia nec erat lux qua inlustraretur[e]. Siue fluitantem materiam huius mundi uocat creationem quae semper fluit et labitur. *Summi forma bona.* S. coegit te. Formam uocat filium dei qui est sapientia dei, per quem omnia facta sunt.[2] Unde scriptum est: Qui cum sit splendor gloriae et figura eius[3] .i. dei patris. Vel etiam formam dicit illud exemplar et rationem quae erat in mente dei[4] ad cuius similitudinem post mundus factus est, et ipsam rationem uocat Plato ideas uel formas. Sicut (enim) artifex arcam facturus prius figuram illius in mente praeuidet ad cuius similitudinem post opus facit, ita deus formam huius mundi semper in ratione sua habuit antequam illum faceret ad eandem similitudinem. Beatus uero Iohannes ipsam rationem et dispositionem dei, quam Plato ideas uocat, uitam nominat.[5] Antequam enim mundus fieret[f], in mente dei erat, et antequam caelum crearetur in arce uiuebat. Ideo ergo ipsa ratio[g] uita uocatur, quia semper uixere. *Liuore carens.* Quia non inuidit[h] creaturae suae faciendo eam ad similitudinem suam. *Ducis.* Producis. *Ab exemplo.* Quod dicit formam, hoc exemplum. *Mente* .i. dispositione tua.

Similique in imagine formans .i. (per) filium qui est imago et similitudo patris. Siue simili imagine .i. sicut in tua dispositione cuncta imaginata erant. *Perfectas . . . partes* .i. quattuor elementa quae et perfecti mundi partes sunt et ⟨ipsa⟩ in se perfecta sunt. *Perfectum* ⟨.s.⟩ mundum. *Absoluere.* Explicare, perficere. *Ligas* .i. coniungis. *Numeris* .i. quattuor monadibus[i], nam quattuor sunt elementa[6] quorum sex sunt connectiones quas (Graeci) synzygias[j][7] uocant, quarum[l] quattuor sunt immediatae et duae mediatae. Immediatae sunt istae[m]: Aer calidus et humidus est; huius caliditas coniungitur caliditati ignis, qui est calidus et siccus. Ignis est calidus et siccus; huius

[1] Wisd. xi 17. [2] Cf. Aug. *Serm.* cxvii 3. [3] Heb. i 3.
[4] Cf. Aug. *De diu. qu.* lxxxiii, xlvi 2. [5] John i 4.
[6] Cf. Ambros. 'Unde nec numerum monada sed elementum numeri . . . appellauerunt', *Ep.* vii 22.
[7] Cf. Aristot. *De gener. et corrupt.* ii 5; *Meteor.* iv 1; Bridf. Gloss. on Bede *De Nat. rer.* iv. Byrthferth of Ramsey (fl. 1000) quotes R. twice by name (Migne *P. L.* 90 col. 310).

[a] sibi *L* [b] indita *K*: insita non inuidens creaturae ad imaginem et similitudinem tuam formare *L* [c] operta *K* [d] nubila *K* [e] illust. *L*
[f] Nam anteq. f. m. *L* [g] Ergo ratio illa *L* [h] inuidet *L* [i] nomadibus *K* [j] el. s. *L* [k] sinzugias *KL* [l] quorum *K* [m] iste *K*

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caliditas aeris caliditati coniungitur. Siccitas autem terrae copulatur, quae est frigida et sicca. Terra frigida est[a] et sicca; huius siccitas ignis siccitati coniungitur[b]. Frigiditas uero aquae frigiditati nectitur. Aqua frigida est et humida; eius frigiditas terrae frigiditati (copulatur). Humiditas autem aeris humiditati sociatur. Mediatae synzygiae[c] hae sunt quae contrariae sunt nec possunt coniungi sine aliqua medietate. Ignis et aqua contraria sunt, quia ignis calidus est et siccus, aqua frigida et humida. Nam ut[d] frigiditas aquae ignis conueniat caliditati, terrae frigiditas est media; ut autem aquae humiditas siccitati ignis aptetur, aeris humiditas media interuenit.[1]

Ut frigida[e] *flammis.* Terra frigida coniungitur igni ex ea parte qua siccus est. *Arida conueniant liquidis.* Terra arida coniungitur aquae ex ea parte qua frigida est. ⟨*Ne purior ignis euolet.* Ignis duobus crassioribus se elementis tenetur, aqua scil. et aere ne ad sedem suam euolet, in aethere enim eius sedes est; unde semper superiora petit⟩. *Mersas* Pessumdatas. *Pondera* ⟨s.⟩ terrae uel aquarum. Terra ponderata est, unde et omnia quae pondus habent, de quacumque caeli parte cadant, ad terram feruntur; quia uid. in imo posita ⟨est⟩ undique caelum ⟨sursum⟩ habens[f] ne subsidat pondus eius (et) ad nihilum deducatur.[2] Duobus elementis leuioribus sustentatur, aqua uid. et aere. *Tu triplicis* etc. Vis animae omnem molem corporis regit. Philosophi animam mundi solem dixerunt esse[g] quia sicut calificat corpus anima, ita solis calore uiuificantur omnia, eiusque calor diffusus per creaturas facit eas gignere, et re uera ut physici[g] dicunt calore illius omnia et gignunt et gignuntur[h] pariter cum humore, deo ita disponente. Hic itaque sol triplicis naturae est; habet enim esse, habet calere, habet splendere.[4] Sol enim medius est inter planetas. Primus enim Saturnus est, deinde Iouis, inde Mars[i]. Hi sunt superiores tres, et quartus est sol.[5] Sub eo uero reliqui tres, Venus et Mercurius et luna.

Mediam animam. Media dicitur anima non quod a meditullio corporis .i. ab umbilico sit porrecta, sed quia[j] in corde sedes illius proprie est[k] ubi pontificium[l] est uitae.[6] Aut certe media dicitur quod est anima rationabilis media inter animam pecudum et spiritum angelorum. Omnis namque[m] spiritus aut cum carne tegitur et cum carne moritur, aut nec carne ⟨quidem⟩ tegitur sed cum carne non

[1] Macrob. *Comm.* i 6. [2] Cf. Macrob. *Comm.* i 22. 1.
[3] Cf. Macrob. *Comm.* i 20. 6; *Sat.* i 18. 15.
[4] Cf. Aug. *Sol.* i 15. [5] Cf. Bridf. Gloss. on Bede *De Nat. rer.* xiii.
[6] Cf. Chalcid. *Comm.* xcix.

[a] t. est fr. *L* [b] sicc. iungitur *L* [c] sinz. *K*: synzug. *L* [d] aut *K* [e] ut frigora *K* [f] habet et *L* [g] philosophie *L* [h] gignit et gignitur *K* [i] Mars habens sup. tres *L* [j] si quia *K* [k] est proprie *L* [l] pontificum *K* [m] omnis autem *K*

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moritur, aut nec carne tegitur nec (cum carne) moritur. (Anima pecudum carne tegitur et cum carne moritur. Anima hominum carne quidem tegitur sed cum carne non moritur), spiritus angelorum nec carne tegitur nec moritur[a]. Prudentioribus autem uidetur hoc loco potius animam rationabilem debere intellegi quae magnam concordiam habet cum mundo[b]. Unde et homo graece microcosmus dicitur .i. minor mundus.[1] Sicut enim mundus[c] quattuor elementis et quattuor temporibus constat, ita et homo quattuor humoribus et quattuor flatibus. Videamus[d] ergo (mundi) et hominis concordiam. Quattuor sunt elementa: aer ignis aqua terra. Aer calidus et humidus est; uer calidum et humidum similiter.[2] (Et) sanguis ⟨qui⟩ est in puero aeque calidus et humidus[e]; pueritia (enim) calida et humida (est). Ignis calidus est et siccus; aestas calida et sicca. Colera rubea quae abundat in adolescente calida et sicca; adolescentia enim calida et sicca. Terra frigida et sicca; autumnus frigidus et siccus. Melancolia[f] .i. colera nigra quae est in iuuenibus frigida et sicca; iuuentus (enim) frigida et sicca. Aqua frigida et humida est; hiems frigida et humida. Flegma quae abundat in senibus frigida et humida; senectus frigida et humida. Iste ergo ⟨minor⟩ mundus habet animam triplicis naturae; est enim irascibilis concupiscibilis rationabilis. Irascibilis, ut uitiis irascatur et corporis uoluptatibus; concupiscibilis est ut deum diligat et uirtutes appetat; rationabilis est ut inter creatorem et creaturam, inter bonum et malum discernere possit. ⟨Quae tria si rationabiliter fuerint custodita coniungunt creaturam creatori.⟩ Si uero fuerint permutata, mentem debilem reddunt, (nam) si illa pars fuerit corrupta quae irascibilis dicitur, fit homo tristis rancidus felle amaritudinis plenus. Si autem illa pars fuerit uitiata[g] quae concupiscibilis dicitur, fit homo ebriosus libidinosus et uoluptatum seruus. Si uero illa pars animae corrumpatur[h] quae uocatur rationabilis, fit homo superbus, haereticus, omnibus subiectus uitiis[i].

Per consona membra. Armonica enim (disciplina) corpus humanum compositum est. Hinc Sedulius: Et reuocata suis attemperat organa neruis[j].[3] Dum enim sanum est corpus illa consonat armonia; statim autem ut dissentit aegrotat corpus. *Resoluis* (s.) inmittis, infundis. *Quae cum secta duos motum glomerauit in orbes.* Non est anima in sua[k] natura diuisa, sed actus ipsius in duos extenditur oculos ad aliquid contemplandum, sicque dicitur glomerare suum motum in duos orbes et reuertitur in semet ipsam. Dicunt ⟨enim⟩ doctores quod per intuitum

[1] Cf. Chalcid. *Comm.* cc; Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* ii 25.
[2] Cf. Macrob. *Comm.* i 6. 60; *Sat.* vii 5. 20 f. [3] *Carm. paschale* 3,256.

[a] nec carne m. *L* [b] concordiam inter cum m. *K* [c] minor mundus *K* [d] uide[a]mus *L* [e] et s. e. hum. i. p. a. c. *L* [f] melancolica *K* [g] uic. fu. *L* [h] pars fuerit an. conupt. *L* [i] omn. uit. subi. *L* [j] org. membris *K*: o. m. neruis *L* [k] sui *L*

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oculorum uis animae egreditur ad conspiciendum exteriora, ita tamen extendit se[a] ut statim reuertatur per profundam meditationem in se reuoluens agensque ⟨in⟩ simili imagine quae foras uidet. Sicut (enim) uidet[b] exterius uoluit. Ita est de aliis rebus intellegendum quae prius uidit et deinde meditatur. Nam cum unus sit sol, radios in diuersam partem[c] uidetur diuidere, cum per rimulas et fenestras ingreditur (*In duos orbes*) .i. in ortum et occasum. Unde Salomon[d] dicit: Oritur sol et occidit et reuertitur ad ortum suum; girat per meridiem et flectitur ad aquilonem.[1] *In semet reditura meat mentemque profundam circuit* .i. aeternam dei et profundam dispositionem peragit. *Simili conuertit imagine caelum* .i. aequali modo, simili semper cursu. Vel simili imagine ut subaudiatur qualis fuit illa in qua[e] creatus est, uid. in aequinoctiali et occasu.

Conuertit .i. conuerti facit, nam dicunt quod impetu solis uoluentis contra mundum retineatur sphaera[f] caelestis semper uoluens ne labatur et pessum ruat. *Tu causis* etc. Ordo uerborum est: Tu prouehis animas uitasque minores paribus causis, et seris in caelum et terram aptans sublimes animas leuibus curribus. Diuerso modo diuersi in hoc sentiunt. Quidam (enim) ita intellegunt ut animos dicat angelicos spiritus, uitas uero minores homines quos paribus causis produxit, dum eos rationabiles condidit seritque .i. inmittit[g] angelos in caelum, homines in terram aptans sublimes animas leuioribus curribus .i. subtili contemplatione[h] ad consideranda caelestia. Alii animas doctos et sapientes intellegunt, uitas minores stultos, ut serat in caelum sapientes, in terram stultos, et sublimes animas sapientium leuioribus curribus aptet .i. subtili intellectui[i]. Attamen prudentioribus aliter uidetur. Animas rationales hominum spiritus intellegunt, uitas uero minores pecudum animas. Duae enim[j] sunt, rationalis quae est hominum, et uitalis quae est animalium. Unde quia tantum ad usum uitae animam habent, graece ζωᾶ[k] dicuntur[l] ⟨, Zoe enim graece uita dicitur⟩. Hinc quidam uolunt Zodiacum illum ⟨circulum⟩ signiferum quod animalia habeat, taurum leonem et reliqua.

Prouehit ergo deus animas et uitas paribus causis .i. aequali potentia, et hominem quidem ad imaginem et similitudinem suam condidit et animalibus uitalem tribuit animam[m]. Has ergo animas sublimes rationabilitate aptat leuibus curribus .i. subtili contemplationi et intellegentiae, easque serit in caelum .i. ad caelestem instruit[n] conseruationem. Vitas uero minores serit in terram, quia animalia tantum terris dedita

[1] Eccl. i 5-6.

[a] s. e. *L* [b] uideat *L* [c] d. i. p. *L* [d] Salemon *K* [e] in quam *L* [f] spera *codd.* [g] immittet *L* [h] contemplationi *K* [i] intellectu *K* [j] autem *L* [k] Zoa *K* [l] dicunt *K* [m] trib. in eam an. *L* [n] instituit *L*

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sunt et cum moriuntur corpore moriuntur et anima. *Tu namque serenum* .i. serenitas. *Tu requies . . . te cernere finis.* Definitio[a] est summi boni. Finis et perfectio idem est, sed finis aliquando deest sumptione, aliquando dicitur de consumptione. Unde aliter dicimus finiri telam, aliter panem ; panis quidem finitur ut non sit, tela autem ut perfecta sit. *Terminus* .i. per quem terminum perueniamus ad te.

III pr. 10 (p. 72, l. 3). *Quonam haec felicitatis perfectio constituta sit* sb. loco: deus namque, si dici fas est, locus est omnium bonorum. Sciendum uero deo non esse aliud bonum et aliud esse ipsum deum, sed ipsum bonum deum esse. Neque enim in eo ita est beatitudo quomodo in homine sapientia et in uase aqua, sed cuncta quae de deo dici possunt, secundum eius naturam et substantiam dicuntur, et ideo a quibusdam dicitur non esse bonus et sapiens quia ipse (est) bonitas et sapientia.

ib. (p. 76, l. 135). *Dei in ipso bono . . . substantiam.* Locus dei, si dici fas est, bonum et ipsum bonum in deo. Unde potest illa quaestio solui qua quaeritur ubi erat deus antequam mundum crearet. Hoc est in bono et ipsum bonum deus.[1]

III pr. 12 (p. 82, l. 23). *Hoc quicquid est* etc. Naturaliter dicit hoc[b] .i. illa substantia quaecumque est, et ideo quasi cum quadam dubitatione dicit hoc quicquid est, quia deus inuisibilis est omnibus rebus, neque enim ipsi angeli integre ualent considerare eum, de quibus scriptum est: In quem desiderant angeli prospicere.[2] Sciendum tamen quia secundum aliquid semper uidetur ab angelis. Hinc legimus: Quia angeli eorum semper uident faciem patris mei qui in caelis est[3]; et cum idem deus ubique summe sit, nihil tamen esse dicitur quod eius ignoratur. Similiter cum sit ipse lux et habitet lucem inaccessibilem,[4] tenebrae asseritur esse propter considerantium infirmitatem.[5]

ib. (p. 83, l. 52). *Naturam seruans.* Bene dicit naturam seruans quia in quantum naturam seruat qui bene agit et a deo regitur, in quantum autem a deo discedit male agit et contra naturam fertur. Nam et diabolus in sua natura bonus est et potestas eius quidem iusta, uoluntas autem mala est.[6] Sed deus malo illius bene utitur, ideoque dum aliquid conatur malum, uoluntate tantum deo resistit, ceterum quicquid agitur deo oboedit inuitus, quoniam quod deus permittit fieri iusto iudicio hoc tantum ille agere potest.

[1] Cf. Aug. *Enarr. in Ps. cxxii* 4.
[2] 1 Pet. i 12.
[3] Matt. xviii 10. Cf. Aug. *Contra Max.* ii 9.
[4] 1 Tim. vi 16.
[5] Cf. Iohannes Scottus *De diuis. nat.*, M. *P. L.* 22 col. 681 B 'Proinde a theologia caelestium uirtutum claritas saepe nominatur tenebrositas. Nec mirum, cum et ipsa summa sapientia, cui appropinquant saepissime tenebrarum uocabulo significetur. Audi Psalmistam: quia sicut tenebrae, ita et lumen eius.'
[6] See above.

[a] diff. *L* [b] hec . . . hęc *K*

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IV pr. 1 (p. 89, l. 16). *In regno scientis omnia* .i. in hoc mundo; licet enim in hoc mundo saepius mali praeualent, tamen regnum dei bene dicitur quia a deo gubernatur et regitur; uel in regno dei, hoc est in ecclesia [a] dei quae adhuc est partim in mundo.

ib. (l. 21). *Dispositissima domo uilia uasa* etc. (.i.) in ecclesia uel in mundo. Hoc ex Paulo apostolo sumptum est qui in una domo [b] quaedam uasa esse dicit in honorem, alia (uero) in contumeliam.[1]

IV m. 1 (p. 89, l. 1). *Pennae* .i. alae contemplationis. Hae sunt illae alae quas habebat illa mulier quam uidit Iohannes in apocalypsi amictam sole et luna sub pedibus eius.[2]

ib. (p. 90, l. 17). *Aetheris.* Possumus quoque per terras nubem aerem et cetera hominem, per aetherem uero astra planetas et reliqua caelestia angelicos [c] spiritus intellegere.

ib. (p. 94, l. 99). *Sed eosdem esse . . . nego.* Hoc non de quolibet malo dicendum qui utique conuerti potest, sed de diabolo principe malorum, qui angelus a deo factus est, sed quia ex suo malo malus est iam non angelus simpliciter sed cum additamento angelus malus uocatur.[3]

IV pr. 4 (p. 102, l. 73). *Alia uero purgatoria clementia* etc. Quia dixit miseriores esse reprobos sua improbitate quoniam perpetua eorum miseria efficitur, nunc iam transit ad nostrum dogma quod docet animas post mortem supplicia luere uel ut purgentur (uel) ut perpetuo damnentur. Igni enim corporeo cruciantur quamuis incorporeae sint.[d]

IV pr. 5 (p. 106, l. 23). *Sed tu quamuis causam tantae dispositionis ignores.* Cum enim [e] cernimus bonos in conualle huius saeculi positos aliquando prosperari aliquando contraria pati, recte fieri omnia credere debemus quia iudicium dei occultum est sed semper iustum et non semper occultum [f].

IV pr. 6 (p. 108, l. 11). *De prouidentiae simplicitate, de fati serie.* Inter prouidentiam et fatum hoc distat: prouidentia est occulta dei dispositio in intimo diuinae mentis latens quae simul cuncta complectitur qua disponit (deus cuncta quomodo stant. Sicut artifex fabricationes aliquid omnia prius per artem quam habet in mente disponit) et sic post operatur. Fatum uero est cum paulatim foras prodire et manifestare coeperit in rebus exterioribus. Veluti opus in mente artificis comprehensum prius quod postea perficitur exterius. Sed beatus Gregorius dicit nihil esse fatum.[4] Sed si fatum aliquid est dicendum, fatum est naturalis ordo rerum ex prouidentia dei uenientium. Siquidem fatum dicitur locutum et dixisse dei fecisse est, dixit enim [g] et facta

[1] 2 Tim. ii 20. [2] Apoc. xii 1. [3] Ps. lxxviii 49.
[4] Greg. M. *Hom.* x *in Euang.* 4.

[a] secula *K* [b] ditissima domo *K* [c] angelorum *L* [d] corpore et sint *K*
[e] autem *L* [f] occ. est sed semper est occ. *K* [g] autem *L*

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sunt, mandauit et creata sunt.[1] Fatum igitur est opus dei quod ex prouidentia descendit.

ib. (p. 108, l. 12). *De arbitrii libertate quaeri solet.* uid. quod praedestinatione dei sit in electos eius et quod liberum arbitrium habent ipsi. Si igitur[a] ad praedestinationem uenire coguntur, quomodo est eis liberum arbitrium, et rursus[b] si liberum habent arbitrium, quomodo praedestinationi subiacent?

ib. (p. 108, l. 22). *Quicquid aliquo mouetur modo* .i. loco uel tempore. Nam corporalia in loco simul mouentur et tempore localiter, incorporalia uero in loco sunt et in tempore mouentur, sed inlocaliter, et quia de corporalibus patet de incorporalibus dicendum est aliquid. Anima siue angelicus spiritus in loco est. Nam si ubique esset, deus esset (in loco). Ergo in loco quidem est quia non potest ubique esse, sed inlocaliter. Si enim localiter esset, necessario sex loci partes haberet, ante post dextram sinistram super infra. Sed haec minime habebit quia incorporalis est. Si igitur in loco est inlocaliter, inlocalis utique est quia loco minime mouetur. Solummodo ergo tempore mouetur quod in reminiscendo quae non nouit et obliuiscendo eorum quae nouit dicitur[c] constare.

ib. (p. 108, l. 32). *Fatum uero* &c. Nota fatum nihil esse, ut beatus Augustinus[2] aliique dicunt, sed quod prouidentia dei disponente foris agitur fatum uocatur.

ib. (p. 108, l. 34). *Prouidentia namque cuncta* &c. Illud quod in mente creatoris disponitur atque ordinatur qualiter proficiatur, prouidentia est. Dum uero id ipsum sensim per genera et species foris perficitur, fatum uocatur eo quod non simul procedat sicut simul dispositum est, ac per hoc quasi uariabile et mobile est fatum.

ib. (p. 109, l. 50). *Seu caelestibus siderum motibus.* Hoc in loco quidam conati sunt Boetium reprehendere quasi haereticum, dicentes illum mathematicam sectari et docere omnia sub[d] fato stellarum fieri. Sed sciendum est quia ubi plura succincte et comprehensiue memorantur ignoratur quod debeat eligi, quod eligendum uel quod respuendum[e] sit.

ib. (p. 110, l. 71). *Ac tanto aliquid fato liberum est quantum illum rerum cardinem uicinius petit.* Nam sancti aliquando in hac fragili carne positi fati seriem transcendunt ad tempus. Beatissimus enim Benedictus noster pater[3] quando simul totum mundum conspexit diuino spiritu ultra omnem rerum naturam subleuatus est. Tunc ergo et fati seriem transcendit. Sed mox quia mortali erat carne circumdatus cognouit se intra corporis saepta deteneri et mortalem esse, aliis hominibus similem. Per sanctitatem igitur quia deo erat proximus fatum excessit, sed rursus per carnem quae erat mortalis ad ipsum relapsus est.

[1] Ps. xxxii 9. [2] Cf. *De Ciu. Dei* v 8. [3] Greg. M. *Dial.* ii 35.

[a] Si ergo *L* [b] rursum *K* [c] dicunt *K* [d] coram *L* [e] respondendum *K*

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ib. (p. 112, l. 131). *Sapiens dispensatio.* Huius rei exemplum in beati Iuliani passione habemus, qui cum traheretur per plateas nobilis puer eiusdem iudicis filius diuino instinctu (in) Christum credens martyrem dei secutus est et in carcerem cum eo missus. Petens ergo apud patrem ut triduo cum matre loqueretur, eam conuertit [a] ad deum. Interfecto itaque puero cum matrem quoque iussisset comprehendi si quis manum ad eam extendit, statim arefacta est, siquidem prouidebat deus non posse eam tormenta sufferre. Igitur fusa oratione perrexit in pace ad deum [b].

ib. (p. 113, l. 144). *Alii plus aequo metuunt.* Despiciunt. Plus aequo .i. plus quam necesse sit. Ideoque datur eis tribulatio ut suam fortitudinem agnoscant. Sicut legimus quia [c] cum quidam frater temptationem carnis non ferens uenisset ad quendam senem ut consilium ab eo reciperet [d], ille respondit, numquam se talia passum. Cumque tristis ille recederet, uenit ad alterum seniorem cui et molestiam sui corporis et praedicti senis uerba rettulit. Qui postquam eum consolatus est, uenit contra praefati senis cellulam flexisque genibus orabat ut aliquid carnalis temptationis illi eueniret. Itaque statim uisibiliter conspexit ignitam diaboli sagittam contra eius cellulam dirigi. Et cum iam frater ille se hac illacque [e] conuerteret penitusque nesciret quid ageret et saeculum uellet repetere, dictum est ei ab illo sene beato ne amplius auderet fratrem despicere etiam in tribulatione positum. Sicque a stimulatione illa sanatum [f] eum dimisit.

ib. (l. 148). *Quidam suppliciis . . . exemplum . . . praetulerunt* .s. sicut sancti martyres.

ib. (p. 114, l. 186). ΑΡΓΑΛΕΟΝ ΔΕ ΜΕ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΘΕΟΝ ΩΣ ΠΑΝΤ' ΑΓΟΡΕΥΕΙΝ.[1] Prouerbiale exemplum in graeco positum quod corruptum est. Sed latina interpretatio hoc dicitur habere: Irascentem post deum tanquam (omnia conuocare) .i. qui irascitur et aliquid conatur agere contra dei dispositionem, etiam in hoc ipso deo seruit eiusque dispositionem quamuis inuitus peragit. Sicut Ioseph fratres uendiderunt ne illorum esset dominus. Verumtamen nisi esset uenditus dominus eorum non esset. Similiter Iudaei cum dominum saluatorem nollent recipere dicentes: Ecce totus mundus post eum abiit [g] et nos nihil proficimus [h] [2]: dumque illum occiderent, uolentes nomen eius extinguere, amplius illud dilatauerunt et dum irati resisterent ipsi [i] famulati sunt. Neque enim totus mundus in Christum crederet nisi Iudaei eum interfecissent.

IV pr. 7 (p. 118, l. 45). *Proelium . . . conseritis.* Ut beatus Augustinus aliique sancti doctores dicunt, non magis est fortitudo necessaria in aduersis quam in prosperis; aduersitas enim [j] quia non

[1] *Iliad* xii 176. [2] John xii 19.

[a] eamque conuerteret *K* [b] ad dominum *L* [c] quod *L* [d] acciperet *L* [e] autem *L* [f] sanum *L* [g] abit *L* [h] perfecimus *K* [i] illi *K* [j] hac atque illac *K*

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potest occulte uenire, ideo totis uiribus ei renititur (, prosperitas autem blandiendo decipit et mulcendo plus saeuit quam occulte).

IV pr. 7 (p. 118, l. 47). *Medium uiribus occupate* .i. aequanimitatem in omnibus seruate, stantes inter aduersa et prospera immobiles: uel medium .i. uirtutum. Nam uirtutes philosophi medias esse dixerunt et inter plus minusue esse locatas. Verbi gratia quattuor (sunt) principes uirtutes, iustitia fortitudo prudentia temperantia. Et iustitia inter pleonexiam et mionexiam collocata [a] est; fortitudo inter timiditatem et audaciam; prudentia inter calliditatem et hebitudinem [b]; temperantia inter luxuriam eneruatorum et insensibilitatem pecudum.

V pr. 1 (p. 122, l. 23). *Nam nihil ex nihilo.* Persius in dogmate Epicureorum dicit ex nihilo nihilum posse fieri ita [c]: De nihilo nihilum, in nihilum nil posse reuerti.[1] Epicurei enim duo dixerunt esse principia, hoc est atomos et inane, ex quibus facta sunt elementa. Et atomos dicebant corpuscula fuisse breuissima quae uix uideri poterant, qualia sunt ea quae per solis radios uidentur discurrere. Inane autem uocabant illud spatium in quo atomi continebantur. Haec ergo duo materiam fuisse rerum creatarum [d] uolebant. Nos autem dicimus omnia facta esse a nihilo a deo qui non solum est sed etiam summus [e] est. Possumus tamen dicere similiter [f] quod a [g] nihilo nihil fit, quippe cum omnia fiant ex quattuor elementis, terra aqua aere et [h] igne. Si quis autem interroget terra unde facta est uel cetera [i] elementa, dicendum est, ex nihilo. Principium uero non a se sed a deo principe [j] sumpserunt. Et ideo [k] forte potest dici elementa de nihilo facta, quod a deo qui summum habet esse creata sunt [l].

[This gloss is not in *L* which is mutilated at this point. It is contained in *K*, *C*, and *F*.]

ib. (p. 123, l. 55). *Ordo . . . procedens.* Ambitus dispositionis dei extra quem et praeter quem nihil usquam aut est aut erit.

V pr. 2 (p. 124, l. 5). *Neque enim fuerit ulla rationalis natura, cui eidem libertas adsit arbitrii.* Sciendum itaque quod soli angeli et homines rationabiles a deo creati sunt quibus etiam liberum arbitrium est concessum siue ad bonum siue ad malum, et maligni quidem statim ut praeuaricati sunt liberum perdiderunt arbitrium ita ut iam nec [m] uelint nec possint. In malo autem quod eligunt arbitrium tantummodo remansit. Sancti uero [n] angeli et malignorum spirituum ita solidati sunt et inmeliorati in bonitatis ut iam nec uelint nec etiam possint malum, et

[1] *Sat.* iii 84.

[a] collata *K* [b] hebetatem *L* [c] *om.* ex nihilo . . . turarum *K* [d] sume *C*: summum *F* [e] summe *I* [f] *om.* et *K* [g] uel etiam *K* [h] Princ. nam si . . . ideo *C* [i] *om.* forte . . . sunt *C* [j] non *K*

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uelint statim possint omnino perficere. Similiter ergo et homo antequam peccaret liberum habuit arbitrium scil. utrum in natura boni permaneret an ad malum rueret. Neque enim repugnabat caro legi mentis illius ad peccatum.[1] At postquam nullo cogente peccauit, arbitrium bene agendi ⟨penitus perdidit⟩ et ad malum tantum ad quod sponte lapsus est liberum habuit arbitrium. Non solum igitur homo bonum per se non potest agere, sed nec cogitare sine solius dei clementia. ⟨(Habet)⟩ [a] itaque homo liberum arbitrium, non tamen sanum sed corruptum et semper ad malum ruens.

V pr. 2 (p. 124, l. 14). *Perspicax iudicium.* Perspicax .i. euidens, quia non falluntur sicuti homines uerisimilibus bonis nec aliquid possunt dubitare in rebus eligendis uelut homines. Hinc legitur: sunt uiae quae putantur rectae, quarum finis usque ad profundum inferni demergitur.[2]

ib. (p. 124, l. 15). *Humanas uero animas liberiores quidem esse necesse est, cum se in mentis diuinae speculatione conseruant.* Secundum philosophos hoc dicit qui dicunt (animas) esse in contemplatione et suam uim plenissime exercere antequam ad corpora ueniant; cum autem descendant in corpus, obliuisci suae naturae et grauidine [b] corporis eas opprimi. Unde a quibusdam reprehenditur [c], non tamen reprehendendus [d] est, cum beatus Augustinus similiter dixerit [e], sed in libro Retractationum se deinde redarguit, dicens tempore [f] certo animas creari et certo tempore eas in corpore destinari.[3]

V pr. 3 (p. 125, l. 1). *Tum ego: En, inquam, difficiliore rursus ambiguitate confundor.* Caute et attentissime [g] legenda sunt ista usque dum ex persona Philosophiae respondeatur quoniam minus perfectorum proponit opiniones nec tamen proposita concludit; ⟨plura⟩ etiam neganda interponit. Dicit ergo, deus cuncta praeuidet quae futura sunt cum nihil [h] potest falli, et quaecumque praeuidet necesse est ut fiant. Igitur si necesse habent fieri secundum dei prouidentiam, ubi erit arbitrii libertas? Si [i] necessitas est imposita [j] ex parte prouidentiae, liberum non erit arbitrium. Sed sciendum quia deus non imponit necessitatem gerendis rebus neque (cogit) ea impleri quae praeuidet, sed sicut gerendae sunt ipsae res per liberum arbitrium, ita deus praeuidet illas futuras. Verbi gratia: si celebretur currule certamen et aliquis in editiori stans loco spectet, hic nulli currentium uires administrat aut quemlibet percurrere facit; aspicit tamen qui uincat et qui melius currat. Sic ergo quodammodo deus non compellit ea quae sunt facienda ad suam uenire prouidentiam, sed praeuidet omnino quo modo uel quando quid

[1] Rom. vii 23. [2] Prou. ix 18, xiv 12, xvi 25. [3] *Retract.* i 8.

[a] Habet *CF* [b] graui *L* [c] reprehenduntur *L* [d] reprehendendum *L* [e] simile dicit *K* [f] redarguit alii autem tempore *K* [g] intentissime *L* [h] cui nihil *K* [i] Nam si *L* [j] opposita *L*: inpos. *K*

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futurum sit, quippe cui nihil [a] futurum, nihil praeteritum est, sed omnia ei potius praesentia sunt, sicut supra quoque ait, Quae sint, quae fuerint [b], ueniantque, uno mentis cernit in ictu. Sicut de Ioseph intellegi potest, quem prophetia somnium dixerat futurum dominum fratrum suorum qui cum ei inuiderent uendiderunt eum, ne posset fieri eorum dominus; et ubi fugere conati sunt diuina prouidentia ibi comprehensi sunt. Nam si non uendidissent eum Aegyptiis non posset in Aegypto fieri eorum dominus.

ib. (p. 129, l. 101). *Qui solus modus est* etc. Ut enim dicit beatus Augustinus, Quando homines deum orant cum eo loquuntur.[1] *Illique inaccessae luci* .i. inaccessibili. Beato Paulo concordat dicenti: Qui habitat lucem inaccessibilem,[2] quod ideo dicitur quia nullus intellectus penetrare eam sufficit. Sicuti hinc (idem) apostolus alibi: Pax dei quae exsuperat omnem sensum,[3] hoc est humanum et angelicum.

V m. 3 (p. 130, l. 20). *An cum mentem cerneret altam* (.i. diuinam) in eius scil. positam contemplationem. Philosophi enim dicunt animas antequam corporibus accedant positas esse in contemplatione diuina, et tunc cognoscere omnia quaecumque a deo per species creata sunt; at postquam in corpora descenderint uniuersitatem quidem retinere .i. genus; species uero perdere quas necesse est homini in [c] corpore requirere.

V pr. 4 (p. 134, l. 80). *Aliter intellegentia contuetur.* Quae ipsam rationem transcendit et ad sola spiritalia et diuina se erigit per contemplationem. Postquam enim mens uniuersa perlustrat quae a deo creata sunt, incipit quaerere auctorem ipsum qui ea condidit. Nam per ea quae mirabiliter et diuerso modo creata considerat, intellegit multo mirabiliorem esse auctorem qui tanta et tam miranda sine labore perfecit. Unde apostolus ait: Inuisibilia enim dei per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur; sempiterna quoque eius uirtus et diuinitas.[4] Hoc ergo per solum fit intellectum. Sciendum uero quia cum simul sint semper ratio et intellegentia, intellegentia tamen in hoc rationem transcendit quia cum homo omnis rationis sit capax, non homo omnis tamen intellegentiae habet sublimitatem ut [d] puritatem diuinae maiestatis ualeat contemplari.

V m. 4 (p. 135, l. 1). *Quondam porticus attulit | obscuros [illegible] senes.* Hoc est, Stoa habuit. Stoa dicitur porticus; inde stoici philosophi qui dixerunt imagines corporum ita mentibus [e] imprimi [illegible] pagina figuntur litterae uel notae. Academia fuit uilla [illegible] ciuitatem sita non plus ab ea distans uno miliario. Inter [illegible] academia populi tristitia eo [f] quod ibi Neptunus [illegible]

[1] *Enarr. in Ps. lxxxv* 7. [2] 1 Tim. vi 16. [3] Phil. iv 7. [illegible]

[a] quod cum nihil *L* [b] quae sunt quae fuerunt *L* [illegible] in *K* [d] et *K* [e] menti *L* [f] et *K*

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conflictu, sicut Gregorius Nazianzenus ait pro quodam homicidio quod inter eos contigit. Victus ergo Neptunus turpiter ab eadem uilla nauigio aufugit. In ipsa uilla Plato philosophus commorans omni tempore uitae suae philosophiam docebat. Post cuius obitum scola ipsius in tres sectas diuisa est, et qui in eadem uilla remanserunt ab ea academici sunt dicti. Qui uero exeuntes a uilla ciuitatem Athenas sunt ingressi, Stoici sunt nuncupati, et hi in porticibus philosophabantur[a]. Stoa enim [b] graece porticus dicitur latine. Tertia secta est quae ad loca diuersa migrando nullam certam sedem habebat et appellatur peripatetica. Quia igitur huius sectae philosophi diuersa loca peragrabant, peripatetici uocati sunt .i. deambulantes, seu ut Hieronymo placet circumcalcantes eo quod partes orbis circumirent gratia discendarum disciplinarum: quicquid enim diffiniebant uelut stabile quiddam et inconcussum[c] et undique circumcalcatum .i. fixum manebat. Quod enim[d] nos dicimus calco Graeci dicunt pato. Inde componitur peripato .i. circumcalco; inde peripatetici sunt dicti qui alias sectas altiori ingenio superexcellunt.

V pr. 5 (p. 136, l. 5). *Intrinsecus formas.* Spiritales animae formas dicit quae excitantur passione sensuum exteriorum; dicit enim Plato omnium rerum formas in anima incomprehensibiliter et inuisibiliter contineri antequam per corporales et exteriores excitentur formas.

V pr. 6 (p. 143, l. 117). *Quaedam de libero proficiscuntur arbitrio* .i. mala. Mala non solummodo[e] (libero fiunt arbitrio, quia postquam primus homo sponte peccauit ad bonum quidem liberum amisit arbitrium, ad malum) tantum retinuit. Nisi ergo diuina inspiratio praeueniat, nullus aliquid ualet agere boni. Hinc Apostolus: Plus, inquit, omnibus laboraui, non autem ego sed gratia dei mecum.[1] Mirum uidetur quod dicit se laborasse et non laborasse[f], quod facile potest uideri, si simul et gratiam dei quae illum praeuenit et liberum arbitrium consideremus.

[1] 1 Cor. xv 10.

[a] philosophantur *KL* [b] autem *L* [c] concussum *KL* [d] autem *L*
[e] solummodo admodum *K* mala non solum libero sunt arbitrio *L* [f] labore *C*
The gloss is printed as it stands in *C* except for [f]

H. F. STEWART.

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THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF DANIEL v AND vi.

It is becoming customary to look upon the Book of Daniel as a religious novel, the work of a later age, rich indeed in didactic teaching, but still only a novel with a shadowy background of history, albeit embodying the traditions of a great saint and as such having his name attached to it. We are assured that the author of this book 'had a very inaccurate knowledge of the history of the Babylonian period', and that 'his knowledge of the Persian period appears to be scant if not also untrustworthy'.[1] Especial objection is taken to the statements made with respect to Darius the Mede, and it is laid down as indisputable that 'the interpolation of a Median Darius must be regarded as the most glaring historical inaccuracy of the author of Daniel': that 'in fact this error of the author alone is proof positive that he must have lived at a very late period, when the record of most of the earlier historical events had become hopelessly confused and perverted'.[2] I shall endeavour in the following paper to shew that the truth lies just the other way, that exactly the opposite is the case, and that the brief reign of Darius the Mede as a sub-king with the title 'King of Babylon', so far from proving fatal to the genuineness of this book, forms its strongest corroboration, inasmuch as it faithfully records a state of things at Babylon, which lasted for a very short time, and was therefore likely to be soon forgotten in after ages. With this object in view I propose to test the authenticity of this portion of the Book of Daniel by reference to contemporary documents. I shall appeal in the first place to the Babylonian contract-tablets, which bear the name of the reigning monarch and are dated according to the year, month, and day of the reign in which they were signed. The year in which a monarch begins to reign is called his accession-year, *rish sharruti*, the first year of his reign starting from the New Year following. The only exception to this is when his reign begins at the New Year, in which case he has no accession-year. It is found convenient in registering these tablets to distinguish them by the year, month, and day of the reign in which they were signed. Thus the tablet Cyr. 1. 3. 10 was signed in the first year of Cyrus, the third month, the tenth day of the month. The historical evidence of the contract-tablets is the strongest

[1] Century Bible *Daniel*, Introd. p. xxxvi.
[2] *Enc. Brit.* Article on 'Book of Daniel'.

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possible, since they are plain matter-of-fact business documents, and cannot have been doctored either to please the monarch or to pander to the popular taste. Next to the contract-tablets comes the Annalistic Tablet, sometimes called the Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle, which gives a brief account year by year of the events that happened during the reign of Nabonidus, with a more expanded account of the events that preceded and accompanied the capture of Babylon by Cyrus in the seventeenth year of the reign. This, too, is an all-important source of information, though the emphatic statement as to the peaceful nature of Cyrus's capture of Babylon must be regarded with grave suspicion.[1] Appeal will also be made to other inscriptions of Nabonidus and Cyrus, to the inscription of Darius Hystaspes at Behistun, and to the Aramaic documents of the fifth century B. C. discovered at Elephantine in Egypt.

The fifth chapter of Daniel introduces us to Belshazzar, i. e. Bel-sharra-utsur, the eldest son of Nabonidus the last Chaldean king of Babylon. Belshazzar, whose historical existence was once denied, is now proved to be a very real person, in fact one of the foremost spirits of his age. Born some years before his father seized the crown, Belshazzar is found possessed of a house of his own in Babylon as early as the first year of Nabonidus. In the seventh year of that king's reign he appears at the head of the nobility and of the army taking the leading part in the defence of his country. In much the same light is he brought before us in the opening verse of Daniel ch. 5: 'Belshazzar the king made a great feast to a thousand of his lords.' It is objected, however, that in the Book of Daniel Belshazzar is described as a king—the first and third years of his reign being expressly mentioned[2]—and also as the last king of Babylon before the capture of that city by Cyrus, whilst Nabonidus, the actual king, is not so much as named. On this score alone this book is pronounced unhistorical and hopelessly at variance with the contemporary cuneiform documents, in which Belshazzar is uniformly styled 'the king's son'.

The question, then, is, Was Belshazzar king of Babylon, or was he not? The plain answer to this question is to be found in a fact, presently to be demonstrated, viz. that when Cyrus appointed his own son Cambyses to succeed Belshazzar, he gave him this title 'king of Babylon'. But while the main issue would appear to be thus decided, another question very quickly arises: viz. if Belshazzar was king of Babylon, how are we to explain the fact that on the tablets he is always styled 'the king's son'? This second question demands a categorical answer. First, as regards the Annalistic Tablet on which he is not mentioned by name, it is a sufficient answer that Belshazzar is here

[1] See below.

[2] Dan. vii 1, viii 1.

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called 'the king's son' in order to distinguish him from the king his father. The following statement, which on that tablet ushers in the events of successive years, furnishes a good example: 'The king was in Teva, the king's son, the nobles and the soldiers were in the country of Akkad.' When, however, we turn to the contract-tablets, the case is different. In tablets regarding business transactions in which Belshazzar himself was interested, the designation 'the king's son' is found preceded by the name 'Belshazzer'. Here, indeed, it is conceivable that we might expect to find the title 'king of Babylon' put after the proper name. But there are two considerations which render this unlikely. In the first place the tablets which record Belshazzar's business transactions only reach down to the twelfth year of Nabonidus. Now the reign of that king extended to his seventeenth year, while the Book of Daniel only mentions the first and third years of Belshazzar. It is therefore quite possible that in the twelfth year of his father's reign Belshazzar had not yet been appointed 'King of Babylon', and that he was still only 'the king's son'. But secondly, if we suppose Belshazzar to have received the royal title before the twelfth year of Nabonidus, it does not therefore follow that we shall find him so described in a business transaction of a private nature dated such and such a year, month, and day of the reign of 'Nabonidus king of Babylon'. For if the rendering 'the third ruler in the kingdom' (Dan. v 7, 16) be the correct rendering of the Aramaic word there employed,[1] then Belshazzar was not co-regent along with his father, but occupied a subordinate position, seeing that he could only offer to Daniel the third place, should he succeed in interpreting the handwriting on the wall. To describe him as 'king of Babylon' in a business document signed such and such a year of his father's reign might appear to the Babylonians equivalent to putting him on a level with his father.[2] One other difficulty, however, still remains. The question will be asked, How is it that in the dating of contract-tablets, which belong to the closing years of Nabonidus, no indication whatever is given that Belshazzar was associated with his father, either as co-regent or as sub-king? The answer to this question runs thus: In the dating of contract-tablets when the royal power is shared between two persons

[1] The form of the Aramaic word rendered 'third' is unique. According to Baer 'Pro תְּלִיתָיֵהּ reperitur Dan. v 7 תַּלְתַּי (τρίτος) cum definito תַּלְתָּא (ὁ τρίτος) v 16, quod tertium dignitate significat'. In verse 16 the R.V. reads, 'Thou shalt be the third ruler in the kingdom', thus agreeing with the Greek version of Theodotion τρίτος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου ἄρξεις. The R.V.M. reads, 'Thou shalt rule as one of three', which approaches more nearly to the Septuagint rendering ἕξεις ἐξουσίαν τοῦ τρίτου μέρους τῆς βασιλείας μου. Compare also verse 7.

[2] For fresh light on this question see Note 3 at the end of this paper.

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—as for instance father and son—even when the son is co-regent with his father, we must only expect to find one royal name, viz. that of the father; seeing that if both names were introduced, it would necessitate the introduction of a new era, i. e. the tablets would have to be dated such and such a year of the joint reign. The only exception to this would be when the two kings were able to date their reign from the same New Year, and of this, as we shall see presently, there is one notable instance.

With regard to the fact that in Daniel v Nabonidus is not even mentioned, it deserves to be pointed out that according to the Annalistic Tablet at the time of Belshazzar's feast Nabonidus was already a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, having been captured at Babylon after the Persians had made themselves masters of a part of that city.[1]

The next objection made by the critics is that in Dan. v 2 Nebuchadnezzar is called the father of Belshazzar, while the cuneiform records shew that Belshazzar was the son, not of Nebuchadnezzar, but of Nabonidus. A simple answer to this would be that the term 'father' is here used in the sense of royal predecessor; but the words of the queen in verse 11—'The king, Nebuchadnezzar, thy father, the king, *I say*, thy father'—seem to argue some closer connexion between Belshazzar and Nebuchadnezzar. What was this connexion?

Nabonidus, the father of Belshazzar, like his predecessor Nergal-sharezer, was a usurper, of high rank though not of royal birth. Both of these men were sons of high officials, who held the office or title of *rubu emgu*, 'wise prince'. Nergalsharezer was a son-in-law of Nebuchadnezzar, having according to Berosus married a sister of Evil-Merodach, and it is probable that Nabonidus either before or after his usurpation formed a similar alliance. The proof lies thus: It appears from the Behistun Inscription of Darius Hystaspes that Nabonidus had a younger son called Nebuchadnezzar, and that during the earlier years of Darius two impostors arose and tried to seize the throne of Babylon by putting forward the claim 'I am Nebuchadnezzar the son of Nabonidus'. The words are very suggestive: for mere descent from Nabonidus—who was not only a usurper but a most unpopular king—would hardly be likely to ingratiate a man in the affections of the Babylonians or make him appear as their lawful king. But if Nabonidus had allied himself by marriage with the family of Nebuchadnezzar, then the case would be altogether different. To be sprung from Nabonidus would then mean to be the representative of the great Nebuchadnezzar, either legally or by actual descent. In this case Belshazzar was either the actual descendant of Nebuchadnezzar, or was viewed as such in the

[1] Babylon was not all taken at one time. See below.

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eye of the law. The fact that Nabonidus called his younger son Nebuchadnezzar makes the latter alternative the more probable of the two.[1] Additional support for the view just advanced will be found in the account given us by this king of his own coronation.[2] After telling how the conspirators, who assassinated Labashi-Marduk, unanimously elected him from amongst their number to be their king, he adds these words, 'Of Nebuchadnezzar and Nergalsharezer, the kings my predecessors, their delegate am I: their hosts to my hands they entrusted'. Then, a little later on in the same inscription, he represents Nebuchadnezzar as conversing with him concerning an auspicious dream that he has had, doubtless a dream betokening his coming exaltation; thus betraying his extreme anxiety to be looked upon as the approved and duly commissioned successor of the great departed monarch. Clearly such a state of mind would lead naturally and inevitably to a matrimonial alliance with the family of Nebuchadnezzar, so that the queen's words in Dan. v 11—'the king Nebuchadnezzar, thy father, the king, *I say*, thy father'—harmonize admirably with what may be inferred from the inscriptions.

The circumstances connected with the capture of Babylon by Cyrus have been very ably dealt with by Mr Andrew Craig Robinson in his Donnellan Lectures for 1912–1913. Mr Robinson shews conclusively that Babylon was not all taken at one time, and that it was not taken without some fighting.[3] According to the Annalistic Tablet Gobryas, the general of Cyrus, entered Babylon on the 16th of Tammuz (June–July). But on the contract-tablets Nabonidus appears as king for some four months longer, viz. as late as the 10th of Marchesvan (October–November). This is the date of the latest tablet bearing the name of Nabonidus; and it is noticeable that according to the Annalistic Tablet on the very next day, the 11th of Marchesvan—just eight days after Cyrus had entered the main city—an attack was made by night under the leadership of Gobryas, in which, according to the tablet as now read, 'the son[4] of the king was slain'. This is in exact agreement

[1] This younger son was probably an actual grandson of Nebuchadnezzer, born after his father's usurpation.

[2] See the 'Coronation Decree' of Nabonidus discovered by Dr Scheil, *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. viii no. 6.

[3] The part of the city first taken by the army of Cyrus was the suburb on the right bank of the Euphrates. The main city on the left bank, containing the royal palace—the site of which is marked by the mound El Kasr—still remained for a time in the hands of Nabonidus. This is evident from the fact that two contracts of the 17th year of Nabonidus, dated the 21st of Ab and the 5th of Elul respectively, were drawn up and signed in '*the city of the king's palace*, Babylon'.

[4] Formerly read 'the wife'. Dr Pinches, the eminent Assyriologist and discoverer of the tablet, observes that 'where the tablet is damaged there is not room

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with Dan. v 30, 'In that night Belshazzar the Chaldean king was slain'. It is also in agreement with Xenophon, who represents Babylon as taken on a night of feasting by Gobryas and Gadatas, the generals of Cyrus, the king being slain in an attack on his palace.[1] Indeed, the very emphasis laid on the peaceful occupation of Babylon by the troops of Cyrus, coupled with the fact that all is represented as done by the determinate council of Merodach, is sufficient to awaken our suspicions that both on the Annalistic Tablet and on the Cylinder of Cyrus we are reading the accounts of Babylonian priests, jealous alike for the honour of their god and for that of their renowned city, and no less anxious to curry favour with the powerful conqueror.[2]

Passing on now to what happened after the capture of Babylon, the Book of Daniel records that Belshazzar was succeeded by Darius the Mede. For immediately after the statement as to the death of Belshazzar follow the words, 'And Darius the Mede received the kingdom'. To this the critics reply that there is no room for a Median ruler between Nabonidus and Cyrus. Quite so: that Nabonidus was succeeded by Cyrus is proved indisputably by the contract-tablets. The last tablet of Nabonidus—as stated above—is dated the 10th of Marchesvan, while the first tablet of Cyrus bears date the 24th of the same month. But the question is, *not* who succeeded Nabonidus, but *who succeeded Belshazzar*: and the answer to that question is given on the Annalistic Tablet. On that tablet, immediately after the passage describing the death of 'the king's son', follows the account of his funeral ceremonies, which were held more than four months later at the close of the year. It runs thus: 'From the 27th day of Adar to the 3rd day of Nisan a lamentation was made in the country of Akkad. All the people smote their heads. On the 4th day'—i. e. as soon as the funeral was over—'Cambyses the son of Cyrus went into "The Temple of Him, who Gives the Sceptre of the Land".[3] The official of the temple of the

enough for the character for "wife", and the verb to all appearance is not in the feminine'. He adds that Dr C. J. Ball and Dr Hagen, who examined the original along with him, arrived at the same conclusion. See *Victoria Institute Transactions*, Dec. 9, 1913.

[1] *Cyropoedeia* vii 5. 15–31.

[2] The language used on the Cylinder of Cyrus bears such a remarkable resemblance, in thought, tone, and expression, to certain passages in the latter part of the Book of Isaiah that one is tempted to think that the Babylonian priests must have had that book in their hands, unless—as has been maintained—the author of the Cyrus passages in Isaiah was acquainted with the Cylinder of Cyrus.

[3] This is a translation of the words E-KHAD-KALAM-MA-SIM-MA, the Sumerian name of the temple. Compare the India House Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, Col. iv 18, 'For Nebo, the exalted messenger, who has given me a righteous sceptre to govern all men, E-KHAD-KALAM-MA-SIM-MA, his temple in Babylon, with asphalt and brick I built its structure'.

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sceptre of Nebo brought a message in his hand'—at this point the inscription becomes partly illegible. But enough has been already told us to enable us to divine the rest. The temple referred to is the temple of Nebo at Babylon. Into this temple kings entered to have their sovereignty confirmed, as thus related in the Coronation Decree of Nabonidus: 'To "The Temple of Him who Gives the Sceptre of the Land", into the presence of Nebo, who prolongs my reign, I entered. A righteous sceptre, a legitimate rod of authority enlarging the land, he entrusted to my hands.' Cambyses by entering into this temple immediately after the funeral obsequies of Belshazzar shewed that he was about to take Belshazzar's place. Such is the natural inference, and it is confirmed in a remarkable way by the contract-tablets. Cyrus took Babylon in the autumn of 538 B.C. For the next four months—his accession year—he is styled on the contract tablets 'King of Babylon and of the Countries', sometimes merely 'King of the Countries'. On the 4th day of the opening month of the New Year—the very day on which Cambyses went into 'The Temple of Him who Gives the Sceptre of the Land'—Cyrus is styled on the tablets 'King of Babylon' for the last time for some ten months.[1] Not till we come to a tablet dated 1. 10. 0[2] does he again bear that title. Meanwhile during this interval we find ten tablets on which Cambyses is styled 'King of Babylon' and Cyrus 'King of the Countries'.[3] The earliest is the tablet 1. 2. 5 which reads 'Cambyses, king of Babylon: Cyrus, king of the Countries'; and the latest the tablet 1. 9. 25 inscribed thus: 'Cambyses, king of Babylon. At that time his father Cyrus was king of the Countries'.

We gather, then, that on the 4th day of the New Year, immediately after the public mourning for Belshazzar, Cyrus appointed his son Cambyses to succeed that monarch, giving him the same title 'King of Babylon', which in Dan. vii 1 is found given to Belshazzar. It thus appears, first, that Cyrus regarded Belshazzar as a king; secondly, that the king who succeeded Belshazzar was Cambyses, called in the Book

[1] For four tablets, the dates of which, as set down by Strassmaier, seem to impugn this statement, see Note 1 at the end of this paper.

[2] In registering the tablets when any uncertainty exists as to a number it is usual to put a cypher.

[3] These ten tablets are dated thus:—

1. 2. 5	1. 5. 21
1. 2. 9	1. 8. 9
1. 3. 10	1. 9. 25
1. 4. 7	1. 0. 8
1. 4. 25	0. 9. 25

The tablet 1. 5. 21 is given by Peiser in *Babylonische Verträge des Berliner Museums*. The tablet 1. 3. 10 will be found in Strassmaier's *Inschriften von Cyrus*. The remaining eight are in his *Inschriften von Cambyses*.

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of Daniel 'Darius the Mede'; thirdly, that this first reign of Cambyses as king of Babylon lasted for only part of a year, which agrees with the Book of Daniel, where only the first year of Darius the Mede is mentioned,[1] and where he is spoken of as succeeded by Cyrus the Persian. But this is not all. These tablets which bear the names of Cyrus and his son Cambyses are unique. In no other instance do we find two royal names on the contract-tablets. Strictly speaking the reign of Cambyses began on the 4th of Nisan. But it began while the New Year feast was still going on,[2] and was thus regarded as dating from the New Year, to wit the first New Year after Cyrus's capture of Babylon, so that in this single instance, as regards the tablets, father and son were able to date their reigns from the same epoch, viz. the 1st of Nisan 537 B. C.

The title which Cyrus retained for himself as well as that which he bestowed on his son Cambyses are deserving of our close attention. The title 'King of Babylon', which had contented former Babylonian monarchs in whose eyes Babylon was the centre of the universe, would bear a different meaning in the eyes of Persian kings and would seem to them far too narrow to describe the vast Persian empire. Accordingly in his accession year we find Cyrus describing himself on the contract-tablets as 'King of the Countries', occasionally along with the older title 'King of Babylon'. The meaning of this new title is well brought out in a tablet of the 1st year of Cyrus, which reads thus: 'Cyrus, king of the Countries, king of all their kingdoms.'[3] Compare Ezra i 2 'Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, All the kingdoms of the earth hath the LORD, the God of heaven, given me'. At the New Year, as we have seen, Cyrus decided to confer the title 'King of Babylon' on his son, reserving to himself the title 'King of the Countries'. The full meaning of this decision may be gathered from the Book of Daniel. We learn from that Book that the Persian monarch was attempting afresh what had been vainly attempted by Assyrian kings, viz. to form Babylon into a sub-kingdom.[4] To do this it was necessary to divide the Babylonian

[1] The Book of Daniel implies that the reign of Darius the Mede was short. In the 1st year of Darius the seventy years captivity, which ended in the first year of Cyrus, is spoken of as fast hastening to its close. See Dan. ix 1, 2. In Dan. xi 1 for 'the first year of Darius the Mede', both the LXX and Theodotion read 'the first year of Cyrus'. This equation is correct, since Cyrus and Cambyses began their reigns in the same year.

[2] According to Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* p. 679, the New Year festival extended over at least the first eleven days of Nisan.

[3] See *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. viii, Pt. 1. Text 58.

[4] Senacherib appointed his eldest son Ashur-nadin-shumu king of Babylon in subordination to himself. Esarhaddon appointed his younger son Shamash-shum-

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empire into two parts, assigning the home province, Babylonia, to a sub-king under the suzerainty of the Persian king, and including the rest of the empire—Elam on the one hand and the Palestinian states on the other—among the many conquered countries now under Persian rule. It is this impending change which is brought before the mind of the prophet Daniel when he interprets the last of the four mystic words traced on the wall of Belshazzar's palace: 'PERES; thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians.' If PERES had only meant 'divided' in the sense of 'broken to pieces', or 'broken away from thee', then the prophet would not have mentioned the Medes, for the play being on the word 'Persians', there was no need whatever to mention the Medes, but rather the reverse. But since the Medes are thus expressly mentioned as well as the Persians, we see that PERES has here its primary meaning, 'divided into two parts', and that the sense is, 'Thy kingdom will be divided between the two nations the Medes and the Persians'. Thus the contract-tablets record the fulfilment of Daniel's prediction, whilst that prediction explains the full significance of the two royal names found on the tablets.

The fifth chapter of Daniel ends with the announcement that 'Darius the Mede received the kingdom'. From whom did he receive it? From God, answers Dr Charles,[1] and he points back to the words just quoted, 'Thy kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and Persians'. In the light of those words such an interpretation might seem possible, but in the light of Dan. ix 1, where we are told that Darius 'was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans', it is seen to be impossible. For are not all kings made kings by God? When then we are told in plain matter-of-fact prose that a man 'was made king', what we understand is, that he did not make himself king, but was set on the throne by another; and this was certainly the case with the successor of Belshazzar, the Cambyses of the tablets, the Darius of the Book of Daniel, who was clearly placed on the throne by his father Cyrus.

We now come to the most obscure part of our subject: the question as to why Cambyses is called Darius, and also why he is described as a Mede. As we have just been studying the significance of the prediction contained in the word PERES, it may be best to take this last question first. According to Dan. ix 1 the new king was 'of the seed of the Medes', a Median by descent. In Cambyses's case this could only have been on his mother's side. Now Ctesias tells us in his *Persica* that after the defeat of Astyages king of the Medes and the capture of Ecbatana, Cyrus married Amytis, the daughter of Astyages,

ukin king of Babylon, under the suzerainty of his brother, Ashur-bani-pal, king of Assyria. In both cases the result was most disastrous.

[1] Century Bible *in loco*.

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and that Cambyses was the fruit of that marriage.[1] It was, then, as the child of a Median mother that Cambyses received the title 'Darius the Mede'. Such a title would be likely to conciliate the Medes; for it not only honoured them, but assured them of their share in the government of the empire. It might also conciliate the Babylonians, for their great Nebuchadnezzar, according to Alydenus, had married another Amytis of the same royal Median line. But it would be especially welcome to captive Judah. For Media, according to Isaiah's prophecy, had taken the chief part in putting down Assyria some seventy years before,[2] and just now in accordance with Jeremiah's prediction[3] had helped to subjugate Babylon; so that the title of the young king of Babylon sounded in the ears of the Jews like a fulfilment of prophecy; to them Persia was but a new friend, while Media had long been the champion of freedom. At the same time it is impossible to charge the writer of this Book of Daniel with any the least ignorance as to the pre-eminence of the Persians at this crisis. Not only does he inform us that Darius after the capture of Babylon 'received' the kingdom; but in a vision of a slightly earlier date—viz. the third year of Belshazzar—he sees the Medo-Persian kingdom as a ram with two horns. Both horns are high, but the one which came up last is the higher; i. e. Media is still a great power, but Persia is seen over-topping her.

It has been shewn in what sense Cambyses could be called a Mede, but what are we to say of the name Darius? Professor Sayce insists that 'the kings of Persia were contented with but one name', and that 'by that name alone they were known in all parts of their dominions'. He affirms that 'the son and successor of Cyrus is Cambyses in Babylon and the other provinces as well as in Persia and Egypt'.[4] It is quite true that in the few monuments of the Old Persian Empire which still remain to us, as well as on the Babylonian contract-tablets, Cambyses is always Cambyses. But this is insufficient ground on which to base

[1] See *The Persica*, excerpts 2 and 10. It is only incidentally that Ctesias informs us that Cambyses was the son of Amytis. Of the different stories told us by Greek historians of the connexion of Cyrus with the Median royal family that of Herodotus is the most legendary. If Cyrus was Astyages's heir, his own daughter's son, it was a most unnatural thing for the old king to seek to make away with his grandson. Far more likely is the version of Ctesias. By marrying Amytis, as this writer shews, Cyrus came to be looked upon as the legitimate successor of Astyages, so that when the news of the marriage reached the Bactrians, with whom he was then at war, they at once gave in their allegiance to Amytis and Cyrus. Excerpt. 2. It may be noted that the name Ἀστυΐγας, as written by Ctesias corresponds more closely with the cuneiform Ishtumvegu than the Ἀστυάγης of Herodotus. Ctesias himself was a prisoner in Persia from 417 to 398 B.C., and became court physician to Artaxerxes II.

[2] See *J.T.S.* for July 1913, p. 501.

[3] Jer. li 11, 28.

[4] *Higher Criticism* p. 543.

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the statement that the Persian kings had only one name. The testimony of Herodotus and of Josephus points the other way. Josephus, speaking of Darius the Mede, says that 'he was the son of Astyages and *had another name among the Greeks*'.[1] Both of these statements are deserving of notice. The first statement, viz. that Darius the Mede was the son of Astyages, approaches very nearly the statement of Ctesias that Darius was the son of the daughter of Astyages. But it is Josephus's second statement with which we are now most concerned, and I shall endeavour to shew from the pages of this historian that the other name of Darius by which he was known among the Greeks, and which appears at the moment to have slipped the writer's memory, was the name Cambyses. The proof lies thus:—when introducing Artaxerxes I, Josephus makes the following remark: 'After the death of Xerxes the kingdom came to be transferred to his son Cyrus, *whom the Greeks called Artaxerxes*'.[2] Here is an incidental proof that the Persian kings sometimes had two names, and it will be observed that in this instance the name Artaxerxes, by which the monarch was known to the Greeks, is the same name that we find alike on the Persian monuments and on the contract-tablets.[3] Hence it may be inferred in the case of 'Darius the Mede' that the other name, by which he was known among the Greeks, must have been the name Cambyses, since that is the name on the contract-tablets of the young king set up at Babylon by Cyrus in the place of Belshazzar; the name, too, of Cyrus's successor as found both on the tablets and on the Persian monuments. But Herodotus throws still further light on the matter. According to the father of history the names of some of the Persian kings—Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes—were appellatives rather than proper names. Moreover, the fact that Herodotus attaches a wrong meaning to these names does not altogether invalidate his testimony.[4] There is doubtless a residuum of truth in his statement. If then, in the case before us, the name Darius be an appellative, the bearer, as stated by Josephus, would have another name, his own proper name, which, as has just been shewn, was probably the name Cambyses.

[1] *Ant.* x 11. 4. [2] *Ibid.* xi 6. 1.

[3] See the inscription of Artaxerxes III found at Persepolis, in which he traces his descent from Artaxerxes I.

[4] Compare his statement that Persian proper names 'all end with the same letter —the letter which is called San by the Dorians and Sigma by the Ionians' (Bk. i 139). This is true except when they end in a vowel. According to Herodotus, Darius = 'Worker'; Xerxes = 'Warrior'; Artaxerxes = 'Great Warrior' (Bk. vi 98). Modern scholars have attached to these names the following meanings:—Darius, 'possessing wealth'; Xerxes, 'a royal person'; Artaxerxes, 'law of the kingdom', or 'he whose kingdom is lifted up'.

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In Dan. ix 1 it is said of Darius the Mede that he was the 'son', i. e. the descendant of Ahasuerus. The critics, who take Darius the Mede to be a reflexion into the past of Darius Hystaspes, see in this verse the confusion of a later age, since Darius Hystaspes was the father of Ahasuerus, i. e. Xerxes, and not his son. The answer is that Dan. ix 1 speaks distinctly of a Median, not a Persian, Ahasuerus, the distinction between the Medes and Persians being very clearly recognized in this Book, as well as their mutual relationship at the time of the capture of Babylon. In Tobit xiv 15, the writer of that romance identifies 'Assuerus' with the destroyer of Nineveh, i. e. with Cyaxares. It has been asserted that his object was to make his book harmonize with the Book of Daniel, in which case the closing verse of the Book of Tobit would form an early comment on Dan. ix 1. But, however that may be, the identification is a likely one for the two following reasons. In the first place the writer of this Book of Daniel, looking on the Median Darius as a deliverer, would like to note his descent from an earlier deliverer of the Chosen People, viz. the king who put down Assyria. Secondly, Cyaxares, as witnessed by the Behistun Inscription, was the pride of the Median monarchy just as Nebuchadnezzar was of the Babylonian, so that it would be natural to describe a king of the royal Median line as sprung from Cyaxares.[1]

We have now to examine the age assigned to Darius the Mede, viz. 'threescore and two years'. According to the Sippara Inscription of Nabonidus,[2] Cyrus defeated Astyages king of the Medes and captured Ecbatana in the third year of the reign of Nabonidus. It is also clear from the Annalistic Tablet that Babylon was taken by Cyrus in the seventeenth year of the reign of Nabonidus. If, then, Cyrus married Amytis the daughter of Astyages shortly after the conquest of Ecbatana, Cambyses would be quite young when he was appointed by his father to succeed Belshazzar. He might very well be 12 years old, and I shall now give some reason for thinking that 12, and not 62, was the original reading in Dan. v 31.

It is well known that inaccuracy in numbers is a common thing in the Old Testament; and the reason given is, that numbers were anciently indicated by letters of the alphabet, and that some of these letters being very much alike were often mistaken one for the other. The question then is, Were the letters of the alphabet so used by the Jews in copying their Sacred Writings in the age succeeding that of Daniel? We cannot say for certain, but there is a very strong proba-

[1] In the early years of Darius Hystaspes two imposters claimed to be sprung from Cyaxares, just as two had called themselves Nebuchadnezzar the son of Nabonidus.

[2] Col. i 28.

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bility that they were so used. The alphabetic psalms are an indication and almost an example of such a use. Another indication is that both in the Hebrew and in the Greek alphabet the letters down to the seventeenth letter inclusive have the same numerical values, as though such a system of numeration had prevailed before these alphabets parted company. The earliest example, however, of such a use in the case of the Greek alphabet dates from the reign of Ptolemy II, who died in 247 B. C. From Semitic sources the earliest example of the use of the letters for numerals occurs on the lion-weights from Nimrud, which belong to the latter part of the eighth century B. C. On these weights Beth, the second letter of the Semitic alphabet, appears to be used in the sense of 'double'.[1] Amongst the Jews the earliest, or almost the earliest, instance of such a use is found on the ancient silver shekels and half-shekels, which have been variously assigned to the age of Ezra, to that of the Maccabees, and to the time of the first revolt. The value, however, of the evidence afforded by these shekels depends, not so much on their age, as on their markedly conservative and religious character. The type of the alphabet employed on them is archaic, as compared with that used on the coins of the Asmonaean princes or on the coins of the second revolt. The letters, if not of the date of Ezra, are at least imitations of the older forms[2]; whilst both the symbols stamped on them and the superscriptions give them a distinctly sacred character. When then we find on these coins the number of the year given alphabetically, the strong presumption is that the letters of the alphabet were so used by the Jews, more especially in copying their Sacred Writings, at least as early as the fifth century B. C., to which the type of alphabet used on the shekels points back; and further, that in this fact we have the key to some of the numerical discrepancies of Holy Scripture.[3]

Now let us apply this to the case before us. The age of Darius the Mede, viz. 62, is expressed alphabetically by the letters Samekh Beth. We need not quarrel with the Beth, but Samekh, which stands for 60, must clearly be corrupt, if Darius is the same person as Cambyses. We turn then to the ancient Semitic alphabet, and study the various phases through which it passed in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C., to find what letter could most easily be confused with Samekh. It then becomes apparent that during the last quarter of the sixth century B. C.

[1] *Corp. Insc. Semiticarum*, vol. i, part 2, nos. 2, 3, 4.

[2] Most of the letters exhibit forms identical with, or only differing slightly from, those found in the Siloam Inscription.

[3] If the shekels belong to the era of the first revolt, A. D. 66–70, then the earliest use among the Jews of letters for numbers is found on a coin of Antigonus Mattathias 40–37 B.C., where שנ is used to indicate 'year 1'.

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and the first quarter of the following century there was a remarkable resemblance between the letters Samekh and Yod, so that a carelessly written Yod might easily be mistaken for a Samekh.[1] This is best seen in the inscription on the Teima stone. In line 13 of this inscription Yod appears as the second letter, and in the following line Yod is the first letter and Samekh the third, so that we have the two characters in convenient juxta-position.[2] Now, if for Samekh Beth we read Yod Beth, the age of Darius is reduced from 62 to 12, and as we have seen 12 would be a very likely age for Cambyses at the time of the taking of Babylon, supposing him to be the son of a Median princess born about a year after the capture of Ecbatana. It deserves also to be pointed out that this is not the only place in the Old Testament where such a mistake has been made. In Isa. vii 8 occurs a prophecy that has sorely perplexed the commentators: 'Within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken in pieces, that it be not a people.' Duhm pronounces this an ancient gloss, on the ground that 'a late annotator would almost certainly have dated the extermination of Ephraim from the destruction of Samaria in 721, about fifteen years after Isaiah spoke'.[3] But if Yod has been mistaken for Samekh, then the difficulty at once vanishes; the words are no gloss, and 15—not 65—is the true reading.

With regard to the personality and the age of Darius the Mede the LXX reading of the passage is remarkable and deserving of attention. It runs thus: 'The kingdom was taken away from the Chaldeans and was given to the Medes and to the Persians. And Artaxerxes, who was of the Medes, received the kingdom. And Darius was full of days and was honoured in his old age.' The LXX is the earliest interpreter of the Book of Daniel. The LXX translator interprets, accommodates, and alters, according to his own ideas, so as to make the Book square with history.[4] The abrupt way in which he introduces Darius is proof that the original text has here been doctored by him, and clumsily doctored. What was his motive? Was he aware that Cyrus appointed Cambyses to the throne of Babylon and that Cambyses could not possibly have been 62 years old at his accession? As Josephus identifies the Artaxerxes of Ezra iv 8 with Cambyses,[5] it is just possible that by Artaxerxes the LXX translator means Cambyses. The number 62 he evidently looks upon with distrust; yet, in view of the power

[1] Compare the forms of these letters in Pl. XIII, columns 4, 5, and 6, of G. A. Cooke's *North Semitic Inscriptions*.

[2] *Corp. Insc. Semiticarum*, Pl. IX, no. 113. See also the frontispiece to *The Biblical World*, June 1909.

[3] See the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges* on Isa. vii 8.

[4] See *Daniel and his Prophecies* by the late Dr Wright, pp. 201, 203, 208, 212, 216.

[5] *Ant.* xi 2. 1.

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placed in the hands of Darius, he deems it advisable to describe him as an aged and honoured statesman.

But the best proof of the youthful age of Darius the Mede is to be found in that most touching story of the lion's den. For into whose presence did the presidents and satraps 'come tumultuously'?[1] Into the presence of a man of sixty-two years wielding the rod of empire? Hardly so: but they might break in thus on a boy of twelve. Again: who is it, whose whole heart goes out to the aged prophet in those sympathetic words, 'Thy God whom thou servest continually, he will deliver thee'? Who is it, who passes the night fasting, cannot sleep, rises early, and goes in haste to the den? An oriental despot, whose heart is hardened by sixty-two years' contact with the world? Nay rather, such words, such actions, suit better a youthful, generous, impulsive nature, a nature as yet unspoiled. The story speaks for itself. No elderly man would be likely to act in the way Darius acted.

I have spoken of Darius as wielding the rod of empire, and such language is agreeable to the description of his administration given in Dan. vi 1, 2 and also to the terms of his royal decree at the close of that chapter. But how does this tally with his position as a sub-king, merely invested with the sovereignty of Babylon. The answer is that he was sub-king under his father, and might thus possess something of his father's authority. Such a supposition is confirmed and established by the tone and language of the Cylinder of Cyrus. The following passage shews that Cyrus had associated his son Cambyses with himself in the government of the empire: 'Merodach, the great lord . . . established a decree. Unto me, Cyrus the king, his worshipper, and Cambyses my son, the offspring of my heart, and to all my people, he graciously drew nigh, and in peace before them we duly marched',[2] i. e. the king and his son, as true shepherds, marched at the head of their people. Compare also the following: 'Let Cyrus the king thy worshipper and Cambyses his son accomplish the desire of their heart.'[3] In view of such language I see nothing strange either in the administrative acts of Darius or in the terms of his decrees as recorded in Dan. vi.

One further evidence of the historical value of the narrative contained in that chapter comes to us from an unexpected quarter. The Aramaic papyri of the fifth century B. C., discovered at Elephantine in Egypt, exhibit a type of Aramaic which presents many points of resemblance to that found in the Book of Daniel. They also corroborate in a remarkable manner the story of Dan. vi. In the seventeenth year of Darius Nothus, 407 B. C., the Jews of Elephantine, complaining to

[1] Dan. vi 6, 11, 15 R.V.M. The same Aramaic word is used in the Targum on Ruth i 19.

[2] Cylinder of Cyrus Obv. lines 26–28.

[3] *Ibid.* Obv. lines 35–36.

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Bagoas, the Persian governor of Judaea, of the destruction of their temple by the priests of the Egyptian god Khnub, speak thus: 'When Cambyses came into Egypt he found this temple built. And though the temples of the gods of Egypt were then all thrown down, no one injured anything in this temple.' Now why did Cambyses spare the temple of Jehovah at Elephantine? Because the Jews were monotheists much like the Persians? Yes, possibly: but the Book of Daniel supplies a better answer. Cambyses had not forgotten Daniel the Jew, nor the wonderful deliverance wrought by the God of Daniel, nor the royal decree which he himself had put forth only some thirteen years before. To him Daniel's God—the Jahu of the temple at Elephantine—must have appeared one with the Persian Ormuzd—'He is the living God and steadfast for ever, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.'

When the above arguments are duly considered and the matter has been yet more thoroughly searched into, the author of this paper ventures to hope that this Book of Daniel will no longer be regarded as a work of the second century B. C., but as the work of an author who was thoroughly conversant with the events which he describes.

CHARLES BOUTFLOWER.

NOTE 1. Certain tablets in Strassmaier's Cyrus, on which Cyrus is styled 'King of Babylon', are wrongly dated, so that they appear to fall into the interval of ten months or so during which that title was held by his son Cambyses. These are as follows:—

(1) No. 13, dated Cyr.(?) 1. 1. 10. This tablet is much obliterated. The name 'Cyrus' is uncertain, as indicated by Strassmaier. Equally uncertain are the words 'King of Babylon'.

(2) No. 18, dated Cyr. 1. 5. 30. This tablet reads thus:—

'576 sheep from the month Tebet
the 1st year of Cyrus king of Babylon
to the 30th day of the month Ab' &c.

The inscription shews that Cyrus was 'king of Babylon' in Tebet—the 10th month—of his first year. As the day of the month is not mentioned, the tablet should be dated 1. 10. 0.

(3) No. 19, dated Cyr. 1. 7. 16. On this tablet the number of the year is uncertain. It is indicated by a perpendicular wedge at the end of the fifth line. But the character used as a determinative after numerals, which ought therefore to follow this wedge, is wanting, i. e. the line is incomplete. Hence the number of the year itself may be incomplete. There may just as well have been two or three perpendicular wedges as one, i. e. the tablet may quite as possibly

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belong to the second or third year of Cyrus as to his first year. It cannot, however, belong to a later year than the third, since only the numbers 1, 2, and 3 are indicated by perpendicular wedges.

(4) No. 20, dated Cyr. (?) 1. 8. 17. The name 'Cyrus' does not appear on this tablet.

NOTE 2. From the time of the earliest inscription extant, viz. the Calendar of Gezer, *circa* 1000 B. C., down to the end of the first quarter of the fifth century B. C., Yod maintained the same archaic form which we meet with on the ancient Hebrew shekels, i. e. exactly like our capital Z with the addition of a short central parallel bar on the left side of the transverse bar. After the first quarter of the fifth century B. C. this letter very rapidly drew in its horns, so that by the end of the fourth century B. C. the 'jot' (Matt. v 18) was already the smallest letter in the alphabet. With Samekh the case was different. This letter ran through a great variety of forms. In its most ancient form, as seen in the Gezer Calendar, it consists of three parallel horizontal bars, crossed by a perpendicular bar, which begins a little above the highest parallel and is bisected by the lowest. A little later, during the ninth and the first half of the eighth century B. C., the perpendicular bar began at the highest of the parallels. This is the form of the letter on the Moabite Stone, the stele of Zakir king of Hamath, and the earliest of the Zenjerli inscriptions. After the middle of the eighth century B. C. the perpendicular bar instead of crossing the parallels is merely drawn from the lowest, so that we have two horizontal parallels and beneath them a capital T. This form of the letter is found on the Zenjerli inscription of Bar-rekub, 745–727 B. C. Presently, in order to write the character more easily, the three horizontal parallels were exchanged for a zigzag, the perpendicular being added below. This is the form which the letter assumes on a contract-tablet dated the 1st year of Nabonidus, 554 B. C. But a further change was soon to follow. During the closing decades of the sixth century B. C. and throughout the fifth century Samekh was drawn like a capital Z, tilted somewhat to the left side and with two additional strokes added to it: first, as in the case of Yod, a short parallel bar on the left side of the transverse; secondly, a tail, drawn from the right hand extremity of the lowest bar parallel to the transverse. This form of the letter is found in use on a contract-tablet from Babylon dated the fourth year of Cambyses, 525 B. C., on an inscription from Memphis dated the fourth year of Xerxes, 482 B. C., and also on the lion-weight from Abydos; in all three instances along with the archaic form of Yod described above, from which it differs only by the addition of the aforementioned tail.[1] The Teima Stone, referred to above,

[1] See *Corp. Insc. Semiticarum*, vol. i, part 2. On Plate V, compare the Yod in 64*a* with the Samekh in 64*b*. Also on Plate VII, 108*a*, compare the three Samekhs

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belongs to the same period, viz. the end of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century B. C. It will be noted that the possibility of a Yod having been thus mistaken for a Samekh in Dan. v 31 presupposes that this Book must have been written not later than the first quarter of the fifth century B. C.

NOTE 3. Since writing this article my attention has been drawn to a most important paper by Dr Pinches in the *Expository Times* for April 1915, entitled 'Fresh Light on the Book of Daniel'.

Among a collection of contract-tablets from Erech Dr Pinches has deciphered one, dated the 22nd day of the additional month of Adar, the 12th year of Nabonidus, which commences thus: 'Ishi-Amurrū, son of Nurânu, has sworn by Bêl, Nebo, the Lady of Erech, and Nanâ, the oath of Nabonidus king of Babylon, and Belshazzar, the king's son, that "on the 7th day of the month Adar of the 12th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, I will go to Erech"', &c., &c. On this tablet Dr Pinches makes the following observation: 'The importance of this inscription is that it places Belshazzar practically on the same plane as Nabonidus, his father, five years before the latter's deposition, and the bearing of this will not be overlooked. Officially Belshazzar had not been recognized as king, as this would have necessitated his father's abdication, but it seems clear that he was in some way associated with him on the throne, otherwise his name would hardly have been introduced into the oath with which the inscription begins. We now see that not only for the Hebrews, but also for the Babylonians, Belshazzar held a practically royal position. The conjecture as to Daniel's being made the third ruler in the kingdom because Nabonidus and Belshazzar were the first and second is thus confirmed, and the mention of Belshazzar's 3rd year in Dan. viii 1 is explained.'

THE READING IN 2 CORINTHIANS iii 17 (*τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου*).

THE passage (*v.* 15–*v.* 18) runs thus: *ἕως σήμερον ἡνίκα ἂν ἀναγινώσκηται Μωυσῆς κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν κεῖται· ἡνίκα δὲ ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς Κύριον, περιαιρεῖται τὸ κάλυμμα. ὁ δὲ Κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν· οὗ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου, ἐλευθερία. ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, καθάπερ ἀπὸ Κυρίου πνεύματος.*

and two Yods in a short inscription of five words. Again on Plate XI, 122 *a*, compare the Yods and Samekhs in אוסרי and אבסלי.

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Dr Hort in his Introduction (*Notes on Select Readings* p. 119) noticed that a question arises as to the words in *v.* 17 *οὗ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου.* His words will be the best starting-point for a discussion of the problem which this Pauline passage suggests. He wrote thus: 'These words contain no obvious difficulty: yet it may be suspected that *Κυρίου* is a primitive error for *κύριον* (Y for N). First, the former clause of the verse does not in sense lead naturally up to this clause, whether the emphasis be laid on *πνεῦμα* or on *Κυρίου* (or *κυρίου*). Secondly, in *ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος* at the end of *v.* 18 neither principal word can naturally be taken as a substantive dependent on the other, nor both as substantives in apposition. The simplest construction is to take *κυρίου* as an adjective ("a Spirit exercising lordship", or, by a paraphrase, "a Spirit which is Lord") . . . This adjectival use of *κυρίου* in the genitive would however be so liable to be misunderstood, or even overlooked altogether, that St Paul could hardly use it without some further indication of his meaning. If he wrote *οὗ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα κύριον, ἐλευθερία,* not only do the two clauses of *v.* 17 fall into natural sequence, but a clue is given which conducts at once to the true sense of *ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος*'.

So far Dr Hort. I now propose (1) to examine somewhat more closely the words *τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου*; (2) to shew why in my judgement Dr Hort's solution of the problem is untenable; (3) to put forward and to support another solution.

(1) I take the words *τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου.* St Paul has just referred to Exod. xxxiv 34 as it stands in the LXX—*ἡνίκα δ' ἂν εἰσεπορεύετο Μωσῆς ἐναντι Κυρίου λαλεῖν αὐτῷ, περιῃρεῖτο τὸ κάλυμμα ἕως τοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι.* His quotation is substantially, though not verbally, correct. He at once identifies 'the Lord' in the quotation (*πρὸς Κύριον . . . ὁ δὲ Κύριος*: the article being the article of reference) and 'the Spirit' (see *vv.* 3, 6, 8). That identification is obviously meant to be of importance in the progress of St Paul's thought. We therefore expect that he will develop the idea or draw some inference from it. What, however, is the fact? The word *ὁ Κύριος* does indeed reappear in the *Κυρίου* of the next clause; but in the phrase *τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου* the notion of possession or source is substituted for that of identification. The result is that the emphatic clause *ὁ δὲ Κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν,* which has the ring of triumphant assertion in it, is left isolated and aimless, and the succeeding clause (with the common-place phrase *τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου*) is unconnected in thought with what has gone before. Thus, if we look closely into St Paul's sentences at this point of a very characteristic passage where he is deeply moved and where therefore every word ought to tell, we are conscious of a sudden dislocation in the thought and of a halting in the language.

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We next turn to the question of usage. St Paul has several times after πνεῦμα a genitive (expressing the divine possessor or source) as in the context of our present passage πνεύματι θεοῦ ζῶντος (*v.* 3). Thus we have πνεῦμα θεοῦ (Rom. viii 9, 14, 1 Cor. vii 40, xii 3, Phil. iii 3); τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ (1 Cor. ii 11, 14, vi 11, Eph. iv 30); πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ (Rom. viii 9). But (unless it be in this passage) St Paul never has in any of its possible Greek forms the phrase 'the Spirit of the Lord'. Further, in the Greek O. T. the phrase πνεῦμα Κυρίου occurs some nineteen times but never the phrase τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου. In the N. T. St Luke (whose mind is saturated with the language of the LXX) is the only writer who uses the term 'the Spirit of the Lord'. In two passages—St Luke iv 18 (quoted from Isaiah lxi 1) and Acts viii 39 (based on 3 Kings xviii 12, 4 Kings ii 16)—he uses the LXX phrase πνεῦμα Κυρίου: while in one passage he has τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου (Acts v 9 πειράσαι τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου). Thus in only one other place of the Greek Bible is the exact phrase found which meets us in this passage of St Paul. If it is said that the article before πνεῦμα in 2 Cor. iii 17 is the article of reference, then I think that it must be said that a similar article of reference would naturally have been added before Κυρίου. It cannot of course be maintained that the argument drawn from usage—the usage of St Paul and the usage of the Greek Bible generally—is conclusive against the words τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου in the passage under discussion. But at least that argument confirms the conclusion to which a study of the context has already led us.

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amanuensis to write. The words which St Paul dictated to the scribe were, I believe,

ογδετοπνεγμακγριεγειελεγθερια.[1]

Clearly it would be the easiest and most natural thing for the original scribe, or the transcriber of a very early copy, when he was in process of writing the word κγριεγει to substitute an ο for the first ε. When that was done, two results would at once follow.

(1) The simple, obvious, familiar Κυρίου would take an unquestioned place in the text. (2) The two letters ει would seem to be a blunder and be eliminated from the text. Possibly the copyist supposed that his predecessor had written wrongly the first two letters of the following word ελεγθερια and had allowed them to remain in the text though he immediately afterwards wrote the word ἐλευθερία correctly.

My suggestion then is that St Paul intended the two sentences to run thus—*ὁ δὲ* **Κύριος** *τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν· οὗ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα κυριεύει, ἐλευθερία.*

What then are the arguments which support this conjecture?

(i) If we adopt this conjecture, the term used to denote '(the) Spirit' is consistently maintained—*πνεύματος* (*v.* 6), *τὸ πνεῦμα* (*v.* 6), *τοῦ πνεύματος* (*v.* 8), *τὸ πνεῦμα* (*v.* 17 *a*), *τὸ πνεῦμα* (*v.* 17 *b*), *πνεύματος* (*v.* 18). The personality of 'the Spirit' becomes clearer in St Paul's thought as he proceeds. In this connexion the unity of the passage is of real moment; and the unity of the passage largely depends on consistency of phraseology.

(ii) If we adopt this conjecture, there is in *v.* 17 a true sequence of thought. 'The "Lord" and the "Spirit" are one. But this identification implies that the Spirit possesses a lordship. Where this lordship is exercised, there there is liberty.'

(iii) If we adopt this conjecture, we introduce in this passage a verb which St Paul uses five times in this group of his Epistles—Rom. vi 9 *θάνατος αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι κυριεύει*, vi 14 *ἁμαρτία γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐ κυριεύσει*, vii 1 *ὁ νόμος κυριεύει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κτλ.*, xiv 9 *ἵνα καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ*, 2 Cor. i 24 *οὐχ ὅτι κυριεύομεν ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως*. The word (which is fairly common in the LXX) is therefore characteristic of St Paul's vocabulary at this time. If it is objected that in our passage emended as I propose the verb is used absolutely, whereas in the five passages cited above it is followed by a genitive indicating over whom or over what the domination is exercised, a twofold answer is ready to hand:

[1] There is another possible conjecture, viz., that St Paul meant the scribe to write *οὗ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα* **Κύριος**, *ἐλευθερία*. But it seems to me that *κυριεύει* is greatly superior in force and vigour to **Κύριος**, the mere repetition of the word in the previous clause. The word *κυριεύει*, while it recalls that word, draws an inference from it. Moreover, the three substantives *πνεῦμα*, **Κύριος**, *ἐλευθερία*, standing one after another, would be, to say the least, awkward. It should be added that it is as easy to suppose that **Κυρίου** is derived from *κυριεύει*, as to suppose that it is derived from **Κύριος**.

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The first is found in Irenaeus III vi 4 Mass. (where the Latin Version alone is extant) 'Et ego igitur invoco te, Domine . . . qui fecisti caelum et terram, qui *dominaris* omnium . . . per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum *dominationem* quoque dona *Spiritus Sancti*'. The Latin words *dominari*, *dominatio* in this passage are almost certainly renderings of κυριεύειν and κυριότης (see the Greek and the Latin version in V ix 4). The words of Irenaeus might well have been suggested by the phrase οὗ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα κυριεύει in 2 Cor. iii 17 (a passage which Irenaeus, I believe, does not quote in his extant writings); but they are in themselves so natural that they do not require a Scriptural source to account for them. The second passage is Tertullian *de Baptismo* iv 'Spiritus enim dominatur, caro famulatur'. Tertullian here uses the Latin words which are an exact translation of τὸ πνεῦμα κυριεύει. The context, however, shews that the reference is rather to that spirit 'qui est auctor delicti'. It would be more than precarious to argue that Tertullian is unconsciously using a Scriptural phrase but giving it a new application. I conclude, therefore, that the emendation κυριεύει in 2 Cor. iii 17 must be regarded as reversing a strictly 'primitive error'.

F. H. Ely.

THE CHURCHES AT WINCHESTER IN THE EARLY ELEVENTH CENTURY.

The Cathedral of Winchester has so large a place in my boyish recollections that it has been a special pleasure to me, when working at the early history and MSS of the Cathedral of Worcester, to find how close and intimate was the connexion between the two churches. In any Worcester kalendar of the eleventh or twelfth century we should be fairly certain to find that next in importance to the commemoration of the local saints Egwin and Oswald came the commemoration of the Winchester worthies, St Birinus, St Swithun, and St Judoc. Among Archbishop Parker's MSS at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, no. 146 is a Winchester Pontifical of about the year 1000 which has received additions, before and after the original nucleus, made for bishop Samson a hundred years later. The MS with which I am now concerned was also written at Winchester, not very much later than the C. C. C. book, and also taken at some early date to Worcester. It is still preserved in the Worcester Chapter Library, where it bears the number F 173: but the hand of time has dealt hardly with it, and only 30 leaves remain,

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besides two parts of leaves. What remains has been carefully mounted and beautifully bound: by the kindness of Canon J. M. Wilson, the Librarian, I have been able to examine it at leisure in the Bodleian.

The greater part of the extant leaves is taken up with the Offices of Unction of the Sick, Prayers for the Dying, and Burial of the Dead. It is part of the last of these offices that I am here printing: the body of the deceased brother is taken to the surrounding churches, and a prayer is said at each. The first, with reference to the Blessed Virgin and St Benedict 'our patron', is doubtless introductory: the next two, St Michael the archangel and the Virgin Mary respectively, may also be general, or they may refer to two churches outside the monastery in some one direction. In either case the scene of the next prayer is the mother Church, mention being made of Birinus, Swithun, Ethelwold, 'and all the saints whose relics are contained in this monastery'. The three following prayers imply a church or chapel of St George, another of St Gregory, and another (a nunnery?) of St Mary and all holy virgins. After this comes the prayer 'in the church of the New Monastery', the only instance in which the *locale* is definitely mentioned in the rubric, though the names of the saints, St Peter, St Judoc, and St Grimbald would in any case have made the identification easy. At this point comes the Mass, and afterwards the wandering of the corpse is resumed, and the churches visited are St Thomas, St Maurice with St Pantaleon, St Michael, and St Ethelwold.

TEXT (*fol.* 21 *a*)

Post hec portetur corpus defuncti ad alias circumstantes ecclesias cum antiphonis et psalmis atque ad singulas ponatur ecclesias · et oratione dominica cantata dicatur a sacerdote ·

Et ne nos inducas · Requiem eternam · A porta inferi · Requiescat in pace · Amen ·

Oremus·

Deus cui proprium est misereri semper et pa[r]cere, suscipe propitius orationem nostram, et intercedente beata Dei genitrice semperque virgine Maria et beato Benedicto patrono nostro, anime famuli tui remissionem omnium tribue peccatorum, ut quem delictorum catena constringit miseratio tue pietatis absolvat, per eum qui venturus ·

Tuam Deus deposcimus·

Oratio·

Ascendant ad te Domine preces nostre, et animam famuli tui gaudia eterna suscipiant, et quem fecisti adoptionis participem, intercedente beato Michaele archangelo, iubeas hereditatis tue consortem habere · per eum qui ·

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Alia·

Presta quesumus omnipotens et misericors Deus · ut beata semper virgine MARIA intercedente, animam famuli in congregatione iustorum eterne beatitudinis iubeas esse consortem · per eum ·

Alia·

Deus cuius misericordie nullus est numerus, suscipe preces nostras, et intercedentibus sanctis confessoribus tuis · BYRINO · et SUUITHUNO atque ATHELUUOLDO omnibusque sanctis quorum reliquie in hoc continentur monasterio, anime famuli tui lucis letitiam concede, atque in regione vivorum sanctorum tuorum tribue societatem · per eum ·

Alia·

Propitiare Domine supplicationibus nostris, et intercedente beato GEORGIO martire tuo animam famuli tui in regione vivorum eternis gaudis iubeas sociari · per eum ·

Alia·

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus · suscipere dignare preces nostras, et intercedente beato GREGORIO omnibusque sanctis confessoribus tuis, anime famuli tui pacem concede perpetuam et requiem sempiternam · per eum ·

Alia·

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, cui numquam sine spe misericordie supplicatur, intercedente beata Dei genetrice semperque virgine MARIA omnibusque sanctis virginibus tuis, propitiare anime famuli tui atque eam sanctorum tuorum numero facias adgregari · per eum ·

Oratio in Novi Monasterii ecclesia·

Deus venie largitor et humane salutis amator, quesumus inmensam clementiam tuam, ut intercedente beato PETRO principe apostolorum, et coapostolo eius Paulo omnibusque apostolis necnon et beatis confessoribus tuis IUDOCO atque GRIMBALDO, omnibusque sanctis in hoc venerando monasterio quiescentibus, animam famuli tui ad perpetue beatitudinis consortium pervenire concedas · per eum ·

Post hec dicatur missa et post missam deportetur corpus defuncti (ad alias circum ?) positas ecclesias cum antiphonis et quindecim psalmis atque orationibus.

Annue quesumus Domine ut anima famuli tui cunctorum nexibus expedita delictorum, intercedente beato THOMA omnibus[que] apostolis tuis, libertatem eternorum consequatur gaudiorum · per eum ·

Alia·

Deus cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere, intercedente beato MAURICIO cum socii[s] suis et beato PANTALEONE cum omnibus martyri-

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bus tuis, propitiare animę famuli tui, et omnia eius peccata dimitte, ut mortis vinculis absoluta transire mereatur ad vitam · per eum ·

Alia·

Presta quesumus Domine, ut intercedente beato Michaele archangelo omnibusque angelorum ordinibus atque omnium cęlestium virtutum deprecationibus, anima famuli tui omnium purgata contagiis peccatorum, indulgentiam pariter et requiem capiat sempiternam · per eum ·

Alia·

Adiuva nos Domine Deus noster, et beati Atheluuoldi omniumque sanctorum confessorum tuorum precibus exoratus, animam famuli tui in beatitudine sempiternę lucis constitue · per eum ·

Alia·

Miserere quesumus Domine anime famuli tui cuius sepeliendi corporis officium celebramus, et presta ut omnium sanctorum tuorum interventionibus a cunctis peccatorum absoluta contagiis, eternis paradisy restituatur gaudiis · per eum qui ·

Aperite illi portas iustitie *etc.*

C. H. TURNER.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA AND ART.

CLEMENT's first book, the *Protrepticus*, consists largely of an attack on Greek image-worship, and his other works contain many references to this side of the old religions. Light is thus thrown on the view of Art held by Clement and by the Christian Church of his day. The present study is an attempt to estimate this view from an examination of all Clement's words that bear upon it. Brief reference will also be made to its historical origin, as well as to its modification by the Church in later ages.

I

Clement cannot be called an original thinker. He is what alone he claims to be, the exponent of a tradition which has received shape long before his time.[1] Even in regard to the slighter details of interpretation

[1] Cp. ii 8^{17-20} (322) where Clement describes his *Stromateis* as *εἴδωλον ἀτεχνῶς καὶ σκιαγραφία τῶν ἐναργῶν καὶ ἐμψύχων ἐκείνων, ὧν κατηξιώθην ἐπακοῦσαι.* So also ii 9^{6-8} (322–323) *Ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀληθῆ τῆς μακαρίας σῴζοντες διδασκαλίας παράδοσιν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ Πέτρου τε καὶ Ἰακώβου Ἰωάννου τε καὶ Παύλου τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων . . . ἦκον δὴ σὺν θεῷ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τὰ προγονικὰ ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀποστολικὰ καταθησόμενοι σπέρματα.*

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he generally reproduces earlier teaching; witness, for instance, his constant drawing upon the works of Philo.[1] Of the Christian tradition as he understood it there are two fountain-heads, Israel and Greece—the Israel, that is, of the prophets and the Greece of the philosophers. Clement's attitude towards Art, as towards everything else, is traceable in the last resort to these sources. In the case of Israel the authority on which he depended and to which he appealed was of course the Old Testament. This he regarded as being continued and completed in the New Testament, and he lays down that both Old and New are to be interpreted so as to agree with each other.[2] The New Testament is not greatly concerned with Art as such,[3] but the prophetic teaching of the Old Testament was uncompromisingly opposed at any rate to the plastic arts as being bound up with idolatry. This is Clement's own position and, as his words lead us to suppose, the position of the Alexandrine Church in his time.[4] On the other hand Clement is undoubtedly a Greek, as is shewn by his love of knowledge, his fearless enquiring spirit, his moderation, not to speak of his undisguised reverence for the best teachers of Greece. His kinship, however, is with the philosophers, not with the common people. There was a wide gulf between these two classes, just as between prophets and people in Israel; and Greek philosophers from Heracleitus onwards had derided the popular beliefs and practices.[5] But that form of intellectual enquiry which soars above the common instincts of mankind and takes refuge finally in pure ideas is not likely to value highly the concrete activity which gives rise to Art. Thinking rather than acting comes to be looked upon as the highest work of man. Accordingly, when Plato treats of the art of painting he describes it as producing nothing more than an 'imitation of a phantasm',[6] a thing three degrees removed from reality. The same reasoning must apply to a statue. It is this argu-

The references are to volume, page, and line in Stählin's edition of Clement, and the bracketed figures to Potter's pages.

[1] See i 5^{23}–6^{6}; i 18^{23-29}; i 52^{22}–53^{6}; with Stählin's references in each case. These are from the *Protrepticus* alone. In his other works Clement is even more indebted to Philo: to name only one instance, *Strom.* i 23 is taken almost entirely from the *De vita Mosis*.

[2] iii 70^{30-31} (894) *τὴν ἀλήθειαν διὰ τῆς ἀκολουθίας τῶν διαθηκῶν σαφηνίζοντες*; iii 73^{2-3} (896) *παρὸν τὰς οἰκείας ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν γραφῶν πορίζεσθαι ἀποδείξεις.*

[3] If we may except Acts xvii 16. Idolatry of course is condemned throughout.

[4] i 47^{28-29} (54) *ἀπηγόρευται ἡμῖν* (i.e. to Christians) *ἀναφανδὸν ἀπατηλὸν ἐργάζεσθαι τέχνην. "οὐ γὰρ ποιήσεις", φησὶν ὁ προφήτης, "παντὸς ὁμοίωμα, ὅσα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ γῇ κάτω"*. The second commandment is thus taken as literally binding.

[5] Clement quotes with approval a sarcastic utterance of Heracleitus. See i 39^{10-11} (44) *καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασι τουτέοισιν εὔχονται, ὁκοῖον εἴ τις τοῖς δόμοις λεσχηνεύοιτο.*

[6] Plato *Republic* 598 B *φαντάσματος μίμησις.*

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ment that Clement uses in support of his attack upon images. There is a final reality or idea of man, namely the Word, of whom man's mind is the image. Statues, however, are not even an image of the mind; they can only be images of the body, and they are therefore, in Plato's own words, 'far removed from the truth'.[1] Thus artistic representation, instead of being an embodiment of ideas, a help towards the perception of reality, becomes in theory a positive hindrance. It keeps the mind fixed on the outward and material, and prevents it from ascending to the contemplation of what is spiritual and abiding. The more perfect the Art, the more surely will this result follow.[2] And if the plea is raised that Art gives pleasure, Clement's opposition is only intensified. The pleasure of the senses is for him a dangerous thing, to be avoided as far as possible. It is chiefly because Epicurus held pleasure to be an end that Clement denies him the respect and praise he so readily grants to all other philosophers.[3]

So Clement, influenced partly by the moral repugnance of Hebrew prophets, and partly by an intellectual contempt which arose out of the theories of Greek philosophers, may be said, generally speaking, to regard Art with suspicion.

II

But although Clement suspects Art, he has a keen perception of artistic beauty. In fact it is this very beauty which causes his fear. For Art beguiles the mind to such an extent that it has before now proved itself a 'procuress', luring men on to the pit of destruction.[4] Such is his comment on stories like that of Pygmalion. We are reminded of Tennyson's 'procuress to the lords of hell', except that the offender in his case is not Art but 'divine philosophy'—a curious contrast. Clement takes his stand on the assertion, incontrovertible as he thinks, that Art cannot be separated from idolatry.[5] The statues are certainly beautiful; and he admits that the Greeks took great pains to shape

[1] i 71^{26-31} (78–79) *εἰκὼν δὲ τοῦ λόγου ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἀληθινός, ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, . . . ἀνθρώπου δὲ τοῦ ὁρωμένου τοῦ γηγενοῦς γήινος εἰκὼν τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἀνδρείκελα καὶ πόρρω τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπίκαιρον ἐκμαγεῖον καταφαίνεται.*

[2] i 35^{25-26} (41) *ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἥνθησεν ἡ τέχνη, ηὔξησεν ἡ πλάνη.*

[3] ii 178^{1-2} (491–492) *τὸν Ἐπίκουρον τέλος εἶναι τοῦ φιλοσόφου . . . θέσθαι τὴν ἡδονήν.* See also ii 182^{5} (495). Epicurus is condemned also for his 'atheism': i 51^{6-7} (58).

[4] i 45^{4-5} (51) *τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν ἀπατῆσαι τέχνη προαγωγὸς ἀνθρώποις ἐρωτικοῖς εἰς βάραθρον γενομένη.*

[5] i 44^{23-24} (50) *Ἰτέον οὖν ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα ἐγγυτάτω τῶν ἀγαλμάτων, ὡς οἰκεία ἡ πλάνη κἀκ τῆς προσόψεως ἐλέγχηται.* Tertullian uses the same argument. But he will not admit the beauty of the statues, as Clement does. Artistic gifts were bestowed on man by the daemons for the purpose of enticing him away from the true God: *De Spectaculis* 10.

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them to the 'highest possible pitch of beauty'.[1] Let Art have its due praise,[2] he says; but let it not delude men into thinking its productions to be more than they really are. From this point of view, which is Hebrew in origin, Clement's objection is not to Art itself, but to its associations. The statue is taken for God. This cannot be right, for no man could make God.[3] Clement is well aware that no sculptor fashioning an image ever thought he was making God, and it is this perhaps that leads him to spend much time in mentioning by name the makers of the best known statues, shewing that they were all mere human artists.[4] But he knows the effect of time and mythology.[5] The statue, which may have begun by being the genuine expression of a spiritual idea, ends by usurping the place of the idea and by claiming for itself, material and lifeless as it is, the reverence due only to that which it was meant to express. So he feels justified in condemning temples as well as statues with all the sarcasm of an Isaiah. How can a man circumscribe the infinite and incomprehensible? What work of craftsmen can be called holy? Better worship the ether or the universe.[6] In the same strain he rails at the impotence of temples and statues to resist the insults of man or the ravages of nature.[7] They are, in short, nothing but earth and Art,[8] and entirely useless to human life.

Here then we have the rejection of Art on moral and religious grounds. It is wrong to pray before a statue; therefore it is wrong to make a statue. But the identification of the statue with the idea it symbolized was of course merely an accident. No Greek who thought for a moment could believe that Zeus the Cloudgatherer was confined within a piece of marble at Athens or Elis. The true justification of

[1] i 48^{2-3} (54) *ὑμεῖς μὲν ὅπως ποτὲ ὁ ἀνδριὰς ὅτι μάλιστα ὡραιότατος τεκταίνηται προσκαρτερεῖτε.*

[2] i 45^{15} (51) *ἐπαινείσθω ἡ τέχνη.*

[3] iii 20^{23-25} (845) *γελοῖον μεντἂν εἴη, ὡς αὐτοί φασιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι, ἄνθρωπον, ὄντα "παίγνιον θεοῦ", θεὸν ἐργάζεσθαι.*

[4] i 35^{20}–38^{4} (41–43).

[5] i 43^{9-12} (49) *τετίμηκεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ μῦθος καὶ ὁ χρόνος. φιλεῖ γάρ πως τὰ μὲν παρόντα συνηθείᾳ καταφρονεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ παρῳχηκότα τοῦ παραυτίκα ἐλέγχου κεχωρισμένα χρόνων ἀδηλίᾳ τετιμῆσθαι τῷ πλάσματι.* This is said with reference to departed heroes; but the thought is equally applicable to statues.

[6] iii 20^{18-28} (845) *Ἡ γὰρ οὐ καλῶς καὶ ἀληθῶς οὐκ ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ περιγράφομεν τὸν ἀπερίληπτον οὐδ' ἐν ἱεροῖς καθείργνυμεν "χειροποιήτοις" τὸ πάντων περιεκτικόν; τί δ' ἂν καὶ οἰκοδόμων καὶ λιθοξόων καὶ βαναύσου τέχνης ἅγιον εἴη ἔργον; οὐχὶ ἀμείνους τούτων οἱ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὸ περιέχον, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον καὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἄξιον ἡγησάμενοι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπεροχῆς;*

[7] See i 40^{13}–41^{16} (45–47).

[8] i 40^{7-8} (45) *προσκυνοῦσιν δὲ οἱ θεοποιοὶ οὐ θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας κατά γε αἴσθησιν τὴν ἐμήν, γῆν δὲ καὶ τέχνην, τὰ ἀγάλματα ὅπερ ἐστίν.* Cp. also iii 21^{3-4} (845) *τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων βαναύσων κατασκευαζόμενα ἀγάλματά τε καὶ ἱερὰ ἐκ τῆς ὕλης τῆς ἀργῆς γίνεται, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὰ ἂν εἴη ἀργὰ καὶ ὑλικὰ καὶ βέβηλα.*

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statues from the Greek point of view is to be found in the words of Dion Chrysostom, that they brought the divine near to man.[1] This is the function of Art, to catch the spiritual and express it materially, to give it body, form, and position, and so to make it real for us. Religion must always be served by Art[2]; and if Clement thought the two could be dissociated he was wrong, as subsequent history plainly shewed. Possibly he was led to a more extreme position than was necessary for his case by the immoralities and extravagances connected with the Art and religion of his day. Moreover the creative period had long passed, when Art was the sincere expression of a living belief. The new life could only tolerate a new Art.

III

It would almost seem as if Clement felt this first argument to be unsound, for he returns again and again to the Platonic theory that Art is nothing but imitation. Here he is more at home; for by nature he is a Greek and not a Hebrew. He carries this theory to its fullest length. In substance it comes to this, that the true world is the ideal or spiritual, and the sensible world is a poor copy. We reach the spiritual not through the sensible, but directly, through thought or contemplation. This theory in its plain sense vulgarizes all common and material things, for it asserts that they have no value in themselves, nor are they means through which the spiritual can be touched and apprehended; their use is simply to keep life within us, and for any purpose beyond that they are worthless. So Clement argues that Greek statues, regarded merely as images of men, are unsatisfactory by reason of their falsity; you cannot copy even bodies accurately, souls you cannot copy at all.[3] He deals in a similar way with painting, which gives a false impression, and only imitates truth.[4] Much more is it impossible to make an image of God. Antisthenes had said—and

[1] Dion Chrysostom *Orat.* xii p. 405 (Reiske) *οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς βέλτιον ὑπῆρχε μηδὲν ἵδρυμα μηδὲ εἰκόνα θεῶν ἀποδεδεῖχθαι παρ' ἀνθρώποις φαίη τις ἄν, ὡς πρὸς μόνα ὁρᾶν δέον τὰ οὐράνια. . . . διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον γνώμην ἰσχυρὸς ἔρως πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐγγύθεν τιμᾶν καὶ θεραπεύειν τὸ θεῖον, προσιόντας καὶ ἁπτομένους μετὰ πειθοῦς, θύοντας καὶ στεφανοῦντας.* He goes on to compare this instinct with the longing of a child, who stretches out his hands to touch parents from whom he has been parted.

[2] Even Hebrew religion, though it forbade statues, centred in Jerusalem and the Temple.

[3] ii 516^{9-16} (825) *οὐ γάρ πω τοιοῦτον κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ τῶν ψυχῶν γένος ὁποῖα διαπλάσσουσιν Ἕλληνες τὰ ξόανα. ψυχαὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀόρατοι . . . τὰ δὲ σώματα αὐτῶν μέρη μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδέποτε γίνεται τῶν ψυχῶν, ὄργανα δὲ . . . ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ὀργάνων τὰς εἰκόνας οἷόν τε ἀπομιμεῖσθαι ἐναργῶς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν ἥλιόν τις, ὡς ὁρᾶται, πλασσέτω καὶ τὴν ἶριν τοῖς χρώμασιν ἀπεικαζέτω.*

[4] ii 460^{7-9} (768) *ἡ ζωγραφία τὸν ὀπτικὸν ὅλον τόπον ἐπὶ τῶν σκηνογραφουμένων φαίνεται παραλαμβάνουσα, ταύτῃ δὲ ψευδογραφεῖ τὴν ὄψιν.*

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Clement twice quotes the saying with approval—that 'God is unlike any man; wherefore nobody can know him thoroughly from an image'.[1] The true image of God was one not of the senses, but of the mind.[2] It may be wondered how Clement reconciled all this with his faith that God had actually appeared not so long ago before the eyes of men[3]; and more, that every man was in a way a living and moving image of God.[4] A faith like this ought, one would suppose, to leave some room for Art. But Clement never deals fairly with the doctrine of the Incarnation; he always inclines towards Docetism,[5] fearing to degrade the divine by bringing it into any real contact with matter. Where the facts are too strong for his ingrained prejudices, he will find some way round them. For instance, although Christ took a body, Clement assumes that it was a mean one[6]; otherwise men might have admired His beauty while failing to listen to His teaching. Obviously, then, if the arts only take us farther and farther from the truth they had better be neglected altogether. The great teachers whom Clement honours had left injunctions to this effect. Pythagoras had forbidden his followers to wear rings, and to engrave on them images of the gods, and Moses before him had prohibited the Israelites from making any sort of image. The underlying principle was the same in both cases, namely, that the less a man's attention is absorbed by things of sense, the more he will advance to the contemplation of intellectual things.[7] It follows that sculptors and painters are men of small account. Clement does not

[1] i 54^{1-2} (61) Ἀντισθένης . . . "θεὸν οὐδενὶ ἐοικέναι" φησίν· "διόπερ αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐμαθεῖν ἐξ εἰκόνος δύναται". Also ii 399^{2-3} (714).

[2] i 40^{10-12} (45) ἡμῖν δὲ (i. e. to Christians) οὐχ ὕλης αἰσθητῆς αἰσθητόν, νοητὸν δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν. νοητόν, οὐκ αἰσθητόν ἐστιν ὁ θεός, ὁ μόνος ὄντως θεός.

[3] i 7^{28-30} (7) ἐπεφάνη δὲ ἔναγχος ὁ προὼν σωτήρ, ἐπεφάνη ὁ ἐν τῷ ὄντι ὤν, . . . ἐπεφάνη ᾧ τὰ πάντα δεδημιούργηται λόγος.

[4] i 46^{15-17} (52) ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν οἱ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοῦ περιφέροντες ἐν τῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἐσουμένῳ τούτῳ ἀγάλματι, τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. See also i 6^{22-23} (6); i 71^{22-23} (78); i 272^{16-17} (292).

[5] See, for instance, ii 467^{10-12} (775) ἔφαγεν γὰρ οὐ διὰ τὸ σῶμα, δυνάμει συνεχόμενον ἀγίᾳ, ἀλλ' ὡς μὴ τοὺς συνόντας ἄλλως περὶ αὐτοῦ φρονεῖν ὑπειλήθοι, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει ὕστερον δοκήσει τινὲς αὐτὸν πεφανερῶσθαι ὑπέλαβον. The question is discussed by Tollington *Clem. Alex.* ii pp. 10–12.

[6] ii 509^{33}–510^{2} (818) αὐτίκα ὁ κύριος οὐ μάτην ἠθέλησεν εὐτελεῖ χρήσασθαι σώματος μορφῇ, ἵνα μή τις τὸ ὡραῖον ἐπαινῶν καὶ τὸ κάλλος θαυμάζων ἀφιστῆται τῶν λεγομένων καὶ τοῖς καταλειπομένοις προσανέχων ἀποτέμνηται τῶν νοητῶν. With regard to the 'mean bodily form' Clement argued probably from Isa. liii 2. But painters have ever felt that the divine nature must be enshrined in a beautiful form. Here is the opposite instinct.

[7] ii 344^{7-11} (662) Πάλαι δ' αὖ "δακτύλιον μὴ φορεῖν μηδὲ εἰκόνας αὐτοῖς ἐγχαράσσειν θεῶν" παρεγγυᾷ ὁ Πυθαγόρας, ὥσπερ Μωυσῆς πρόπαλαι διαρρήδην ἐνομοθέτησεν μηδὲν δεῖν γλυπτὸν ἢ χωνευτὸν ἢ πλαστὸν ἢ γραπτὸν ἄγαλμά τε καὶ ἀπεικόνισμα ποιεῖσθαι, ὡς μὴ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς προσανέχωμεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ νοητὰ μετίωμεν.

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hesitate to describe Pheidias, Polycleitus, Praxiteles, and Apelles as 'paltry artists'.[1] The statues, in their turn, are 'pernicious playthings'.[2] The perfect man, the gnostic, is said 'to despise the things that pertain to handicraft and the support of the flesh'.[3] In fact everything outward and material is regarded as undesirable, though in view of the necessities of life it cannot altogether be dispensed with. When man has an unlimited realm of intellectual truth to explore, all care for the beauty of outward form is simply misused energy. In Clement's own words, 'life seems to have gone utterly mad, when it spends itself with such earnestness upon matter'.[4]

This is, of course, an extreme statement of Clement's position. He is not quite consistent in his intellectualism. Two Greek characteristics affect him strongly, a dislike of extremes and an ineradicable love of beauty. These lead to other utterances which must be taken to qualify those already quoted. He admits that the craftsmen who made priestly garments for Aaron and his sons[5] were filled with divine wisdom; though, indeed, this wisdom was far more than mere artistic skill—it was a 'contemplative power of the soul', which carried its possessors beyond the arts even to philosophy itself.[6] In another place he affirms that 'what is good in the arts comes from heaven'.[7] His love of beauty is still more prominent. If he is suspicious of the artist's work, he has the true artist's spirit when thinking of the human body. Man has a 'beautiful face',[8] which it is a shame to disfigure. The absurd sight of oiled and painted actors in religious processions[9] and the ridiculous masks of the stage[10] are unworthy of man's dignity. Bodily beauty

[1] i 71^{16} (78) *μικροτέχναι*. Some of the sting is taken out of this epithet by the fact that Clement is comparing human artists with God, ὁ "*ἀριστοτέχνης πατήρ*". In i 232^{17-19} (246) he has a good word for Apelles.

[2] i 45^{25-26} (51) *τοιούτων ὑμῖν δημιουργοὶ ἀθυρμάτων ὀλεθρίων οἱ λιθοξόοι καὶ οἱ ἀνδριαντοποιοί*.

[3] iii 56^{33-34} (880) *καταμεγαλοφρονεῖ πάντων τῶν εἰς δημιουργίαν καὶ τροφὴν τῆς σαρκὸς οἰκείων*.

[4] i 71^{32}–72^{1} (79) *οὐδὲν οὖν ἀλλ' ἢ μανίας ἔμπλεως ὁ βίος ἔδοξέ μοι γεγονέναι, τοσαύτῃ σπουδῇ περὶ τὴν ὕλην καταγινόμενος*.

[5] Exod. xxviii 3.

[6] ii 511^{15-20} (820) *ταύτῃ φησὶν ἡ γραφὴ "πνεῦμα αἰσθήσεως" δεδόσθαι τοῖς τεχνίταις ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ φρόνησίς ἐστι, δύναμις ψυχῆς θεωρητική . . . διατείνει δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰς τέχνας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν αὐτήν*.

[7] ii 514^{12-13} (823) *τὰ ἐν τέχναις ἀγαθὰ . . . θεόθεν ἔχει τὴν ἀρχήν*.

[8] i 42^{9} (48) *τὸ καλὸν ἀνθρώπου πρόσωπον*. See also i 94^{2-3} (101) *τὸ δὲ σῶμα κάλλει καὶ εὐρυθμίᾳ συνεκεράσατο*.

[9] i 178^{16-18} (188) *ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς ὁρῶνταί τινες ἔξωθεν κεχρισμένοι καταπληκτικῶς εἰς σεμνότητα, τὰ ἔνδον ἄθλιοι*. See also i 185^{9-11} (195).

[10] See i 193^{17} (204) where a man of vulgar manners is said to shape his face *τραγικῶν δίκην προσωπείων*.

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is not to be despised, but cultivated.[1] Only this beauty must be the symbol of an inner purity; for beauty apart from purity is a shameful thing,[2] nor can it ever be worthy of admiration except when it is the reflexion of a beautiful soul.[3]

IV

It was probably essential to the Church of Clement's day that it should dissociate itself entirely from the contemporary Art of the non-Christian world. The new life, with its new ideals of conduct, needed new forms of expression. It must be admitted, however, that Clement's teaching goes beyond this; if taken literally it banishes Art altogether. I have dealt chiefly with sculpture and painting, but the other arts fare little better. Music is allowed as an accompaniment of worship[4]; but for the most part it is looked upon as harmful, as either warlike or erotic.[5] Even literary style is despised,[6] as if beauty of language must necessarily entail loss of power and truth—a strange idea to come from an admirer of Plato. But Clement carries 'other-worldliness' to its utmost limit; for him the inward and spiritual is everything. No doubt his practice was kindlier than his precept; for no civilized life can exist without Art. But it is just here that we hit upon the root cause of his aversion. Is Clement really a member of a community? Is he not rather, like all 'intellectuals', an individualist through and through? That he was a loyal and devoted member of the Church no one can doubt. He constantly speaks of the Church; he knows who are its members and who are not. Yet even the Church, with its externals of rite and organization, is to him less a concrete entity than a grand idea, a prolific fountain of allegory.[7] True, he has a large heart, and

[1] i 27^{2}$^{7-8}$ (291) *τὸ σωματικὸν κάλλος ἠσκήσθω, "συμμετρία μελῶν καὶ μερῶν μετ' εὐχροίας"*.

[2] i 38$^{12-13}$ (43) *αἰσχρόν ἐστι τὸ κάλλος ὕβρει μεμαραμμένον*.

[3] ii 299$^{14-16}$ (616) *ὁ δι' ἀγάπην τὴν ἀγνὴν προσβλέπων τὸ κάλλος οὐ τὴν σάρκα ἡγεῖται, ἀλλὰ τὴν ψυχὴν καλήν*.

[4] i 183$^{27-29}$ (194) *κἂν πρὸς κιθάραν ἐθελήσῃς ἡ λύραν ᾄδειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν, μῶμος οὐκ ἔστιν, Ἑβραῖον μιμήσῃ δίκαιον βασιλέα εὐχάριστον τῷ θεῷ*.

[5] i 183$^{4-6}$ (193) *τὰ δ' ἄλλα . . . ὄργανα εὑρήσει πολεμικά, ἢ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐκφλέγοντα ἢ τοὺς ἔρωτας ἐκκαίοντα ἢ ἐξαγριαίνοντα τοὺς θυμούς*.

[6] ii 31$^{18-19}$ (344) *ὁποίῳ δὲ ὀνόματι δηλοῦται τοῦτο ὅπερ παραστῆσαι βούλομαι, οὐθέν μοι μέλει*. See the whole of this chapter (*Strom.* i 10). The argument is mainly directed against sophistical ingenuity and over-elaboration; but Clement's own practice shews him as paying little regard to beauty of style. He is more explicit in ii 114$^{7-9}$ (429) *ἔφαμεν δὲ πολλάκις ἤδη μήτε μεμελετηκέναι μήτε μὴν ἐπιτηδεύειν ἑλληνίζειν· ἱκανὸν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο ἀποδημαγωγεῖν τῆς ἀληθείας τοὺς πολλούς*.

[7] See Tollington *Clem. Alex.* ii p. 104: Clement 'is a Platonist, and cares more for the idea than for its partial and concrete embodiments. So he does not set great store by form and rules and details of Church order.' Tollington thinks (i p. 25) that in his later years Clement 'turned from the somewhat intellectualized Christianity of the *Stromateis*'.

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welcomes the simple believer; on the other hand, his highest message is delivered to a small coterie, for by the conditions of human life his 'gnostics' must always be few in number. There is a significant passage in which he describes the gnostic as 'dwelling in a city, yet despising those things in the city which are objects of admiration to others, and living there as if in a desert'.[1] Set this by the side of the Athenian's pride in his beautiful city, and the Jew's passionate love —'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning'— and we get some idea of the cold inhumanity to which Clement's teaching might easily lead. It is this intellectual isolation which makes Art of small consequence to him. But such a position is untenable, for it depends upon a false view of the intellect as the sole guide to truth, combined with an equally false depreciation of feeling and the external world.

Nevertheless the Alexandrine teaching obtained a strong hold over the Eastern Church, and shewed itself alive and vigorous centuries later in the iconoclastic controversy. The simpler and more practical Western Church, however, took an opposite line. From the days of the catacombs Art was fearlessly claimed as the handmaid of religion, and though the union of the two is not without danger, it may be safely said to have worked on the whole for the advancement of both.

G. W. BUTTERWORTH.

TRIANGULAR NUMBERS.

IN the *Journal of Theological Studies* for October, 1914 (pp. 67 ff.), Mr F. H. Colson gave a most interesting note on Triangular Numbers in the New Testament, and, incidentally, on other matters of Nicomachean arithmetic. Noting that the Johannine number 153, in some way a symbol of 'the number of the elect', is a triangular number, being equal to $\frac{17 \cdot 18}{2}$, he tells us that Augustine on John xxi shews by addition that it is the 'triangle' of 17. It might be added that he also shews that it is the product of 17 and 9 ($= \frac{18}{2}$), or rather of $17 \cdot 3$ and 3. But it may also be noted that this number possesses the unique property of being the sum of the cubes of its three digits, for

[1] iii 55^{5-7} (878) ὃς πόλιν οἰκῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν κατεφρόνησεν παρ' ἄλλοις θαυμαζομένων, καὶ καθάπερ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τῇ πόλει βιοῦ.

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$1^3+5^3+3^3 = 1+125+27 = 153$; and this would well make the number mystical, though I do not know that the ancients noticed it.

I would suggest that the fact that 28 is in Pythagorean arithmetic a 'perfect' number—equal, that is to say, to the sum of all its divisors (except, of course, itself)—deserves more than a passing reference in a footnote. The first perfect number is 6, for $1+2+3 = 6$, as $1+2+4+7+14 = 28$; and 36, the square of 6, has, as Mr Colson shews, several notable properties. The number 6 touches also on geometry as suggesting the equality of the side of a regular hexagon inscribed in a circle to the radius, which apparently led to the sexagesimal reckoning of degrees. The third perfect number is 496, which is not a New Testament number, and the fourth is 8128, which passes quite beyond our range. (There are but five others known, and the ninth requires thirty-seven digits for its expression.) But 17 has another property, in all probability unknown to the ancients. It equals 2^4+1 and is a prime number; and it is possible, by the use of the straight line and the circle only, to construct a regular polygon of any number of sides which can be expressed by 2^n+1, if this is a prime number. The next number in this series is 257. We might add that 15 is a geometric number, it being perfectly easy to construct a regular pentadecagon; and that a regular polygon of 36 sides is also easily constructed.

May I note that in the second equation on page 69 the indication of the square has slipped from the parenthesis? Read $\left(\frac{n+1}{2}\right)^2$.

SAMUEL HART.

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BOHAIRIC LECTIONS OF *WISDOM* FROM A RYLANDS LIBRARY MS.

THE Rylands Library contains an important collection of Coptic MSS which have been carefully catalogued by Dr Crum[1] and to some extent examined by Dr Hebbelynck,[2] formerly Rector Magnificus of the University of Louvain, for the purpose of identifying scattered portions of the same MS distributed among different libraries. But these sources of information do not seem to have been used by editors, since their reception into their new home in Manchester, except by Mr Horner for his edition of the Sahidic Gospels.

The particular MS to which I now desire to draw special attention is described in Crum's Catalogue pp. 198, 199. It is dated A.M. 1477, i. e. A.D. 1761. This MS, though modern, reproduces an ancient text of great interest and bears the patriarch's seal as a proof of its correctness; and a note in Tattam's handwriting states that, as it contains many portions of the books of the O. T. which are yet wanting in England, it may be considered a great literary treasure. Although a similar text was printed by Bouriant, *Recueil* vii 86, the publication of the Rylands MS seems likely to be serviceable at the present time in view of the great interest recently shewn in the Book of Wisdom. In this article I therefore print the four lections of that book contained in the Rylands MS and offer some suggestions about their bearing upon questions of text and interpretation raised by recent editors.

Since the publication of Feldmann's useful little work, *Textkritische Materialien zum Buch der Weisheit*, Freiburg 1902, the Oxford University Press has issued Sir Herbert Thompson's edition of the text of Wisdom with other books from the British Museum Papyrus, which in general confirms the Turin Codex (ed. Lagarde) collated by Feldmann though not agreeing with it in all particulars. This edition carefully notes variants from Lagarde's text, which is now difficult to obtain.[3] In the absence of Lagarde's text the Rylands Library possesses an interesting clue to its general character in a translation made for the R. V. Apocrypha Committee, presented to the library by Professor J. H. Moulton, whose father was a member of that Committee. The late Mr Goodrick, in his introduction to the best English edition of Wisdom, stated that the Revisers do not seem to have used any version more recondite than the Latin; it is therefore

[1] See *J. T. S.* xi 100.

[2] *Les manuscrits coptes-sahidiques du Monastère Blanc*, Louvain 1911.

[3] Even Hyvernat could not procure a copy of *Aegyptiaca* (*Rev. Bibl.*, 1897, vi 59).

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only fair to their memory to note that they took the important step of securing a translation of the Sahidic version by an expert. This translation is accompanied by a few brief notes which shew that the translator was alive to the possibility of mistakes in the Sahidic text and to the imperfect state of Coptic lexicography. He seems to have used Tattam's Lexicon, and does not appear to make any reference to Peyron. The Berlin reprint of Peyron (1896), including contributions from Goodwin, Kabis, and Bsciai, in its *Auctarium*, still leaves much to be desired. Many MSS have been examined and published which were unknown to Peyron, and therefore his work, good as it is for the time of its publication (1835), needs considerable addition and some modification. Though he seems to have read Wisdom most minutely, his manner of citation by στίχοι is very inconvenient for the student. Even La Croze (1775), whose meagre amount of material is noted in Peyron's preface, cites such portions of Wisdom as he used in the compilation of his Lexicon by chapter and verse, and so also does Tattam.

No use seems to have been made of Thompson's text by recent English editors; but Heinisch notes some of its differences from Lagarde, in one case (ix 16) misrepresenting Thompson by attributing to him the unlikely reading ⲁⲗⲏⲧⲉ instead of ⲁⲗⲏⲧⲓ, which, though it completely alters the form of the Greek sentence, can be construed.

The lections are printed below in the order of their occurrence in the Rylands MS and in Bouriant's Lectionary, though in the *Recueil* Bouriant adopts a different arrangement. The present order has the advantage of giving the easier passages first and reserving the more difficult sections till the reader has become familiar with the simpler problems presented in those verses where the only comparison is with the texts of Thompson and Lagarde. The third lection is at the same time the most difficult and the most interesting; and the juxtaposition of Erman's fragment with it should help to throw some light on Crum's suggestion, adopted from Stern, who in his review of Lagarde's text (*Literaturblatt für orientalische Philologie*, 1884, i 203) inferred that there was a later Sahidic version influenced by the Bohairic translation (see *J. T. S.* xi 301). Strange as this view may appear, the collation of the two texts shews remarkable similarities, which seem to make it very probable. The fourth passage has striking variants not noticed by Heinisch, though he records some of Bouriant's readings in the lections from chs. i and ii.

In the collation I give Swete's text together with the Old Latin for the sake of completeness and facility of comparison. The textual evidence is taken from Deane, Feldmann, Fritzsche, and Heinisch.

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a. i 1–9 (Rylands Lectionary, p. ⲙⲑ)

1. ⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉⲧⲙⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲧⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲓ
   ⲁⲣⲓⲫⲙⲉⲧⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲥⲉⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲥⲁⲱⲟⲥ
   ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲕⲱⲧ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲩ ⲥⲉⲛⲧⲙⲉⲧⲁⲡⲗⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
   ⲣⲏⲧ
2. ⲭⲉ ⲙⲁⲧⲭⲓⲙⲓ ⲛⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲉⲣⲡⲓⲣⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲛⲛⲓ-
   ⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ
   ⲙⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲟⲓⲛⲁⲧⲛⲁⲣⲧ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ
3. ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲫⲟⲣϫⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲕⲁ ⲫⲧ
   ⲟⲩⲟϥ ⲧⲉϥϫⲟⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲱⲛϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲁⲥⲥⲟϥ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲁⲧⲣⲏⲧ
4. ⲭⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲉⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲏ ⲉⲟⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲥⲣⲟⲟⲩ
   ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲥⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ⲣⲉϥⲉⲣⲡⲟⲃⲏ

The following abbreviations are used :—

S = Codex Sinaiticus
V = Codex Venetus (23 H P)
It = Old Latin, as in Heinisch
RL = Rylands Lectionary
Th = Thompson
Lag = de Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*
Er = Erman
F = Feldmann
Margoliouth = *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1890, pp. 263–297, 'Was the Book of Wisdom written in Hebrew?'
RT = Translation of Lagarde's Text in Rylands Library
Bour = Bouriant in *Recueil* vii
Ci = Ciasca
Zenner and Wiesmann = *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 1898, 1911
P = Peyron, Lexicon

a. i 1–9.

1 a. δικαιοσύνην iustitiam] ⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏ RL, ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ Th

2 b. τοῖς μὴ ἀπιστοῦσιν qui fidem habent] RL Th, with Greek τοῖς μὴ πιστεύουσιν Zenner with A : τοῖς πιστεύουσιν 261

a. i 1–9.

1 a. δικαιοσύνη occurs eleven times in W, and is always transcribed in Th. In viii 7 it is used both in a general and a special sense in the same verse, where Goodrick renders the first 'righteousness' and the second 'justice', Wiesmann 'Vollkommenheit' and 'Gerechtigkeit'. It is therefore interesting to note the Bohairic use

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a. i 1–9 (British Museum Text, ed. Thompson)

1. ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲧⲏⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁϩ
ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲛⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ ϩⲛⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲁⲡⲗⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ
2. ⲭⲉ ϣⲁⲧϩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲡⲓⲣⲁϩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲁⲛ
ϣⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉϧⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧ ⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲛ
3. ϣⲁⲣⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ϩⲁⲣ ⲉϧⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲟⲣϫⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉϥⲥⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉϧⲟⲗ ϣⲁⲥϫⲡⲓⲉ ⲛⲁⲏⲛⲧ
4. ⲭⲉ ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ϩⲱⲕ ⲉⲣⲟⲧⲛ ⲉⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲥϩⲟⲟⲩ
ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲙⲉⲥⲟⲧⲱϥ ϩⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲣ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲉ

3 a. λογισμοί cogitationes] ⲡⲓⲙⲉⲧⲓ RL, ⲡⲓⲙⲉⲉⲧⲉ Th
3 b. δοκιμαζομένη probata] ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉϧⲟⲗ RL, ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲁϥ ⲉϧⲟⲗ Th
4 b. κατάχρεῳ ἁμαρτίας subdito peccatis] ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲉⲣⲡⲟϩⲏ RL, ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲣ̄ⲡⲟϩⲉ Th

of a word derived from a root which means both 'true' and 'just'. This will help to illustrate the important v. l. in ii 18.

In v 6 a there is a curious collocation of these words v. n. in loc. In ii 22 ὁσιότης is rendered in Th by ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲧⲏⲛ but in RL by ⲡⲓⲙⲉⲟⲩⲏⲓ. F there notes that in xiv 30 ὁσιότης is translated by ⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ but in the three other places where it occurs (v 19, ix 3, and xviii 9) by ⲧ̄ϩⲏⲟ. In ix 3 ἐν ὁσιότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ = ϧⲛ̄ ⲟⲧ-ⲧ̄ϩⲏⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲧⲏⲛ. In Lc. i 75 the same phrase = ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲧϩⲟ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲟⲩⲏⲓ Boh and ϧⲙ̄ ⲟⲧⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲧⲏⲛ Sah.

κρίνοντες. The Coptic versions of this word shew a dialectic difference, and give another illustration of the value of Bohairic for interpretation. The use of the transcribed ⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ is noted by F, p. 46, as the usual method of the Sahidic translator, except in ii 22, where he has ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ (Er Bour and RL ⲡⲓⲙⲉⲉⲧⲉ) apparently to denote a somewhat different meaning; ϯϩⲁⲡ is used in the special sense of 'condemn' in ii 20; on the other hand ⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ is used for δίκη in verse 8.

2. τοῖς μὴ ἀπιστοῦσιν αὐτῷ. Both Sah and Boh support the received reading.

3 a. λογισμοί. Both Sah and Boh translate the singular. In ii 19 they do not agree in their translation of two Greek nouns (ὕβρει καὶ βασάνῳ) with regard to number.

3 b. δοκιμαζομένη. Though this word is transcribed in ii 17 both versions give the Coptic favourite expression ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉϧⲟⲗ used for ἐμφανίζεται, v. 2. ἐπιφημίζει ii 12 and βαρύς ἐστι ii 14 Boh (ϥⲣⲟⲣⲡ̄ Sah).

4 b. κατάχρεῳ ἁμαρτίας. As in the rendering of the parallel expression κακότεχνον there is a single Coptic word, so here the compound phrase is simplified. F, p. 22,

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5. ⲡⲓⲡⲛⲁ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ϣⲁϥϥⲱⲧⲓ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϣⲁϥⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲁⲧϩⲁⲙⲧ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϣⲁϥⲥⲟϫⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ-
ⲥⲓⲛϩⲟⲛⲥ ⲁϥϣⲁⲙⲓ
6. ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲡⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲉⲣⲟⲙⲁⲓⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲉϥⲛⲉⲧ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲁ
ⲥⲉⲛⲛⲉϥ ⲥϧⲟⲧⲟⲩ
ϫⲉ ϥϯ ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥⲥⲗⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉⲧ
ⲥⲟⲧⲥⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲉϥϩⲙⲧ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉ̀ⲡⲉϥⲗⲁⲥ
7. ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲡⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲟ̄ⲥ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲣⲫⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϥⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱϧⲡ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲧⲥⲣⲱⲟⲩ
8. ⲉⲑⲃⲉϥⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛϩⲗⲓ ⲛⲁⲩϫⲱⲡ ⲉⲩⲥⲁϧⲓ ⲥⲉⲛⲟⲩⲥⲓⲛϩⲟⲛⲥ
ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ ⲉϥϩⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲑⲛⲛⲟⲩ
9. ⲉⲧⲉϫⲉⲗⲗⲁⲩⲓⲙⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲛⲉ ⲥⲉⲛ
ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲟⲥⲙⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲟ̄ⲥ ⲛ̀ⲁⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ
ⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲥⲁϧⲓ ⲉ̀ϥⲟⲧⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ·

5 a. παιδείας disciplinae] ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ RL, ⲡ̀ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ Th : σοφίας A 248 Compl Arm, παιδείας B S It Syr Ar Syr^{Hex} Aeth δόλον fictum] ad. ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ RL, om. Th

5 c. ἀδικίας iniquitate] ⲥⲓⲛϩⲟⲛⲥ RL, ϫⲓⲛⲥⲟⲛⲥ Th : ἀνομίας 248 Compl, ἀδικίας B

6 a. σοφία sapientiae] ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ RL, ⲡ̀ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ Th: σοφία B S Syr^{Hex}, σοφίας A V 106 261 296 It Syr Arm Didym

6 c. γλώσσης linguae eius] ⲡⲉϥⲗⲁⲥ RL, Th lacuna αὐτοῦ A It Ar Arm, om. B S

gives a list of Greek compound expressions reduced in the Coptic version to single words. Margoliouth, p. 286, who regards κ. δ. as a Hebraism, notes the simplicity of the Coptic rendering, which might however on strict analysis be regarded as a compound, and is given as an illustration of composition by Steindorff *Kopt. Gram.*^{2} § 127 p. 65 ⲣⲉϥⲣ̄ⲛⲟⲃⲉ 'Sünder' wörtl. 'Ein Mann der Sünde thut'.

5 a. Here both Coptic versions differ from the received reading and support A 248 Arm

δόλον. The addition of 'all' in RL may be compared with ii 3 ; vide F, p. 23.

5 c. ἐλεγχθήσεται seems to have been regarded by the Coptic translators as transitive. 'Reproves violence when it cometh,' RT.

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5. ⲡⲉⲡⲛⲁ ⲥⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲯⲁⲥⲡⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲣⲟⲥ :
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲯⲁⲥⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲑⲛⲧ
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲯⲁⲥⲭⲓⲉⲡⲭⲓⲥⲟⲛ̄ⲥ ⲉⲥⲯⲁⲛⲉⲓ
6. ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲡⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲁⲧⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲡⲉ [. . . .
ⲥⲛⲟⲧⲟⲩ :
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲟⲩⲯⲧ ⲛⲁⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲥⲗⲟⲧⲉ
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲛⲁ[. . . .
7. ⲭⲉ ⲡⲛⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲥⲙⲉⲥⲧⲟⲓⲕⲟⲧⲙⲉⲛⲏ
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲧⲯⲱⲭⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲣⲟⲟⲩ
8. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲯⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲟⲩ-
ⲭⲓⲙⲥⲟⲛ̄ⲥ
ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲣⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ
9. ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲥⲙⲡⲯⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲯⲟⲭⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ ⲥⲉⲃⲛⲉ
. . . . . .

6 d. ἐπίσκοπος ἀληθής scrutator verus] ⲡⲉⲧⲃⲟⲧⲃⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲏ RL, ⲙⲟⲩⲯⲧ ⲡⲁⲙⲉ Th : ἀληθινός 106 261

7 b. τὸ συνέχον τὰ πάντα quod continet omnia] ⲥⲱⲭⲡ RL, ⲯⲱⲭⲡ Th, ⲯⲱⲡ Lag

8 b. δίκη iudicium] ⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ RL Th ἐλέγχουσα corripiens] ⲉⲃⲛⲛⲟⲩ RL, ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ Th

9 b. ἀκοὴ ἥξει auditio veniet] ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲁⲛ RL, Th lacuna

6 a. σοφίας. Here again the Coptic supports A as also in 6 c by the introduction of the pronoun.

6 d. The reading ἀληθινός (106 261) might be regarded as expressed by ⲡⲁⲙⲉ in Th. 'The beholder truly,' RT.

7 b. ⲥⲱⲭⲡ. P 226 only gives the meaning 'relinquere', Bsciai, *Rec.* vii 27 κατέχειν, and cites Ps. cxxxviii 10 ⲧⲉⲕⲟⲧⲛⲁⲙ ⲛⲁⲭⲓ ⲙⲟⲉⲓⲧ ⲫⲏⲧ ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲡⲧ; 'tenebit me dextera tua.'

8 b. Lag notes on his reading ⲉⲧⲛⲛⲏⲧ as follows : 'ⲛⲛⲏⲧ recte me legisse crediderim sed cum ἐλέγχουσα non quadrat : ἐλθοῦσα habuit'.

9 b. ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲁⲛ RL. The Coptic seems to have a difficulty about negatives. Cf. i 4 b, ii 22 b (Th and Er), where ⲟⲩⲁⲉ is followed by a negative verb contrary to the Greek. In ii 22 b RL and Bour have ⲟⲩⲟⲩ, which expresses the Greek correctly.

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b. vii 24–30 (Rylands Lectionary, p. ⲣⲓⲏ)

24. ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲥⲕⲓⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲛⲉⲧⲕⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲥⲫⲟⲣ ⲟⲩⲟⲣ ⲉⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲙⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲉⲟⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲥ-
ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ
25. ⲟⲩⲱⲁϩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲕⲟⲓⲁ ⲇⲓ ⲫ☥
ⲟⲩⲟⲣ ⲟⲩ ⲥⲁ☥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲉⲛⲡⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲟⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓ-
ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ
ⲉⲟⲃⲉⲫⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛϩⲗⲓ ⲁϥⲥⲁⲃⲉⲙ ⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲥ
26. ⲟⲩⲟⲧⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲟⲧⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲉⲛⲉϩ
ⲟⲩⲟⲣ ⲟⲩⲓⲁⲗ ⲉ̀ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲧⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲏⲛⲟⲧⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫ☥ ⲟⲩⲟⲣ ⲧ̀ϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲙⲉⲧⲁⲥⲁⲟⲟⲥ ⲧⲉ
27. ⲟⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲥ ⲙⲙⲁⲩϫⲟⲙ ⲉϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲟⲣ ⲉ̀ⲭⲏ ⲥⲁⲣⲓⲥⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲥⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲣ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲥⲉⲛⲉ̄ⲥ̄ ⲉⲥⲱⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲛ
ⲉϩⲁⲙⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲉⲥⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲙⲱⲫⲛⲣ ⲙ̀ⲡ ⲫ☥ ⲟⲩⲟⲣ ⲙ̀ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ
28. ⲫ☥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉ̀ⲙⲉⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲗⲓⲁⲛ ⲉ̀ⲃⲏⲗ ⲉ̀ⲫⲛⲉⲧⲱⲱⲡⲃⲉⲛ
☥ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ

b. vii 24–30.

24 a. *πάσης κινήσεως* omnibus mobilibus] ⲡⲏⲉⲧⲕⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ RL, ⲉⲧ-ⲕⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ Th

24 b. *διήκει καὶ χωρεῖ διὰ πάντων* attingit ubique] ⲥⲫⲟⲣ ⲁⲧⲱ ⲥⲡⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲙⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ RL, ⲥⲡⲏⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧ̄ⲡ . . . . . ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ Th

25 a. *ἀτμίς* vapor] ⲱⲁϩ RL, om. Th

25 b. *ἀπόρροια* emanatio] ⲥⲁ☥ RL, om. Th *εἰλικρινής* sincera] with *ἀπόρροια*; with *δόξα* RL Th: *ἰλικρινείας* A

25 c. *μεμιαμμένον* inquinatum] ⲁϥⲥⲁⲃⲉⲙ RL, ⲉϥⲭⲁϩⲙ̄ Th: *μεμιασμένον* 248 Compl *παρεμπίπτει* incurrit] ⲥⲱⲛⲧ RL, ⲧⲱⲙ̄ⲡⲧ̄ Th

b. vii 24–30.

This passage is important rather for its philosophical terms than for its readings. In fact F has only one brief textual note intimating that in 26 a Aeth had either mistaken the meaning of *ἀιδίου* or read *ἀιδνοῦ*. Heinisch has only notes on *οὐθέν*)(*οὐδέν* in 28 and on *ἀντισχύει*)(*κατισχύει* in 30.

25. The technical terms *ἀτμίς* and *ἀπόρροια* do not appear in Th. The more

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b. vii 24–30 (British Museum Text, ed. Thompson)

24. ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲓⲁⲁ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲓⲁⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲣⲓⲧⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲃⲃⲟ:
25. ⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲣⲓⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲁⲁ ⲁⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲣⲁⲁⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ:
ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲁⲓ ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲉϥⲭⲁⲣⲁ ⲧⲱⲁⲁⲛⲧ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ
26. ⲟⲩⲉ̄ⲓⲛⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲉⲛⲉϥ
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲩⲉ̄ⲓⲁⲗ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
. . . . . .
27. . . . . ⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲁⲥⲟⲁ ⲉⲣⲱϩ ⲛⲓⲁⲁ:
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲥⲥⲉⲉⲧ ϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲥⲉ̄ⲓⲣⲉ ⲁⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ̄
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲱⲁⲥⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲯⲩⲭⲏ
ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ:
ⲉⲥⲉ̄ⲓⲣⲉ ⲁⲁⲁⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲙⲣⲉ ⲁⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲁ ⲡⲣⲟ-
ⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ·
28. ⲁⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲉ̄ⲓⲁⲁⲛⲧⲓ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ·

26 a. *ἀπαύγασμα* candor] ⲟⲩⲟⲧⲱⲓⲙⲓ RL, ⲟⲩⲉ̄ⲓⲛⲉ Th *ἀιδίου* aeternae] ⲛ̄ⲉⲛⲉϥ RL, ⲱⲁⲉⲛⲉϥ Th, ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲉⲛⲉϥ Lag

26 c. ⲧⲉ last word of verse in RL, followed by red mark denoting the end of the sentence

27 a. *μία δὲ οὖσα* et cum una sit] ⲟⲩⲓ ⲁⲉ RL, ⲉⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲧⲉ Lag, Th lacuna

27 b. *καινίζει* innovat] ⲓⲣⲓ ⲁ̀ⲛⲉⲣⲓ RL, ⲉ̄ⲓⲣⲉ Th, ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲁⲁⲣ̄ⲣⲉ Lag

28. *τὸν σοφίᾳ συνοικοῦντα* eum qui cum sapientia habitat] ϥⲛⲉⲧ-

literary Bohairic renders *ἀτμίς* ⲱⲁϩ (= flamma, P 316) which introduces another metaphor, and La Croze, p. 123, is certainly wrong in his meaning *ἀτμίς* 'vapour' on the strength of this verse, Peyron's meaning being quite well supported. Cf. xvii 5, xix 21.

26 a. *ἀπαύγασμα* is better represented by ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ in Th than by the RL ⲟⲩⲟⲧⲱⲓⲙⲓ. Goodrick notes that 'reflection' and not 'radiation' is indicated. RL might imply radiation, and ⲉⲓⲛⲉ in Th (= similitudo, imitatio, imago) would support Goodrick's interpretation.

27 b. *καινίζει* receives its full force in RL ⲓⲣⲓ ⲁ̀ⲛⲉⲣⲓ, but is inadequately expressed by the simple ⲉ̄ⲓⲣⲉ of Th.

28. *συνοικοῦντα* is correctly expressed in RL and Lag, whose text is here nearer the Greek than ⲙⲉ in Th, which apparently is repeated from the previous clause.

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29. ⲑⲁⲓ ⲥⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲏ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲉⲗⲗⲏ
ⲛⲏⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲑⲱⲟⲩⲛⲥ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ
ⲥⲛⲁⲉⲣⲱⲱⲣⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ
30. ⲫⲁⲓⲙⲉⲛ ⲥⲁⲣ ⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣⲣⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁ
ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲁⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲉϫⲁⲕⲓ ⲱϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ

C. ii 12–22 (Rylands Lectionary, p. ⲥⲗⲏ)

12. ⲉⲩⲉϫⲟⲣϫⲩ ⲛⲟⲩϫⲣⲱⲙ ⲉⲟⲃⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲧⲗⲟⲥ
ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲣⲏⲧ
ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲣⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲣⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ
ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲱⲱⲙⲛⲁⲙ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲱⲱⲩⲧ ⲉϫⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ
ⲉⲩⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛⲩ ⲉⲣⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲛ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲉ-
ⲧⲁⲧⲟⲱⲧ ⲛⲣⲏⲧ

ⲱⲱⲡⲃⲉⲛ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ RL, ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲉ ⲡⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ Th For ⲙⲉ in Th ⲟⲧⲏⲣ Lag

30 b. *κακία* malitia] ϫⲁⲕⲓ RL, ⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ Th *ἀντισχύει* vincit] ⲱϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ RL, ⲥⲁⲧⲥⲟⲙ Th: *κατισχύει* SA 253 254 296, *κατισχύσει* 284 Compl, *ἀντισχύει* B

c. ii 12–22.

12 a. *δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἐστι* inutilis est nobis] ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲧⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲣⲏⲧ Er; so RL with ⲭ for ⲥ and ⲛⲟⲩϫⲣⲱⲙ pr.

30 b. ϫⲁⲕⲓ (= obscuritas, tenebrae, P 270) is probably a mistake of eye or ear, Th transcribing the Greek *κακία*.

ⲱϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ may be possibly regarded as supporting *κατισχύσει*, especially as the Bohairic is in frequent agreement with 248.

c. ii 12–22.

This is textually the most difficult of the lections, and some of Erman's variants both of constructions and words were noted in RT. These are now confirmed by Bouriant and RL.

12 a. The prefix of *δύσχρηστος* is expressed in Th by ⲙⲟⲕϩ and apparently in the other texts by the gloss ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲧⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲣⲏⲧ. The two other compounds of

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29. ⲧⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲉⲡⲣⲏ:
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲉⲡⲉⲥⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ:
ⲉⲧⲯⲁⲛⲧⲛ̅ⲧⲱⲛ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲥⲛⲁⲣ̅ⲯⲱⲣⲡ̅ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ
30. ⲡⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲯⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲯⲏ ⲉ̅ⲓ̅ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲙⲁ:
ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲥⲉ ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲥⲁ̅ⲥ̅ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ:

c. ii 12–22 (Erman's Fragment, from Ciasca ii 216)

12. ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲡⲥⲱⲣⲥ̅ ⲉⲡⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ· ⲭⲉ ⲁ̅ⲛ̅ⲉⲥⲧⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲣⲏⲧ·
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲉ̅ⲡⲉⲛⲣⲃⲏⲧⲉ·
ⲉ̅ⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥⲡⲉⲥ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲛ ⲣⲛ̅ ⲛ̅ⲯⲟⲃⲧ̅ ⲉ̅ⲭⲛ̅ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ·
ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲓ̅ⲍ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉ̅ⲭⲛ̅ ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̅-
ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲃⲱ·

12 b. *ἐναντιοῦται* contrarius est] ⲉⲩⲥⲧⲉⲣⲣⲉⲛ RL, ⲉⲩⲥⲧⲟⲩⲃⲉ Th Er

12 c. om. 106 261 *ὀνειδίζει* improperat] ⲉⲥⲉⲣⲯⲱⲯ RL, ⲉⲥⲯⲱⲯ Bour, ⲧⲙⲟⲥⲡⲉⲥ Th Er *ἁμαρτήματα* peccata] ⲯⲟⲃⲧ̅ Er, ⲯⲱⲧ RL, ⲯⲟⲧ Bour, ⲛⲟⲃⲉ Th: *παραπτώματα* 248 *νόμου* legis] ⲉⲭⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ RL, ⲉⲭⲛ̅ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ Er, ⲣⲓⲧⲙⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ Th

12 d. *ἐπιφημίζει* diffamat] ⲉⲩⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛⲣ ⲉ̀ⲣⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲭⲱⲛ RL, ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲣ̅ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲛ̅ Er, ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲛⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ Th *ἁμαρτήματα* peccata] ⲉⲭⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ RL, ⲉⲭⲛ̅ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲉ Er Th *παιδείας ἡμῶν* disciplinae nostrae] ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲃⲱ Er, ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫⲙⲉⲧⲁⲑⲱⲧ ⲛ̀ⲭⲛⲧ RL, ⲣⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲃⲱ Th

δυσ- in W, *δυσδιήγητος* and *δυσάλυκτος*, xvii 1 and 17, are rendered by Coptic phrases denoting absolute impossibility and not mere difficulty. ⲣⲟⲗⲭ is used in Matt. xi 30 *ὁ γὰρ ζυγός μου χρηστός*.

12 c. *ἁμαρτήματα νόμου*. Cf. Margoliouth, p. 281, who notes the tautology; the reading *παραπτώματα* in 248 and the Coptic of Er with Bour and RL avoid the repetition of the same word in two successive clauses.

12 d. *ἁμαρτήματα παιδείας*. Erman's reading ⲙⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲃⲱ is different both from Th and RL.

The word ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲑⲱⲧ ⲛ̀ⲭⲛⲧ (P 56) represents *ἀκρασία* 1 Cor. vii 5, *ἀπείθεια* Eph. ii 2, v 6, and in Exod. xxii 17 is used both as a verb and in an adverbial phrase for *ἐὰν δὲ ἀνανεύων ἀνανεύσῃ* which Wilkins translates 'si autem renuendo renuerit'. P gives the meanings, intemperantia, incredulitas, renuentia. Cf. Margoliouth, p. 273, who approves the reading of the Syriac *ἀναιδείας* 'impudence', 'rebelliousness', or 'contumacy' being the meaning of the Hebrew which he assumes as the original of *παιδείας*. For the adj. ⲁⲑⲱⲧ of Deut. ix 7 (Ciasca, v. l. in Wilkins) Lc. i 17, Jo. iii 36 ⲫⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲑⲱⲧ ⲛ̀ⲭⲛⲧ ⲉⲡⲓⲱⲛⲣⲓ.

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13. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲙⲙⲉⲙⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲫⲏ
ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ ⲫⲏ
14. ⲉϥⲉⲱⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥⲥⲟⲣⲓ ⲉ̀ϩⲉⲛ
ⲛⲉⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉ̀ϩⲱⲛ ⲉⲡⲁⲓⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ
15. ⲉⲃⲏ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲟⲛⲓⲙ̀ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲁⲛ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲉϥⲙⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲥⲉⲫⲱⲛϩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲧⲉⲛ
16. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲛⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲧϥ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲁⲉ
ⲉϥⲉⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲉ̀ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲛ̀ⲁⲫⲣⲛⲧ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲛ̀ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓ-
ⲟⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ
ⲉϥⲉ̀ⲙⲃⲟⲛ ⲉϩⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲗⲉⲩⲑⲉⲣⲟⲥ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉ̀ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲭⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲓⲱⲧ
17. ⲧⲉⲛϩⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲁⲁⲓ ϩⲁⲁⲛ ⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲏⲛⲉ
ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲁⲕⲓⲗⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲛ̀ⲁⲫⲛⲉⲟ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲓ ⲙⲉⲛⲏⲥⲁ ⲡⲉϥ-
ϩⲱⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ

13 a. ἐπαγγέλλεται promittit] ϥϩⲱ Th, om. al. γνῶσιν ἔχειν Θεοῦ se scientiam Dei habere] ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲙⲙⲉⲙⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲫⲏ RL, ⲭⲉ ϯⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ Th

13 b. ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάζει se nominat] ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲟⲩⲧ ⲉ̀ⲣⲟϥ RL; so Er with ⲧⲉ for ϯ

14 a. εἰς ἔλεγχον in traductionem] ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥⲥⲟⲣⲓ RL, ⲛ̄ϩⲛⲓⲟ Er, ⲉⲩϩⲛⲓⲟ Th ἐννοιῶν ἡμῶν cogitationum nostrarum] ⲉϩⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱ RL, ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱ Er, ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲉⲧⲉ Th

14 b. βαρύς ἐστιν ἡμῖν gravis est nobis] ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉ̀ϩⲱⲛ RL, ⲉϥⲉ . . Bour, ⲉϥϩⲣⲟⲣⲱ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉ̄ϩⲱⲛ Er, ϥϩⲟⲣⲱ ⲛⲁⲛ Th

15 a. βίος vita] ⲗⲁⲟⲥ RL Er, ϧⲓⲟⲥ Th

15 b. ἐξηλλαγμέναι immutatae] ⲥⲉⲫⲱⲛϩ RL, ⲥⲉⲱⲟⲃⲉ Er Th

13 a. ἐπαγγέλλεται. Th expresses this by the colourless ϥϩⲱ, but Er, Bour, and RL all omit any translation of it.

13 b. ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάζει. Here Er, Bour, and RL represent the Greek better by ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ than Th by ⲉⲓⲣⲉ.

14 a. ἐννοιῶν. Th gives a general and Er, Bour, and RL a special sense to this expression.

14 b. βαρύς ἐστιν. Here Er is literal with Th but agrees with Bour and RL in the double preposition.

15 a. ⲗⲁⲟⲥ in Er, Bour, and RL for βίος is a very curious variant, as is also the form ⲙⲏ in RL, v. 16 a, which is not noticed by Peyron.

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13. ⲁⲧⲱ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲁⲁⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲓⲧⲁⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ·
ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲁⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ·
14. ⲉⲩⲉⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲡⲓⲟ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱ·
ⲉⲩⲭⲟⲣⲱ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲁⲱⲛ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ·
15. ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲭⲉ . . ⲡⲉⲩⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲁⲡⲁⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲁⲁ·
ⲁⲧⲱ ⲛⲉⲩⲭⲣⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲥⲉⲱⲟⲃⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲛ̄·
16. ⲁⲧⲱ ⲉⲙⲛⲛ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲭⲁⲉ· ⲁⲧⲱ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲭⲛⲧ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲭⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲟⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲡⲛⲉⲟⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ·
ⲉⲩⲉⲥⲱⲙⲧ̄ ⲉⲁⲛ̄ ⲭⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲗⲉⲧⲟⲉⲣⲟⲥ·
ⲁⲧⲱ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲁⲁⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲓⲱⲧ·
17. ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲭⲉⲛⲁⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲁⲭⲉ·
ⲁⲧⲱ ⲛⲧⲛⲛⲓⲣⲁⲍⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲭⲣⲁⲉ̄·

16 a. εἰς κίβδηλον tanquam nugaces] ⲥⲁⲉ RL Bour, ⲭⲁⲉ Er, ⲭⲟⲟⲧⲧ Th ἐλογίσθημεν aestimati sumus] ⲛⲏⲧ RL, ⲉⲛⲛⲡ Er Th Bour; so Sᶜᵃ It Syr Arm SyrHex: ἐγενήθημεν S* 296

16 b. ἀπέχεται abstinet se] ⲉⲩⲉⲟⲧⲉⲓ RL, ⲩⲥⲁⲭⲛⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ Er Th ὁδῶν] ἔργων V ὡς ἀπὸ ἀκαθαρσιῶν tanquam ab immunditiis] ⲙⲙⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲟⲧⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲡⲓⲟⲛⲣⲓⲟⲛ RL, ⲛⲟⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲡⲉⲟⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ Er, ⲛⲟⲉ ⲛⲡⲓⲁⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲥⲓⲁ Th

16 c. μακαρίζει ἔσχατα δικαίων praefert novissima iustorum] ⲉⲩⲉⲙⲛⲟⲛ ⲉⲭⲉⲛ ⲭⲁⲡⲟⲧⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲗⲉⲧⲟⲉⲣⲟⲥ RL, ⲉⲩⲉⲥⲱⲙⲧ̄ ⲉⲁⲛ̄ ⲭⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲗⲉⲧⲟⲉⲣⲟⲥ Er, ⲥⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲛⲑⲁⲛ̄ ⲛⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ Th . ἔσχατα] ἔργα τῶν 155

17 a. εἰ si] ⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲛⲟⲧ RL, ⲭⲉ Er Th

17 b. πειράσωμεν tentemus] ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲁⲟⲕⲓⲙⲁⲍⲓⲙ RL, ⲛⲧⲛⲛⲓⲣⲁⲍⲉ Er Lag, ⲛⲧⲛⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ Th τὰ ἐν ἐκβάσει αὐτοῦ quae ventura sunt illi] *ad.* et sciemus quae erunt novissima illius It, ⲫⲛⲉⲧ ⲛⲁⲱⲟⲛⲓ ⲙⲉⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲫⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ RL, ⲧⲉⲫⲣⲁⲕ Er Th

16 a. ⲭⲁⲉ for κίβδηλον is probably a metaphorical use of the word. ⲭⲟⲟⲧⲧ in Th does not occur in La Croze, and in the Bohairic text of 1 Cor. ix 27, ed. Lagarde, the only scriptural passage cited by P 397, ἀδόκιμος is transcribed.

16 c. Th transcribes the first and last of the three words in this line, but Er, Bour, and RL translate 'he is angry against some of the free'. F, p. 25, regards ⲉⲗⲉⲧⲟⲉⲣⲟⲥ as representing δίκαιος: if this is so ⲙⲛⲟⲛ and ⲥⲱⲙⲧ, which both mean 'irasci', are incorrect. Probably F is mistaken, and the Coptic translators have either had another text or have completely altered the sentence.

17 a. ⲁⲣⲛⲟⲧ. The Bohairic seems to be fond of adding adverbs; cf. v 3, 4.

17 b. Here Er agrees with Th, while Bour and RL give a more literal rendering.

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18. ⲁⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲣⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁ ⲫ† ⲥⲉⲛ ⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲑⲙⲛⲓ ⲉⲡⲁ-
ⲡⲟⲣⲉⲩⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲫⲯⲩⲭⲏ
ⲉϥⲉⲥⲟⲧⲥ ⲥⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲍⲓⲍ ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲧⲓⲕⲓⲗⲓⲛⲟⲥ
19. ⲁⲛⲉⲣⲡⲓⲣⲁⲍⲓⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩ-
ⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ
ⲁⲧⲉⲙⲓⲥⲉⲛϣⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲟⲉⲃⲓⲟ
ⲁⲧⲉⲙⲓ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉⲙⲣⲁⲧⲱ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉϥϩⲓⲡⲟⲗⲏⲛⲏ
20. ⲉⲧⲉ†ϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲥⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲱⲱⲛⲓ
ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲙⲧⲉ †ⲗⲱⲓⲥⲓ ⲱⲱⲡⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲉⲛⲛⲉϥⲥⲁⲥⲓ

18a. *εἰ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ δίκαιος υἱὸς Θεοῦ* si enim est verus filius Dei] ⲁⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲣⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁ ⲫ† ⲥⲉⲛ ⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲑⲙⲛⲓ RL, ⲁⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ Er, ⲉⲱⲱⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ϫⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ Th; 'auffallend ist, dass auch Arm. in einigen Cod. das Adverb *vere* oder *juste* liest, so dass man wohl auf eine Variante *δικαίως* schliessen muss,' F, p. 45 *ἀντιλήμψεται αὐτοῦ* suscipiet illum] ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲟⲉⲩⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲫⲯⲩⲭⲏ RL, ⲉⲫⲉⲡⲟⲣⲁ̄ ⲛⲧⲉⲫⲯⲩⲭⲏ Er, ⲫⲁⲱⲟⲡ̄ⲫ ⲉⲣⲟϥ Th: *ἀντιλήψεται* Fritzsche

18b. *ῥύσεται αὐτόν* liberabit eum] ⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲧⲥ RL Er, ⲫⲁⲡⲁⲣⲙⲉⲫ Th *ἀνθεστηκότων* contrariorum] ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲕⲓⲗⲓⲛⲟⲥ RL Er, ϯⲟⲩⲃⲏϥ Th

19a. *ἐτάσωμεν* interrogemus] ⲁⲛⲉⲣⲡⲓⲣⲁⲍⲓⲙ RL, ⲉⲧⲁⲁⲍⲉ Er, ⲉⲧⲁⲍⲉ Th

19b. *γνῶμεν* sciamus] ⲁⲧⲉⲙⲓ RL, ⲉⲧⲉⲉⲙⲓ Bour, ⲉⲓⲉⲉⲓⲙⲉ Er Th *ἐπιεικίαν* reverentiam] ⲟⲉⲃⲓⲟ RL, ⲟⲉ̄ⲓⲟ Er. ⲙⲡⲧⲣⲁⲕ Th

18a. **ⲥⲉⲛ ⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲑⲙⲛⲓ.** The Bohairic, Arm, and Aug support the reading *δικαίως*. For this expression cf. Gen. xxvii 36, where it renders the LXX *δικαίως ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ*, iuste vocatum est nomen eius Iacob, Vulgate. Wilkins translates In veritate nominatus est Iacob. Augustine cites this clause in three forms:

1. Si enim iustus est filius Dei.
2. Si enim est vere filius Dei.
3. Si enim vere filius Dei est.

Cf. Feldmann, Cornely, and Heinisch in loc. See also Margoliouth, p. 285. Erman has neither *δίκαιος* nor *δικαίως*.

18a. *ἀντιλήμψεται* is well rendered in Th, lit. 'take him to himself', while Er, Bour, and RL agree in what is either a gloss or another text; so in the next line they are united against Th in the translation of *ῥύσεται*.

18b. The adoption of the transcribed Greek ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲕⲓⲗⲓⲛⲟⲥ by Er (with Bour and RL) is striking as Er uses ϯⲟⲩⲃⲏϥ in v. 12.

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18. же пе отщире ⲁⲡⲡоотте пе
ецепотⲟⲩⲁ птецψухн· ецесотⲥ ⲉⲡ ⲛⲥⲓⲧ ⲛⲛа-
нтиⲙⲉпос

19. ⲙⲁрепⲣⲁⲁⲍе ⲁⲙⲙоц ⲉⲡ ⲉⲛсωщ
ⲙⲡ ⲉⲛⲃасанос· же епеⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲣⲁ паι
ⲉпецⲟⲃⲉιο· ⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲉтецⲙⲡтрⲁⲡращ ⲙⲡ тецⲣто-
поⲙопн·

20. ⲉпе†ⲭап ⲉроц ⲉⲡ отⲙоот ецсщ·
же ⲛас ⲛте тⲗоισε щωпе . . . ωц ⲉⲃоⲗ ⲉⲡ-
пⲧщаже·

19 c. *δικάσωμεν* probemus] ⲁтⲉⲓⲙι RL, ⲉтⲉⲓⲙι Bour, ⲉⲓⲙⲉ Er, ⲛⲛаоκⲓⲙⲁⲍе Th: *δοκιμάσωμεν* S A *ἀνεξικακίαν* patientiam] тецⲙетрепратщ пеⲙ тецⲣтоⲙопн RL, тецⲙⲡтрⲁⲡращ ⲙⲡ тецⲣтоⲙопн Er, тецⲙⲡⲧ ⲣаⲣⲧⲣнт Th

20 a. om. 106 261 *καταδικάσωμεν αὐτόν* condemnemus eum] ⲉтⲉ†ⲭап ⲉроц RL, ⲉпе†ⲭап ⲉроц Er, ⲙарⲡтσаιоц Th

20 b. *ἔσται γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐπισκοπή* erit enim ei respectus] ⲉⲓпа ⲛте †ⲗωιхι щωпι ⲉхωц RL, же ⲛас ⲛте тⲗоισε щωпе . . . ωц Er, сепаσⲁ пецщιпе ⲥар Th *ἐκ λόγων αὐτοῦ* ex sermonibus illius] ⲉⲃоⲗ ⲍенпецсахι RL, ⲉⲃоⲗ ⲉⲡⲡⲧⲙⲁⲍе Er, ката пецщаже Th

19 a. The form ⲉⲣⲁⲁⲍе in Er is curious, *ὕβρει καὶ βασάνῳ* Boh correctly gives both in singular; It, Lag, and Er render both in plural; cf. i 2.

19 b and c. In translating *ἐπιεικίαν* and *ἀνεξικακίαν* Er, Bour, and RL agree against Th, and also in adding a transcribed Greek word *ὑπομονή* to a Coptic word to express *ἀνεξικακίαν*.

20. †ⲭап (iudicare, P 357) is too general a term for *καταδικάσωμεν*. тσаїо in Th is more exact and illustrates *φυγάδες* xvii 2; cf. Zorell ap. Cornely in loc. σⲁ пецщιпе Th, in the next line, is also a better rendering than ⲗоισε Er (ⲗωιхе RL), which means 'cause' and not 'visitation' in its special scriptural sense.

The clearly written ехωц in RL appears to fill correctly the lacuna in Ciasca's reprint of Er, though Bsciai, *Recueil* vii 31, seems to have read ⲭωωц (= *γάρ*), for which he quotes *Sagesse* ii 20 dans Erman, p. 40. But a pronoun seems to be required by the Greek *αὐτοῦ*, and Erman's final clause with же ⲛас is supported by that of RL with ⲉⲓпа.

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21. ⲉⲧⲉⲓⲣⲱⲟⲩϣ ϩⲉⲛ ϕⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ
ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲙ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ
22. ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲉ̀ⲓⲙⲓ ⲉ̀ⲛⲓ ⲙⲁⲧⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϕϯ
ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲣⲡⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲃⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲟⲙⲛⲓ
ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲣϕⲙⲉⲉⲧⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲯⲩⲭⲏ
ⲉ̀ⲧⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ⲁⲥⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲛⲧⲟⲩ.

d. v 1–7 (Rylands Lectionary, p. ⲧⲛⲉ)

1. ϩⲉⲛ ϕⲁⲓ ⲉⲩⲉ̀ⲧⲱⲛⲕ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲉ ⲡⲓⲟⲙⲛⲓ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲫⲁⲣⲓⲛ

21 a. *ταῦτα ἐλογίσαντο* haec cogitaverunt] ⲉⲧⲉⲓⲣⲱⲟⲩϣ ϩⲉⲛ ϕⲁⲓ RL, ⲉⲧⲓⲣⲟⲟⲩϣ ⲣⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ Er, ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ Th

21 b. *ἀπετύφλωσεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἡ κακία αὐτῶν* excaecavit enim illos malitia eorum] om. ⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ RL Er, ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲙ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ RL, ⲁⲧⲧⲱⲙ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲩϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ Er, ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ [+ⲅⲁⲣ Lag] ⲧⲱⲙ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲏⲧ Th

22 a. *οὐκ ἔγνωσαν* nescierunt] ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲉ̀ⲓⲙⲓ RL, ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩⲛ̄ Er Th *μυστήρια αὐτοῦ* sacramenta Dei] Θεοῦ RL Er Th with S A $B^{ab\,mg}$ It Syr Arm Aeth Syr^{Hex}: B* *αὐτοῦ*

22 b. *οὐδέ* neque] ⲟⲩⲟⲩ RL, ⲟⲩⲁⲉ with negative verb Er Th *ἤλπισαν* speraverunt] ⲉⲣⲛⲟⲓ RL, ⲕⲁⲣⲧⲏⲧ Er Th *ὁσιότητος* iustitiae] ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲟⲙⲛⲓ RL, ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲉⲟⲙⲛⲓ Bour, ⲡ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲧⲡⲏ Er Lag, ⲡ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲧⲡⲏ Th

21 b. *ἀπετύφλωσεν.* RT renders Er 'they have dulled their glory' and Lag 'their wickedness has dulled their hearts'. Though the word ⲧⲱⲙ (ⲑⲱⲙ) is used in the N. T. for obdurare, obduratio, the meaning 'excaecare' given by P 241 for this verse and 1 John ii 11 seems to be correct; cf. Sirach xx 29. For the usage of this word in connexion with the discussion about *πώρωσις* and *πήρωσις* vide *J. T. S.* iii 87 n. and Lagarde *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* p. 101.

22 a. No Coptic version supports Swete's text from B by giving *αὐτοῦ* for *θεοῦ*.

22 b. ⲟⲩⲁⲉ with neg. of verb in Th and Er is a mistake; Bour and RL have ⲟⲩⲟⲩ quite correctly; cf. i 9 n. *ὁσιότητος*: cf. i 1 n.

22 c. The special sense of *κρίνω* (= discern) is marked by the Coptic versions which here avoid transcription; cf. i 1 n. Heinisch and Gärtner (*Komposition und Wortwahl des Buches der Weisheit*, Berlin 1912, p. 180) translate 'erkennen' and not 'richten' as in other places where it occurs. ⲧⲁⲓⲟ Th is a better translation of *γέρας* than ⲡ̄ⲕⲟⲧⲕ in Er, which RL strangely gives in the plural. Heinisch combines the meanings (honor, laus, donum, munus) in the compound 'Ehrenpreis'.

ἀμώμων. It is noteworthy that while Th has the simple expression, ⲟⲩⲁⲁϩ, Er and Bour agree in paraphrasing though they employ different words for 'stain', ϫϩⲓⲙ and ⲁⲥⲛⲓ.

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21. ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲣⲟⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲧⲱ ⲁⲧⲥⲱⲣⲁⲓ·
ⲁⲧⲧⲱⲗⲗ ⲛⲁⲡⲉⲧⲉⲩⲟⲧⲉⲩⲟⲩ·
22. ⲁⲧⲱ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲁⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ·
ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁⲉⲏⲧ ⲉⲡⲓⲉϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲧⲏⲛ
ⲁⲧⲱ ⲛⲁⲡⲉⲧⲣⲡⲙⲉⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲏⲟⲧⲕ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄
ϫⲓⲛ ⲛⲉⲏⲧⲟⲩ·

d. v 1–7 (Ciasca's Text, ii 216)

1. ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲉⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ

22 c. ἔκριναν iudicaverunt] ⲉⲣⲫⲙⲉⲧⲓ RL, ⲉⲛⲙⲉⲉⲧⲉ Er, ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲧⲉ Th
γέρας honorem] ⲏⲡⲓⲏⲕⲟⲧ RL, ⲛⲏⲕⲟⲧⲕ Er, ⲧⲁⲓⲟ Th ἁμώμων
sanctarum] ⲉⲧⲉ ⲗⲗⲟⲛ ⲁⲥⲛⲓ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ RL, ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ϫⲓⲛ ⲛⲉⲏⲧⲟⲩ Er,
ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲏ Th

d. v 1–7.

1 a. στήσεται ὁ δίκαιος stabunt iusti] ⲉⲩⲉⲧⲱⲛⲉ ⲏⲁⲉ ⲡⲓⲟⲙⲛⲓ RL,
ⲡⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲁⲉⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉ Th ἐν παρρησίᾳ πολλῇ in magna constantia]
ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲟⲁⲣⲓⲛ ⲗⲁⲡⲁⲱⲁⲓ ⲏⲡⲛⲉⲟⲡⲉⲗⲗⲁⲉ RL, ⲉⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲡⲁⲱⲱⲥ Th,
ⲉⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲥⲁⲁ ⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲡⲁⲱⲱⲥ Lag

d. v 1–7.

This passage is printed by Amélineau, *Recueil* ix 114, 115. Ciasca, however, pronounces (Fragmenta ii, Preface, p. lvii) a severe judgement on Amélineau's work because it gives no note of codices or their origin or of variants, and concludes by saying that this edition is imperfect and destitute of all authority. Heinisch in the introduction to his commentary states that the fragment from chapter vi is published by Ciasca and in imperfect form by Amélineau. But while Amélineau clearly indicates his *lacunae*, Ciasca prints the text continuously, leaving the reader to discover the omissions from comparison with the Greek and from his notes.

1 a. ⲧⲱⲛ RL gives the meaning of 'rise' rather than 'stand'. ⲁⲉⲉⲣⲁⲧ Th is used in ix 4 for *πάρεδρον* apparently by mistake. 'Great boldness' seems to be enlarged by RL into 'great self-confidence'. The double adjective in Lag is rendered in RT 'very great boldness'. Incidentally a curious mistake of Lagarde's on the phrase may be mentioned. In Dr Arendzen's article on the Syriac text of the 'Apostolic Church Order', *J. T. S.* iii 59–80, there is a collation of the Sahidic version. On the text (*ib.*, p. 71) 'Those who have ministered well and without reproach have prepared for themselves the degree of shepherds'. Lagarde remarks about the Sahidic of the concluding words, where for the Greek

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ⲁⲛⲁⲩⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲑⲙⲉ ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲗⲗⲑⲟⲛⲛⲉⲧ
ⲥⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲩ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲉ̀ⲥⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲣⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲭⲟⲛⲥ

2. ⲉⲩⲱⲡ ⲁⲩϣⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲩ ϣⲁⲧⲕⲓⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲩ-
ⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟϯ
ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲉⲣⲧⲁⲗⲉⲡⲱⲣⲓⲛ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ϯϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩ-
ⲙⲟⲣⲉⲙ

3. ⲉⲧⲉⲭⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲉ̀ⲣⲛⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲧⲁ
ⲛⲉϩⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲛⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧϣⲗⲁϩ ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲧ
ⲉⲧⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ
ⲭⲉ ϕⲁⲓ ⲡⲉⲉ̀ⲧⲁⲛϯϣⲱϣⲛⲁϥ ⲥⲉⲛ ϕⲛⲉⲧ ⲁϥⲥⲓⲙⲓ
ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲓϥⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲥⲁⲛⲓⲥⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲙⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛ
ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓϣⲱϣ

1 b. *τῶν θλιψάντων αὐτόν* eos qui se angustiaverunt] ⲛⲏⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱϥ RL, ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲟⲗⲓⲃⲉ Th, ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲡⲧⲁⲧⲟⲗⲓⲃⲉ Ci

1 c. *καί* et] ⲟⲩⲟⲩ RL, ⲁⲧⲱ Lag, om. Th Ci *τῶν ἀθετούντων* qui abstulerunt] ⲉ̀ⲥⲓⲡϫⲟⲛⲥ RL, ⲛⲉⲡⲧⲁⲑⲉⲧⲓ Th Ci *τοὺς πόνους αὐτοῦ* labores eorum] ⲡⲉϥⲣⲟⲙⲟⲥ RL, ⲡⲉϥϩⲓⲥⲉ Th Ci

2 a. *ἰδόντες* videntes] ad. *αὐτόν* 253; so RL ⲉ̀ⲣⲟϥ, om. Th Ci *ταραχθήσονται* turbabuntur] ϣⲁⲧⲕⲓⲙ RL, ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϣⲧⲟⲣⲧ̄ⲣ̄ Th Ci *φόβῳ δεινῷ* timore horribili] ⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟϯ RL, ⲉⲥⲡⲁϣⲏ̄ Th Lag Ci

2 b. *ἐκστήσονται* mirabuntur] ⲁⲧⲉⲣⲧⲁⲗⲉⲡⲱⲣⲓⲛ RL, ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲡⲱϣ̄ⲥ̄ Th *τῷ παραδόξῳ* subitatione] ϯϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ RL, ⲧⲗⲟⲩⲉϩ Ci, ⲧⲗⲟⲉⲓϩⲉ Th *σωτηρίας* salutis] ad. *αὐτοῦ* Fritzsche with S A 55 253 254 Syr SyrHex, ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲟⲙⲟⲥ RL, ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩϩⲁⲓ Th, ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩϩⲁⲓ Ci Lag: *σωτηρίας* B A min It Aeth

τόπον ποιμενικόν it has ⲡⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲡⲁϣⲱⲥ, 'ⲡⲁϣⲱⲥ = *ποιμενικόν* quidem scribere facile erat sed quomodo ⲡⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ emendarem, nesciebam'. There is of course no need for emendation, as the Coptic scribe has simply taken another phrase from the verse referred to 1 Tim. iii 13, and *ποιμενικόν* would be ⲡ̄ϣⲱⲥ.

2 a. RL agrees with 253 in adding the pronouns *αὐτόν* and *αὐτοῦ* in 2 a and 2 b. Th and Ci are nearer the original with ϣⲧⲟⲣⲧ̄ⲣ̄ and ⲡⲁϣⲏ̄ than RL with ⲕⲓⲙ and ⲛⲓϣϯ for *ταραχθήσονται* and *δεινῷ*.

2 b. ⲡⲱϣ̄ⲥ̄ (Th and Ci) is better than ⲧⲁⲗⲉⲡⲱⲣⲓⲛ for *ἐκστήσονται*. For *αὐτοῦ* rendered by RL, Ci, and Lag, Th seems to have read *αὐτῶν*.

3 b. The translation of *στενοχωρία* has elicited a wonderful variety of Coptic

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ⲉⲡⲁⲱⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲧⲟ ⲉ̅ⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲙⲧⲁⲧⲟⲗⲓⲃⲉ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲩ· ⲁⲧⲱ ⲛⲉⲙⲧⲁⲧ̅ⲃⲏⲉⲧⲉⲓ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲩⲣ̅ⲓⲥⲉ·
2. ⲥⲉⲡⲁⲡⲁⲧ ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲱⲧⲟⲣⲧ̅ⲣ̅ ⲣⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲥⲡⲁⲱⲧ̅·
ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲡⲱⲱⲥ̅ ⲉ̅ⲭⲛ̅ ⲧⲙⲟⲩⲓⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ·
3. ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲓ ⲛ̅ⲣⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓ
ⲉⲧⲁ̅ⲱⲁⲣⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲣⲟⲭⲣⲉⲭ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̅ⲛⲁ·
ⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲉ̅ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓ̈ⲱ
ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲥⲛⲉⲥ

3 a. ἐροῦσιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς dicentes intra se] ⲉⲧⲉⲭⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲧⲉⲣⲛⲟⲩ RL, ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲓ ⲛ̅ⲣⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲩ Th Ci; so Fritzsche with B S^{ca} A V 55 106 155 248 296 It Arm Syr SyrHex Aeth, om. ἐν S* μετανοοῦντες poenitentiam agentes] ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲱⲙ RL, ⲉⲧⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓ̈ Th Ci

3 b. διὰ στενοχωρίαν πνεύματος prae angustia spiritus] ⲍⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧ-ⲩⲗⲁϩ ⲛ̅ⲣⲛ̅ⲧ RL, ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲣⲱⲭ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̅ⲛⲁ Th. For ϩⲱⲭ in Th, ⲗⲱⲭϩ Lag, ϩⲟⲩⲣⲉⲭ Ci στενάξονται gementes] ⲍⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲧⲁⲡⲉⲝⲓⲥ RL, ⲉⲧⲁ̅ⲱⲁⲣⲟⲙ Th Ci: στενάξονται B A 157, στενάξουσιν S 155, στενάζουσιν V 253 296, στενάζονται 55 248 254, στενάζοντες B 68 It, κεκράξονται 106, κεκράξοντες 261; future Arm Syr Aeth SyrHex καὶ ἐροῦσιν] ⲉⲧⲭⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁ-ⲙⲟⲥ RL, ⲭⲉ Th, om. Swete with B 68 It; ad. S A V 55 106 155 157 248 253 254 261 296 Arm Syr SyrHex Aeth

3 d. καὶ εἰς παραβολὴν ὀνειδισμοῦ et in similitudinem improperii] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲁⲓϩⲁⲡⲟⲛ ⲍⲁⲛⲓⲥⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲡⲥⲁⲭⲓ ⲡⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓ-ⲩⲱⲩ RL, ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲥⲛⲉⲥ Th Ci οἱ ἄφρονες nos insensati] in verse 4 Fritzsche with Ci; pr. ἡμεῖς V 253 SyrHex Chrysost

words, ⲙⲉⲧⲩⲗⲁϩ, ϩⲱⲭ, ⲗⲱⲭϩ, and ϩⲟⲩⲣⲉⲭ. ⲩⲗⲁϩ is only cited from Kircher P 292, ϩⲱⲭ is not known to P as a noun, for ⲗⲱⲭϩ there is a reference to 2 Cor. vii 4, and for ϩⲟⲩⲣⲉⲭ to Sirach x 26. ⲍⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲧⲁⲡⲉⲝⲓⲥ RL (om. ⲟⲩ Bour) appears to support στενάζοντες. κατάνυξις is a rare word which Hesychius renders λύπη, ἡσυχία, the second rendering being due to a wrong derivation from νυστάζω.

3 d. παραβολή is rendered in RL by the Coptic ⲥⲁⲭⲓ followed by παραβολή transcribed; cf. ii 19. On the Latin 'in similitudinem' cf. Margoliouth, p. 277.

5a (utique, revera, P 325) cf. ii 17 n.

ἡμεῖς is another illustration of agreement between Boh and 253 in the addition of pronouns.

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4. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲉⲓⲛⲓ ⲙⲉ ⲉϥⲗⲟϧⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲱⲱⲛⲩ
ⲥⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉϧⲟⲗ

5. ⲡⲱⲥ ⲁⲩⲱⲡ ⲁⲓⲣⲁϥ ⲛⲉⲓⲁ ⲡⲓⲱⲛⲏⲣⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲫⲏ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉϥⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ

6. ⲉⲡⲥⲱⲣⲉⲓⲁ ⲉϧⲟⲗ ⲥⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲓⲱⲟⲓⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲉⲟⲩⲛⲏ
ⲁⲓⲡⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲉⲟⲩⲛⲏ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲡⲉϥⲱⲁⲓ ⲉϩⲱⲛ ⲛϩⲉⲫⲣⲏ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ

7. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲛϩⲟⲗⲕ ⲥⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲱⲓⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲟ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲓⲟⲱⲓ ⲥⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲁ ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲓⲟⲱⲓ ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲡⲉⲛⲕⲁⲧ ⲉⲡⲓⲱⲱⲓⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄.

4 a. *βίον αὐτοῦ* vitam illorum] ⲛⲉϥⲁϩⲉ Th *μανίαν* insaniam] ⲉϥⲗⲟϧⲓ RL, ϥⲗⲟϧⲓ Bour, ⲉⲧⲟⲗⲓϩⲉ Th Ci, ⲗⲓϩⲉ Lag *ἐλογισάμεθα* aestimabamus] ⲁⲛⲉⲓⲛⲓ RL, ⲁⲛⲓⲉⲧⲓ Bour, ⲉⲡⲱⲡ Th Ci *ἄτιμον* sine honore] B A Sᶜᵃ SyrHex Aeth, ⲉϥⲱⲱⲛⲩ RL, ⲉϥⲁⲛⲩ Bour, apparently a mistake (ad. ⲥⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉϧⲟⲗ RL), *ἀτιμίαν* S* Arm, ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲩ Th Ci

6 a. *ἄρα* ergo] om. RL, ⲉⲓⲉ Th Ci, ⲉⲉⲓⲉ Lag *ἐπλανήθημεν* erravimus] ⲉⲡⲥⲱⲣⲉⲓⲁ RL, ⲡⲧⲁⲧⲡⲗⲁⲡⲁ Ci, ⲡⲧⲁⲡⲡⲗⲁⲡⲁ Th Lag *ὁδοῦ ἀληθείας* via veritatis] ⲡⲓⲓⲱⲟⲓⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲉⲟⲩⲛⲏ RL

6 b. *φῶς δικαιοσύνης* lumen iustitiae] ⲫⲟⲧⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲉⲟⲩⲛⲏ RL

6 c. *ἥλιος* sol intelligentiae] ⲫⲣⲏ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ RL

4 a. The omission of *βίος* in RL is somewhat peculiar, but it agrees with Lag in representing *μανίαν* correctly by ⲉϥⲗⲟϧⲓ, while Th and Ci, influenced probably by v. 1, give ⲉⲧⲟⲗⲓϩⲉ. The noun in the Sahidic Gospels, Matt. xiii 21, Mc. iv 7, Jo. xvi 21 is ⲟⲗⲓⲯⲓⲥ (Boh ϩⲟϫϩⲉϫ).

6. The Boh fails to distinguish between 'truth' and 'justice', giving ⲙⲉⲟⲩⲛⲏ for both, and adding the transcribed ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ after *ἥλιος* with V 248 253; cf. i 1 n. The Sah represents the received Greek text exactly.

7 a. F devotes a whole page to the construction of this line, and comes eventually to the conclusion that *τρίβοις* is either a dative of place or that *ἐν* has dropped out through homoioteleuton.

The word ϫⲟⲗⲕ (Boh) is used in Lc. iv 29 for *κατακρημνίζειν*, praecipitare, deicere (ⲡⲟϫ Sah), and might perhaps mean 'we rushed headlong', but as it is also used in the sense of submergere, submergi in Exod. xv 4 and 2 Pet. iii 6, it seems more probable that the meaning here is 'we were immersed in'.

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4. ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲑⲛⲧⲉⲛⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲗⲓⲃⲉ
ⲁⲧⲱ ⲡⲉⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲙ
5. ⲛⲁⲙⲛⲏⲉ ⲁⲥⲱⲡ ⲫⲏ ⲛⲙⲛⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ·
ⲁⲧⲱ ⲡⲉⲥⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ ⲫⲏ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ·
6. ⲉⲓⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲁ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓ ⲧⲉϩⲓⲛ ⲛⲧⲙⲉ·
ⲁⲧⲱ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛⲧⲙⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ
ⲁⲧⲱ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲡⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲛ:
7. ⲁⲙⲙⲟⲧϩ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ϩⲓⲧⲁⲕⲟ ϩⲓ ⲛⲉⲛϩⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ
ⲁⲛⲃⲱⲕ ϩⲓ ⲛⲉⲛϩⲁⲓⲉ ⲉⲙⲉⲧⲙⲟⲟⲩϣⲉ ⲛϩⲛⲧⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉϩⲓⲛ ⲙⲡϩⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲧⲱⲛⲥ.

6 a. ⲧⲉϩⲓⲛ ⲛⲧⲙⲉ Th Ci, ⲛⲉϩⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ Lag
6 b. ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛⲧⲙⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ Th Ci
6 c. ⲡⲣⲏ Th Ci ἥλιος] ad. δικαιοσύνης V 248 253 It Arm SyrHex

7 a. ἀνομίας ἐνεπλήσθημεν τρίβοις καὶ ἀπωλείας lassati sumus in via iniquitatis et perditionis] ⲉⲡϩⲟⲗⲕ ϩⲉⲛ ϥⲗⲱⲓⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ϯⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲙⲉⲗⲗ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲟ RL, ⲁⲙⲙⲟⲧϩ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ϩⲓⲧⲁⲕⲟ ϫⲏ ⲛⲉⲛϩⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ Th Ci; so Lag with ⲛ for ϫⲏ: ἐπλήσθημεν 248, τρίβους 106, τρίβων 248, καὶ τρίβων ἀπωλείας 253

7 b. διωδεύσαμεν ἐρήμους ἀβάτους ambulavimus vias difficiles] ⲁⲙⲙⲟⲩⲓ ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲧⲗⲟⲩⲓ ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ RL, ⲁⲛⲃⲱⲕ ϫⲏ ϩⲉⲛϩⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛϩⲁⲓⲉ ⲉⲙⲉⲧⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛϩⲛⲧⲟⲩ Th, ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲛϩⲁⲓⲉ Lag, ϫⲏ ⲛⲉⲛϩⲁⲓⲉ Ci

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In conclusion the Bohairic lections give evidence of readings and interpretations which deserve careful attention. The materials for the investigation which Dr Crum considered to be worth making are now exhibited in detail before the reader and shew that Erman's text agrees with the Bohairic in twenty-six places where it differs from Th and Lag. This seems to indicate either similarity of text or influence of rendering or probably both. Feldmann gives a list of forty-two places in the first ten chapters in which the Sahidic of Lagarde differs from B and the agreement of these variants with collated MSS and versions.

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I close by reproducing this list of agreements as a contribution to the question of recensions:—

Syr	23	261	10
Arm.	19	55	9
Lat	18	253	9
Aeth	16	296	9
S.	20	V (= 23 HP)	8
A	16	254	8
248	13	155	6
SyrHex	11	68.	5
157	11	B^{ab}	4
Compl	10	C (from viii 5)	3
106	10	S^{oa}	2

D. P. BUCKLE.

A MUTILATED LATIN NEW TESTAMENT OF THE MEROVINGIAN PERIOD.

IN the period 1913–1914 there came into the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, a manuscript which is thus described in Monsieur H. Omont's catalogue:—

> '[MSS latins: Nouvelles Acquisitions] [petit format] **1063**. Novum Testamentum, praeter Acta et Apocalypsim. Provient de la cathédrale de Beauvais, puis du château de Troussures; no. 2 des ventes de 1909 et 1912. VIII[e] s. Parch. Écriture mérovingienne. 120 feuillets, à 2 col. 220 sur 140 millim. Demi-rel. anc.'[1]

Monsieur Omont has also called attention to the manuscript in a masterly reconstruction of what remains of the valuable cathedral library of Beauvais.[2] In the present note one or two points of interest connected with the manuscript are alluded to, in the hope that it will receive from the hands of an expert a treatment of its textual character such as its age merits.

[1] *Bibliothèque Nationale: Nouvelles Acquisitions du Département des Manuscrits pendant les années 1913–1914. Inventaire sommaire*, par H. Omont (Paris, 1915), pp. 16 f.

[2] *Recherches sur la Bibliothèque de l'Église cathédrale de Beauvais* (Extrait des Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Tome xi) (Paris, 1914), p. 77.

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The Gospel text would appear to be certainly Vulgate, as the Eusebian section numbers are in their places, and are an integral part of the manuscript. But the title and subscription to the usual Latin prologue of the Gospel of St Luke are of special interest:—

(f. 24 r *a*) EXP̄:-EVANGL^{M}
SCNDM : MARCM
INCP:- PREFATIO
SECV̄D ☙ LVCA
× × × × × × × × × ×
L × × × × × × × × × ×
UCAS SYRUS *etc.*

That the two erased lines were of some interest is shewn by the subscription to the prologue, which is intact:—

(f. 24 v *b*) EXPLICIT
PREFATIO
SECVNDVM
LVCANVM
INCIPIT
EVANGELIVM
EIVSDEM.

This subscription provides another instance of the Old Latin accusative form *Lucanum* to which Mgr Mercati and Mr C. H. Turner have already called attention in the JOURNAL.[1]

A second point of interest about the manuscript is the occurrence after the Epistle to Philemon of the Epistle to the Laodiceans (f. 118 r *b*–v *a*). I give a collation of the text of this with that printed in my *Text and Canon of the New Testament* (London, 1913).[2]

EXPL AD FILEMONE
INCP AD LAVDICENSIS.

l. 1 homine] hominibus l. 2 Laudiciae] laodice ¦ gracia ¦¦ l. 3 nostro *om.* ¦ gracias ¦¦ l. 4 Iesu Christo ¦ oracionem ¦¦ permanentes estis ¦¦ l. 5 promissum expectantes ¦¦ l. 6 iudicii ¦¦ distituant ¦¦ uaniloquia ¦¦ l. 7 se *om.* ¦ sed peto *om.* ¦ ut *habet sed non* ne ¦¦ l. 8 faciet deus ¦ sint *om.* ¦¦ l. 9 in] ad ¦ l. 10 sunt *om.* ¦ l. 11 palam sunt ¦¦ pacior ¦¦ l. 13 quod] +est (?) ¦¦ oracionibus ¦ administrantē sp̄m sc̄m ¦¦ l. 14 uiuere] +uita ¦¦ l. 15 ipsum] in ipsum ¦¦ misericordiā suā ¦¦ l. 17 ita *om.* ¦¦ retenite ¦¦ l. 18 in timore] amorē ¦¦ aeterna] in aeternum ¦¦ l. 19 uos ¦¦ tractu ¦¦ l. 21 optimum *om.* ¦¦ gaudite ¦¦ l. 22 sorditus ¦¦ in omnibus] omnes ¦¦

[1] Vol. vi (1904–1905) pp. 256 ff, 435. [2] p. 193 f.

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sunt || peticiones || l. 23 ante] apud || l. 24 integra] +et uera || et casta *om.* || l. 25 accipistis || in *bis* || retenite || salutare || l. 26 omnes sanctos ...salutant *om. homoeoarct.* || omnes *alt. om.* || l. 27 gracia || nostri *om.* || Christi *om.* || l. 28 Colosensibus et *om. homoeoarct.* || colosinsium ||

EXPL AD LAODICAENSIS
INCIP: AD HEBREOS

A. SOUTER.

EUANTHAS.

MOST of the readers of the JOURNAL are no doubt familiar with the passage in Irenaeus (v 30), where he mentions three solutions that had been proposed for the riddle of the number 666; Euanthas, Teitan, and Lateinos. It will be remembered that Irenaeus devotes some little discussion to the last two, but passes over Euanthas with the words 'it does contain the number, but we affirm nothing about it'. Commentators, so far as I know, have followed his example. Dr Swete, for instance, dismisses it as 'the impossible word Euanthas'. Yet it seems to me incredible that the suggestion when first put forward should have been meaningless, or that any one should have cared to put forward a word, which is hardly a name (for there are several Euanthes, but no Euanthas), simply because the letters will add up to 666. Such instances of words and names can no doubt be found by the score, by any one who cares to take the trouble. I suggest that Euanthas when originally proposed was simply a graecized form of 'Florus'.

Gessius Florus, procurator of Judaea in A. D. 64 and 65, is in fact a very respectable candidate for the Beast-ship. The governor whose barbarities are described at length by Josephus, who 'made Albinus by comparison seem a benefactor', whose oppression brought on the fatal war, perhaps according to his deliberate intention, of whom Tacitus says 'duravit tamen patientia Iudaeis usque ad Florum procuratorem', must long have been a name of horror to every Jew and Jewish Christian. If, as I think is probable, before the Apocalypse was written, Gaius Caesar had been described by the number 616, those who wished to solve St John's new riddle would naturally think of a man who typified Roman oppression even more than Gaius. How such persons would proceed can easily be guessed. Like most of their successors they start with a prepossession for a particular man and a willingness to find him at the expense of some straining. They would of course like to get 666 out of Φλῶρος, but this being obviously impossible they look for a Greek equivalent. Their choice lies between ἄνθινος, ἀνθηρός, and εὐανθής, and of the three εὐανθής is probably first

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choice, because it was actually current as a name, which the others were not. When they find that εὐανθής makes 673, and that with the very small and perhaps legitimate alteration of η to α it will actually make 666, they are probably more than satisfied.

On the same principle, I suspect that those who proposed Τείταν really meant Titus.[1] They followed a not very dissimilar line of reasoning. As the name itself will not fit, they proposed one which was sufficiently like it and at the same time embodied the qualities they ascribed to the captor of Jerusalem. It is as Irenaeus says a *nomen tyrannicum*, and suggests the insolence that is doomed to fall *mole sua*. No one could be surprised if Titus was nicknamed 'Titan' by his enemies.

If these suggestions are sound, one interesting result follows. The earliest critics of the Apocalypse were on a level with the moderns. They recognized that the Beast represented the Roman power of the time, rather than an Antichrist to come.

F. H. COLSON.

SOME CATENAE FRAGMENTS OF ORIGEN'S COMMENTARY ON MATTHEW.

THE fragments of Origen in Possinus's Catena on Matthew are apparently not derived from the Commentary. But some of those in Cramer's Catena appear to come from this source, while those published by Gallandi from Vatican Catenae (*Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, vol. xiv (1781)) are clearly so derived. (Lists of these fragments were given by Mr C. H. Turner in the JOURNAL x 106.) Gallandi's extracts are mostly extremely compressed; but nevertheless they seem to confirm the view, suggested by comparison of the Latin version of the Commentary, that the existing Greek text is somewhat abridged from its original form. Here and there Gallandi has in the body of a fragment a sentence not represented in the existing text of the Commentary; e.g. in his brief summary of Origen's comment on the Parable of the Hid Treasure, the sentence reads: Ἡ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν] ἐστιν αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστὸς. ἀλ' ἡ γνῶσις αὐτοῦ δοθεῖσα ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστιν εὑρίσκεται διὰ τῆς πίστεως καὶ ἐγκρύπτεται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν. In that of the Draw-net he has two insertions: 'Or the net is the apostolic teaching, which gathers together from everywhere [from Greeks, barbarians, Scythians, bondmen, freemen, men and good]; and "The vessels are the different abodes [μονάς]".

But considerable fragments of the Commentary on Matthew are [illegible]

[1] I am glad to hear from Professor Burkitt that he has long held this.

also in Nicetas's Catena on Luke. The best account of this Catena is by Sickenburger *T. U.* xxii (1902). He gives the number of quotations from Origen as 113. This Catena has never been published in full, nor have the quotations of Origen contained in it; but most of them can be gathered from one or more of the following sources:

(1) Cardinal Mai, who published a number of fragments of other writers from Cod. Vat. 1611, the best manuscript of Nicetas, gave only a few specimens from Origen in *Auct. Class.* vol. x (1838).

(2) Gallandi (*u. s.*) published a large number of extracts from a Venice Catena, which represents an abridged recension of Nicetas, retaining most of the Origen passages. Gallandi's passages are reprinted in Migne (Origen vol. vii).

(3) Corderius (1628) published a Latin translation of this abridged recension. In his copy, as in Cod. Monac. 33, the name Ὠριγένης was frequently corrupted into Γεωμέτρης.

Gallandi and Corderius are naturally in close agreement. The text of Mai, in the few cases where his extracts coincide with theirs, is distinctly superior.

(4) De la Rue gave some passages from Macarius Chrysocephalus, who drew largely from Nicetas.

Many of the passages in Nicetas, especially on the earlier chapters, are clearly fragments of the original of the Homilies on Luke, preserved in Jerome's Latin translation; others may belong to Homilies not so preserved.

But some of the longest really belong to the Commentary on Matthew.

(1) Mai, p. 476, has a long allegorical interpretation of the miracle of the Five Thousand (Lk. ix 12 f). This comes from Matthew tome x 23–xi 3 pp. 474–479 De la Rue. Only a few sentences are omitted; the quotation is close, and furnishes us with an independent and early witness to the text. (Vat. 1611 was begun in 1116.)

Corderius, Gallandi, and Macarius have some considerable comments on Lk. ix—especially on the Transfiguration. These all come from the Commentary on Matthew tome xii 9–xiii 9. Many of them are much abridged, but here and there a sentence is added which appears to be genuine.

(2) Lk. ix 20 f (Peter's Confession). Corderius. Matthew tome xii 9–12 pp. 521–528.

(3) ix 23–24 (Denial of Self). Corderius. Matthew tome xii 24–25 pp. 543–545.

(4) ix 27 ('Some standing here'). Gallandi and Corderius. Matthew tome xii 31–35 pp. 550–556. There are many omissions, but two additional sentences: (*a*) ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ φίλοι θεοῦ ὅσοι τὴν στάσιν ἐν τῷ καλῷ ἔχουσιν, ὡς ὁ Βαπτιστὴς αὐτὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγει, Ὁ δὲ φίλος τοῦ

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πικίλου ἐστὶν χιτὼν χιτών. (3) τῆς δὲ τελείας, κατὰ τὸν Δανιήλ, ὡρισμένης σκέπει κάλλει πᾶσαι τὰς ἄλλας τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

(5) ix 28–31 Transfiguration. Gallandi, Macarius, Corderius. Matthew tome xii 36–38 pp. 556–559.

(6) ix 35–36 Duties. Gallandi, Macarius, Corderius. Matthew tome xi 43 p. 565. At the close of the extract there is a passage not found in the text of the Commentary: Οὐ τῶν φιλοτήτων ἐμπίπλων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀσθενέντες μὴ ἐπιστρώσῃ. Macarius quotes Lk. ix 36. Then Macarius, ἐπὶ τὸ ἐστρωμένον μετὰ τὴν ἐπιστροφήν. μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπιστροφήν. Macarius ends here. Ὅτε γὰρ ἐπιστρέφεται τις πρὸς ἀρετὰς καὶ τρέπεται κρείττων καὶ τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ σημείου ἔστιν ὅτε φαύλων συμπροσῆλθεν αὐτῷ, καὶ τούτων ἵνα ἕλκων ἐπιστρέψῃ τὸν.

(7) ix 42 Little ones. Gallandi and Corderius. Matthew tome xiii 3–5 pp. 5–.

(8) ix 43– Hell fire. Gallandi and Corderius. Matthew tome xiii 8– pp. 5–5, with many omissions.

(9) xi 51 Zacharias. Gallandi and Corderius. Matthew (Latin) § 52 1 . Then however and after 'They slew him (Zacharias the father of John the Baptist) between the Temple and the Altar' the Greek continues καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐπιμένομεν τῷ τὸν ἀναιρεθέντα ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ αἵματι. Corderius' extract is much longer than Gallandi's and the earlier part is not found corresponding in the Latin Commentary.

(10) xii 1 Leaven of Herod. Parable of Labourers in the Vineyard. Gallandi and Corderius. The latter shews that this extract is composite and consists of a passage from Origen, one from Maximus, one from Eusebius and perhaps an extract from Origen. This is discovered in Gallandi's notes. Note. The first section is from Matthew tome xv 36 pp. –. In the first section a curious comparison of each of the five ages of the world with one of the five senses, from tome xv 33 pp. 700–701.

(11) xiv 2 Parable of Great Supper. Gallandi, Macarius, Corderius. The end of the quotation is from Matthew tome xvi 19 p. 797.

It is thus clear that a considerable number of the fragments of Origen in Nicetas' Catena do really come from the Commentary on Matthew. Here and there they appear to preserve a genuine sentence or paragraph omitted in the ordinary text. It is also natural to suppose that a number of the short extracts from Origen really come from lost books of this Commentary, e.g. the long comments on the Parable of the Leaven, or the one on the ἀπορρητότερα.

Corderius records the occurrence of some of his quotations with the Commentary of Victor, viz. those on ix 23–24. 27. 42 and xi 1. I have detected [illegible] in the assignment of some to Victor.

Harnack.

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REVIEWS

The Ideals of the Prophets, by the late Prof. S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Oxford. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1915.)

THE reviewer of a work published shortly after its author's death labours under peculiar disadvantages. Should he attempt to make *nil nisi bonum* his maxim, the apparent lack of discrimination takes away the force of the praise which he rightly gives; and on the other hand, should he call attention to those things which seem to invite criticism, he is confronted with the possibility that he may, through some misunderstanding which cannot now be removed, do injustice to the author and hurt the susceptibilities of many still living. Moreover, these difficulties are increased when the work to be reviewed consists of sermons preached to a congregation which, though well educated, cannot be regarded as expert. It would be sheer pedantry to object to many a phrase in the pulpit to which exception might perhaps be taken in the lecture-room; for a preacher is occupied with some particular point which he is compelled to set forth in a strictly limited space of time, and he cannot assume that his congregation will be competent to fit the subject on which he is preaching into the larger whole to which it belongs.

Dr Driver's own ideals as a teacher and preacher are admirably stated by Dr G. A. Cooke in the preface which he has contributed to the present volume, some extracts of which may well be given here. He says:—

'In his preaching, Dr Driver's aim was to help people to understand the Bible, and especially the Old Testament; his sermons, therefore, were mainly exegetical, packed with careful information, and noteworthy for an unerring perception of the essential things. What he taught in the lecture-room and in his published writings, he taught also in the pulpit. It has been largely owing to his extraordinary industry and knowledge that English readers have had an opportunity of learning what the Old Testament contains and means; he was anxious that the Cathedral congregation should learn this too. Hence his constant effort to remove traditional misunderstandings, and to shew how the Bible may become intelligible and speak with a living voice to the men and women of to-day.'

'One point in particular Dr Driver frequently discusses in these sermons—the fulfilment of prophecy. He would lead us to take a larger, less mechanical, view of the subject than is usually held; he would have us see that, in this larger sense, the ideals of the prophets

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were adopted by Christ, and demand Christian conditions for their full accomplishment. How deep was his conviction of the ultimate goal of prophecy, how unfaltering his faith in the great Christian verities, appears in every sermon of this collection. He has shewn throughout his ministry that a modern Biblical scholar, one of the foremost champions of the new learning, a master in the science of language and criticism, could at the same time handle the sacred text with the reverence traditional among English people, and with his whole heart remain true to the Christian Faith, and fulfil his service as a loyal son of the Church.'

It would indeed be difficult to praise too highly the honesty of Dr Driver's scholarship. As Dr Cooke says:—

'He recognized what he could do, and what he could not do; he made no attempt to speak about matters that lay outside his experience. But what he had to give he gave, and always of his best. He took great pains with his sermons, as with everything he did; never an exaggerated phrase, nor an ill-considered judgement is to be found in his work anywhere. Those who wish to understand something of what the prophets of Israel taught and hoped for will find what they want in these sermons, conveyed in the clear, straightforward style which was characteristic of the preacher.'

It is, however, not improbable that, apart from the pleasure of possessing a memorial of a great Christian scholar, the first impression produced by the reading of these sermons will be in some cases one of disappointment. Some readers may, perhaps, be disposed to ask what new light the book throws on the ideals of the prophets. But if any such disappointment should be felt, it may be taken as a true measure of the great work which Dr Driver achieved. When he was appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew in 1883, there were not many ears either at Oxford or at Cambridge into which those things could be whispered which, at the present time, if not proclaimed on the housetops, are set forth as unquestionable truth even in manuals designed for the use of school-children. The extraordinary change which has been brought about in the appreciation of the Old Testament is due in no small measure to the single-hearted devotion with which Dr Driver gave himself to the work of setting forth the truth. Those of us who can remember in our childhood the hostility displayed by most religious people towards anything which seemed to conflict with the theory of the inerrancy of Scripture owe a great debt of gratitude to those who have shewn that true piety is not incompatible with a fearless seeking after truth, and who have removed the heavy burden of subterfuge and unnatural explanation which hung like a millstone about the neck of those who desired to bring to the study of the Bible the same intellectual energy which was encouraged in the case of other books. Among those

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who have removed this burden a foremost place must be assigned to Dr Driver. While he argued his case with a wealth of learning which his adversaries were unable to resist, he did so with a truly Christian gentleness and forbearance. Indeed, he was a standing refutation of the theory, even now maintained in some circles, that the higher criticism involves the ruin of faith and spirituality.

But though all English-speaking Christians, especially members of the Church of England, may well be grateful for Dr Driver's life-work, and though his name is worthy to stand in the long list of saintly English scholars, it is not altogether unnecessary to insist that the work which he did so well for his own generation, and, to some extent, for all time, is not finished, and must be carried on and developed for this and later generations. It is almost inevitable that those who have successfully repulsed a long and fierce attack coming from one quarter should fail to recognize that attacks may come from other directions, and that the weapons which have hitherto been found sufficient are not altogether adequate for the new warfare. Dr Driver himself was not exempt from this common tendency. It did not occur to him that the same principles of criticism which he invoked against the opponents of the Graf-Wellhausen view of the date of the documents of the Pentateuch necessitated certain modifications of that view, or that the analysis of the prophetic writings was capable of a much greater extension than seemed necessary in controversy with those who desired to reject it altogether. Accordingly, while Dr Driver's cautious and painstaking scholarship has produced what is commonly regarded as 'the assured results of modern criticism', it must be remembered that these results are *assured* only to this extent, that opinion will never go back from them in the direction of the old traditional view. On many a point the last word has by no means been spoken. No greater disservice could be done to Dr Driver's memory than to claim finality for his work. It is much to be hoped that his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* may long remain a monument of his industry and scholarship; but this will be possible only if it is brought up to date from time to time on the lines which Dr Driver laid down, and, further, is amplified and modified by the inclusion of some things which he himself intentionally ignored or rejected. It is not, for example, in these days a greater heresy against received opinion to maintain that the book of Deuteronomy is later than the time of Josiah, than it was, in 1883, to affirm that the Pentateuch was not the work of Moses; yet the question of a date for Deuteronomy later than 621 B.C. was one which Dr Driver considered it unnecessary to discuss. A similar unwillingness to consider new and progressive criticism is evident also in his treatment of the Prophetic books and the Hagiographa.

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It is suggested above that *The Ideals of the Prophets* may disappoint some who will open it in expectation of finding novelty. It deserves, however, careful study, for it contains many a phrase which sums up principles of interpretation only too commonly ignored. Thus, for example, we read on p. 90: 'We must take prophecy as we find it: we must not, prior to any inductive study of what the contents and character of the prophecies actually are, assume that every description of the future which they contain must tally necessarily with the event, and be surprised and disappointed if we find that it does not do so; nor must we unduly strain the language for the purpose of bringing the two into agreement. The prophet is much more than a mere foreteller; he is in a far wider sense the interpreter of the thoughts of God, the announcer to man of the Divine will and plan.' And again, on p. 108: 'The ceremonial law, with its elaborate sacrificial system, was the outcome of a relatively immature stage of religious belief; and with its strict limitation of all offerings and sacrifices to a single local centre could evidently form no element in a universal religion, intended to embrace nations living in every part of the world.'

No account of the book before us would be complete which did not make special mention of the bibliography of Dr Driver's publications, compiled by his son, Mr Godfrey R. Driver; and here again Dr Cooke's words may be aptly quoted: 'It is a fine record of a life's work. As we scan the familiar titles, many of us will realize afresh how much we owe to one whom we have long regarded as master and guide, a debt which we can only hope to repay by following his example of industry, of single-minded devotion to the truth, of loyalty to the Christian Faith.'

ROBERT H. KENNETT.

The Holiness of Pascal, by H. F. STEWART, B.D., Fellow and Dean of St John's College, Cambridge: Hulsean Lectures 1914–1915. (Cambridge University Press, 1915.)

A BELGIAN writer, Dr Janssen, prefaces his book on Pascal's philosophy with the words, 'The author of a book on Pascal ought almost to apologize for having written it'. No such apology is needed from Mr Stewart. Pascal literature in English is scanty indeed compared with what we have from France, and Mr Stewart has special fitness for the work which he has undertaken. Some spiritual kinship is needed between critic and author, if criticism is to be true. The critic of Pascal must have some measure of Pascal's own delicacy of apprecia-

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tion, refinement, tenderness, felicity of phrase, and devoutness of spirit. These things are not wanting in the book before us. Moreover, the title of the lectures implies a distinct limitation of aim, suitable to the place and purpose of Hulsean Lectures. The subject is the Holiness of Pascal or, as we should prefer to put it, Pascal the Saint. The treatment necessarily goes beyond that limit, but there is a distinct endeavour to justify the title, which may perhaps have been suggested by one of the last sections of M. Strowski's third volume (*Pascal et son temps: Troisième Partie*, par F. Strowski) to which Mr Stewart frankly and justly acknowledges his indebtedness throughout. Pascal was indeed a saint, both in the deeper characteristics of charity and devotion to truth, and in the less important regards of asceticism and voluntary poverty. There is another aspect of his saintliness to which perhaps justice is hardly done in these lectures, namely the fortitude and resignation with which he bore throughout life the burden of physical weakness and pain. Cp. 'Prière pour demander à Dieu le bon usage des maladies', Opuscules I iii (ed. Brunschvicg), to which Mr Stewart refers Lect. I p. 12.

The first lecture gives a brief biography, concise and sufficiently full. It has a special purpose, to correct certain misconceptions which have a bearing on our view of Pascal's character. Mr Stewart shews that though Pascal, after his 'second conversion' in 1654, spent much of his time among the gentlemen of Port-Royal and shared their manner of life and devotions, he was nevertheless not actually one of them. They had renounced not only the world, but also all their former interests, and in putting off the old man, had parted not only with their sins, but with their selves. Pascal on the contrary continued to be himself. It is abundantly clear that his scientific interests retained their hold upon him, notwithstanding Mme Perier's effort to prove the contrary. Port-Royal demanded a 'naked faith'. Pascal could not give that. The *Pensées* shew that he kept the critical spirit, and that was not the spirit of Port-Royal (Strowski, *Pascal et son temps*, tom. iii, *passim*). The contrast between Mme Perier's account and the real fact reminds one of the two accounts of St Augustine's retirement at Cassiciacum after his conversion; his own account in the Confessions (bk. ix 4) and the earlier account in the Dialogues, where we see him still full of his former literary interests, surrounded by a group of friends, with whom he reads Virgil and presides at philosophical discussions. But though Pascal was never thoroughly a Port-Royalist, and in his last years had serious differences with them, he certainly was a Jansenist. The Augustinian conception of the total depravation of human nature underlies all his thinking. Closely connected with the question of Pascal's relation to Port-Royal is that of Pascal's truthfulness, which Mr Stewart is by his thesis concerned to vindicate. First of all, was

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he justified in denying that he was of Port-Royal, as he does in *Lettres Provinciales* xvi and xvii; and secondly, what is to be said of his action in regard to the Five Propositions? With regard to the first point the case is not fully disposed of by the evidence alleged. The fact remains that he spent much of his time at Port-Royal des Champs, and put himself under the direction of its Confessor, M. de Sacy. As there were no vows, the tie was a doubtful one, and it is difficult to say what did or did not constitute it. Pascal's characteristic of devotion to truth is a different matter from precise exactness of statement in controversy, though, of course, consistency should demand the latter, as accompanying the former. As to the second point, the case is this: Pascal had urged with much force the distinction between *fait* and *droit*, ignored in the Five Propositions, and consequently ignored in the act of signing them. Yet in the last year of his life he gave up the contention, and repudiated all the proposals based on that distinction, by which Port-Royal hoped to be able to sign the Formulary without condemning Jansen and his doctrine. The conclusion of this matter is not reached till we come to the second lecture. There Mr Stewart's statement is so clear and conclusive that we must give it as it stands. 'In the interest of truth and out of loyalty to the doctrine of Grace, he advises that they (the nuns) should not sign. Is there anything false or dishonest in this contradiction of a former view? I do not think so. He still believes and he still asserts that the two things (*fait et droit*) are separable in theory. But what is true in theory is sometimes impossible in practice, if truth is really to be maintained, and the conscience kept clear in the matter of Grace. Their separability may be argued in a fly-sheet (*écrit volant*), but when it comes to signing a document which expressly condemns both together, the responsibility is too great to admit of any action that may be misinterpreted. The fly-sheets with their clever pleading on a subtle point will perish—the signatures appended to the Formulary condemning Jansen will remain' (Lect. II pp. 45–46). In the present day when many manifestoes, theological and ecclesiastical, are offered for signature Pascal's wise counsel should be considered by those who sign documents with which they do not wholly agree, but yet hope to save themselves by adding reservations.

The second lecture, 'Pascal in controversy', after a brief notice of two scientific disputes in which Pascal was engaged, passes to the Provincial Letters, and the questions involved in them. Is Pascal here merely a subtle and able controversialist, or merely a loyal defender of Antoine Arnauld and his Port-Royal friends? Is there anything in the Letters which touches the thesis, the character of Pascal as Saint? Mr Stewart gives us first a valuable analysis of the Jansenist

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doctrine of Grace and its relation to that of Dominicans and Jesuits, and then passes to the twelve letters (v–xvi) on Jesuit direction of the conscience and its results. The amusing banter and subtle irony of the earlier letters in this group may appear to an English reader inconsistent with the fierce moral indignation which stirred Pascal's soul as he pursued his studies in Jesuit casuistry. It is not thus that an English writer would have dealt with them. Nevertheless the pure and lofty spiritual nature of Pascal is revealed in his irony, only he uses a rapier instead of a battle-axe. Mr Stewart follows Strowski in pronouncing Pascal 'historically wrong in his attack' on the Jesuits ('La thèse essentielle des Provinciales est donc fausse. Il n'y a pas eu mainmise d'une société de butin et de conquête sur la morale religieuse' *op. cit.* III. vii). The last clause of this sentence implies a gross exaggeration of Pascal's attitude. The passage from which Mr Stewart quotes (p. 41), as giving Pascal's misconception of Jesuit motives, is not represented as Pascal's own utterance, but is put into the mouth of the Jesuit with whom Pascal is conversing. It may, however, be taken to express Pascal's own opinion at the outset of the controversy, before the counter attacks of the Jesuits had embittered the conflict and drawn from him the vehement denunciations of the fifteenth Letter. The important words are as follows: 'Leur objet n'est pas de corrompre les mœurs. Mais ils n'ont pas aussi pour unique but celui de les réformer: ce serait une mauvaise politique' (Prov. Lett. v). It is by no means clear that this was a false estimate of the Jesuit policy of Pascal's day, and we must remember that that is what we have to consider, and not the original plan and achievements of the Order. Mr Stewart is undoubtedly right in saying that what was wrong with the Jesuits was their juristic method of dealing with sin, and, we may add, the baneful theory of Probabilism, which was its consequence. But the fault lay deeper. Whatever might be the Jesuit motive, a defective moral sense pervaded their casuistry, and with this Pascal's *sainteté* could make no terms.

The third lecture takes us to the *Pensées*. It begins with a brief but useful review of their literary history, and the various editions, which closes with a well-deserved tribute to those of M. Leon Brunschvicg, from which Mr Stewart's quotations are taken. Instead of attempting the impossible task of a survey of the contents of the *Pensées*, Mr Stewart wisely contents himself with vividly and eloquently reproducing Filleau de la Chaise's report of Pascal's discourse in which he indicated to his friends the general plan of the work which he had in his mind, though it must be added that the Fragments as we have them cannot all be made to fit into this plan. Mr Stewart contrasts the spirit of the *Pensées* with that of the Provincial Letters. Though

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the latter were written after the conversion in 1654, revealed to us in the *Mystère de Jésus*, it is not in them that we find 'that fire, that mingled passion and tenderness, which are the mark of the Pascal whom we know and love'. Mr Stewart's interpretation of the *Mystère* (pp. 61–62) is illuminating and sympathetic in the highest degree, and it is true that 'this vision gives us the key which unlocks the *Pensées*'. To speak of them as an Apologetic is an absolute misnomer. They were to be the material not of a defence but of an attack, directed towards a special type, the man of the world, indifferent to religion. It was men of that type among whom Pascal had once lived, whom he now longed to awaken and save. With this clearly before us, we may perhaps cease to share Mr Stewart's hesitation about the purpose of the *Pari*. The 'libertin' is supposed to have admitted that reason is incompetent to determine either way the existence of God. So far as reason alone is concerned, it is a pure hazard for him to believe or not to believe.

So the hazard is proposed to him, and he is first made to feel that making the venture one way or the other is inevitable. He is not allowed to say, I will not wager, I will not choose: if he does not believe, that is tantamount to choosing not to believe, for the consequences of not believing will come. The choice must be made, and the chances are arithmetically set before him in a way which this gamester will understand. Taken in connexion with what has gone before, and especially with what follows in the nature of proofs, the *Pari* passage is surely justifiable as a recognition of the power and place of the will in regard to belief (cf. Fragment 99, 'Il y a une différence'). Prof. W. James in *The Will to Believe* practically takes the same line, substituting 'option' for 'wager', and making us see that the option presented to the will is (1) live, (2) compulsory, (3) momentous.

A serious theological question arises in the study of the *Pensées*, which is outside Mr Stewart's purpose, but proper to be mentioned here. Man is a discrowned king. Christianity alone can explain this. It is the consequence of the Fall, which brought both moral and intellectual loss. So far Pascal. The fact of the Fall, as a matter of history, and not an allegory, appears to be the pivot of Pascal's argument. But we have learnt to regard man as having risen from a lower state to a higher. Is Pascal's whole argument thereby vitiated? It is not, for all that is necessary for it, is that man, as soon as he attained moral consciousness, by his own free will departed from the way of obedience by which he was capable of reaching perfection, so that the longings which he feels and his 'misery' come not from an original state which has been lost, but from a sense of capacities and potentialities unrealized. This conception is confirmed by the fact that the Son of God did in our flesh

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realize these capacities, and fulfil the potential greatness of human nature. It is consistency of redemption through Christ with the facts and needs of human nature, quite as much as their consistency with the Fall, that Pascal urges with convincing force.

The misleading effects of the Jansenist doctrine of complete depravation of human nature by the Fall, shew themselves definitely in Pascal's treatment of the Misery of Man under the heads of Imagination (Stoic φαντασία), Desire of diversion, and Self-love, especially in regard to this last. His analysis of it may be a half-truth, but there is another side of human nature which cries out against it. Mr Stewart's criticism of the Jansenist vein in Pascal's whole moral outlook (Lect. IV p. 75) is needful and just.

One of the chief characteristics of the *Pensées* is the place assigned to *le cœur* and its relation to *la raison*. Mr Stewart deals with the subject, Lect. III pp. 62–63, iv p. 87, and quotes in his notes the principal passages. Perhaps he says as much as his thesis warrants, when he explains *le cœur* as 'love, faith, will, instinct, feeling, nature—the intuition which plays its part in every province of human activity'. But it is possible to analyse Pascal's conception more precisely, and there is at any rate one other element in *le cœur* which ought to be mentioned, *esprit de finesse*. To understand this untranslateable phrase, we must go back not only to the fragment on the difference between 'l'esprit de géometrie et l'esprit de finesse', but also to the 'Discours sur les passions de l'amour'. There we have this mental characteristic at work in a different sphere, but what is said of it there illustrates Pascal's conception of it in relation to the truths of religion. 'Le dernier (esprit de finesse) a une souplesse de pensée qu'il applique en même temps aux diverses parties aimables de ce qu'il aime.' In another and very different sphere, *esprit de finesse* is 'spiritual insight', that spiritual apprehension, the function of which is so fully vindicated by the late Dr Illingworth in *Reason and Revelation* (ch. ix). There he shews that it is by spiritual insight that we are able properly to judge evidence in matters of religion; instinct, in Mr Stewart's definition of *le cœur*, may cover this part of its signification. And for this use of instinct as distinguished from reason it is worth while to quote a sentence from the Preface to Mr F. S. Oliver's *Ordeal by Battle*. 'It was Lord Roberts's special gift that out of the medley of unanswerable reasons he had an instinct for selecting those that really mattered, and keeping his mind closed against the rest.' Finally, in our interpretation of *le cœur* we must remember that it is there that Grace works, supplies what is lacking in our perception, and exerts its sovereign power. Thus Pascal's position with regard to *le cœur* is seen to be part and parcel of his doctrine of Grace.

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At the close of Lect. III Mr Stewart has an excellent passage (too long to quote) on the often-discussed question of Pascal's scepticism, its nature and extent. The Augustinian doctrine of Grace is intimately connected with that of Predestination and Divine foreknowledge. Here was a darkness which Pascal felt most acutely. It is this distress which finds expression in the difficult and striking fragment (No. 582) on *Obscurité*, which Mr Stewart quotes. The existence of 'seeming contraries' in the problems of theology as admitted by Pascal is referred to again in Lect. IV p. 84: 'He (Pascal) holds the contraries in balance, and searches patiently for the superior principle which shall explain and unify them'. Another Fragment (No. 862) might very well have been referred to. The passage which begins 'Il y a donc un grand nombre de vérités' gives Pascal's conception in the clearest way.

The late Dr J. B. Mozley represents in this as in other respects the attitude of Pascal's mind. At the close of his profound enquiry into the history of the doctrine of Predestination he writes thus—'Had men perceived, indeed, more clearly and really than they have done, their ignorance as human creatures and the relation in which the human reason stands to the great truths involved in this question, they might have saved themselves the trouble of this whole controversy. They would have seen that this question cannot be determined absolutely, one way or another; that it lies between two great contradictory truths, neither of which can be set aside, or made to give way to the other; two opposing tendencies of thought, inherent in the human mind, which go on side by side and are able to be held and maintained together, because they are only incipient and not final and complete truths: the great truths I mean of the Divine power on the one side, and man's free will or his originality as an agent, on the other' (*Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination* ch. xi and cp. ch. ii).

The lectures are furnished with full but concise notes, embracing both references in support of the text, and a wealth of illustration from many sources. So far from the reader wishing to escape the notes, as the author modestly suggests, he will refer to them constantly, and envy the width of reading which they imply. Lastly, the portrait reproduced as a frontispiece is of real value for understanding the man. In those strange enquiring eyes we recognize the spirit which traverses in thought regions accessible to few.

E. R. Bernard

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The Relations between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew Peoples, by the REV. C. H. W. JOHNS, M.A., Litt.D., The Schweich Lectures, 1912. (Oxford University Press, London, 1914.)

IN his preface, Dr Johns starts with the observation that 'the laws of the Israelites' were generally adopted as the basis of the legal fabric by Christian nations, on the ground of an unquestioned belief that they were of Divine origin, having been directly revealed by God to Moses, and by him 'embodied in the books of the Pentateuch', which have transmitted the precious deposit intact to modern times. Being 'Divine', these laws were naturally also 'incomparable'; by which epithet we may suppose Dr Johns to mean unique in excellence, and *sui generis*, or totally unlike any other system of prior or contemporary prevalence among mankind. Such a belief would be natural, so long as little or nothing was known of other ancient codes; and it would be intensified by the veneration with which both Jews and Christians traditionally regarded the contents of the Canonical Scriptures. And if comparison was impossible in the absence of matter to be compared, criticism was equally out of the question, in days when it was very generally held that the laws of Moses, and even their entire literary setting, presented to the modern as to the antique world nothing less than the *ipsissima verba* of Deity. To minds prepossessed with such a belief from childhood, it argued a want of due reverence, a dangerous tendency towards scepticism, to approach the study of the Mosaic law from any other point of view. If any one ventured to call attention to resemblances of form between the laws of Exodus and a code like that, for instance, of the Twelve Tables, which was the main source of Roman jurisprudence from B.C. 450 onwards, it was always easy to account for such similarities by the assumption that the later systems had borrowed more or less directly from the earlier. When the old Roman statute decrees: SI PARENTEM PUER VERBERIT, AST OLLE PLORASSIT, PUER DIVIS PARENTUM SACER ESTO (Lex Serv. Tull. ap. Fest.), or SI INTESTATO MORITUR CUI SUUS HERES NEC SIT, ADGNATUS PROXIMUS FAMILIAM HABETO (XII Tab. v 2), or SI MEMBRUM RUPIT, NI CUM EO PACIT, TALIO ESTO (Tab. viii 1); or SI NOX FURTUM FACTUM SIT, SI IM OCCISIT IURE CAESUS ESTO (Tab. viii 4), we can hardly avoid recalling passages of the so-called Book of the Covenant ordaining penalties for smiting a parent (Exod. xxi 15), or for personal injuries (*ib.* xxi 23–25—the law of retaliation), or absolving a man who kills a burglar caught in the act.

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It may be noted in passing as a remarkable omission in the Mosaic legislation, as it is given both in Exodus and in Deuteronomy, that it prescribes no rules for the testamentary disposition of property, which constitutes so important a feature of Roman law. At first sight, no doubt, the general resemblance of formula in the expression of the laws is sufficiently striking; but this may have been inherent in the nature of things. A law may be expressed in the form of direct injunction or prohibition, bidding or forbidding; or it may suppose a case, and prescribe rules for dealing with it, such rules being the course required either by custom or by positive enactment. The latter method may be said to be dominant in the Book of the Covenant (see Exod. xxi 2—xxii 17, 25, 26, xxiii 4, 5); and it prevails exclusively throughout the Code of Hammurabi, which confines itself entirely to the province of civil and criminal law. The categorical imperatives of the moral law are naturally expressed in the former way, as we see it exemplified in the Decalogue (Exod. xx 3–17) and in other additions to the Book of the Covenant (cf. Exod. xxii 18–24). Religious prescriptions, ceremonial, magical, and ritual, also usually take the same absolute form, as appears both from the Pentateuchal legislation *passim* and from the Babylonian texts of that class published in 4 R and elsewhere. The difference of form argues nothing as to difference of age; and similarity or identity of matter does not necessitate the assumption of direct borrowing by one lawgiver from another, as remote from himself in time and place as were the Roman Decemvirs and their predecessors from Moses and his unknown editors. It may be accounted for by the tendency of the human intelligence to meet the same emergency by the same expedients at a particular stage of social advancement; or, to adopt the words of Dr Johns, we have long since learned to recognize the broad outlines of a process of evolution, and begun to understand the way in which, as a people advanced along the path of progress in the elements of civilization, similar human needs called forth similar solutions of the questions of right and wrong'. And so people have become familiar with the application of the Comparative Method in law and religion and all things else—a method which has proved fruitful in every department of scientific enquiry, and only fails us when we are brought at last face to face with the ultimate enigmas of life and being.

Dr Johns is well known as one of the earliest exponents of the Code of Hammurabi (see *J. T. S.* Jan. 1903). Indeed his long and unremitting labours in elucidating and illustrating the text from the enormous mass of Contracts and other business documents of the same and subsequent periods might well be considered to justify us in assigning to him the foremost place among English authorities on this important

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subject. But that is not all. Ever since the first publication of the famous Code by Victor Scheil in 1902 numberless translations and commentaries, more or less competent from the point of view of criticism and scholarship, have poured in a steady stream from the various presses of Europe and America, and there are no signs as yet of exhaustion in the supply. A mere student of the text itself might well recoil in dismay from the herculean task of attempting to make himself acquainted with the hundreds of editions, versions, monographs, articles, lectures, and papers, directly dealing with the Code itself, not to mention the various subsidiary studies of documents dating from the First Dynasty, the vast literature of Temple-lists and Contracts, and discussions of the provisions of the Code from the point of view of Comparative Law. Dr Johns, however, appears to have overlooked nothing of any value for the purpose of his investigation; and his *Appendix* or *Survey of the Bibliography of the Literature relating to the Code of Hammurabi* is not only an arresting monument of the kind of industry usually associated with a nation which it is needless to name, but also a contribution of permanent value in its own department, on account of the generally brief but always acute and careful characterization of the principal items in the long register of authors and authorities.

A little mild criticism may be permitted to his reviewer considering that the lecturer is himself always critical, and sometimes hypercritical, of other people's theories and assumptions. The legal turn of mind is often too obtrusive in his arguments. He is prone to display a subtlety which is not seldom elusive and, for the lay reader, sometimes obscure. This last result may be due partly to defects of style; but he is too often clearly anxious to maintain an attitude of non-committal. In one place, he virtually adopts the old phrase *Hypotheses non fingo*, and leaves it to the reader (poor reader!) to draw his own conclusions from the facts as stated. But facts and theories (cited only to be rejected) are so commingled almost everywhere, that it is generally impossible to arrive at any conclusion at all. The notes of interrogation, with which the third lecture somewhat abruptly concludes, may not unfairly be said to be typical of the tone of the whole book.

There is even some apparent hesitation in regard to the title of the Lectures. The author evidently started with the idea of instituting a comparison between the laws preserved in the more ancient Babylonian Code and the laws of Israel as preserved in the Pentateuch, and so (if possible) determining once for all the relation of the younger to the elder system. He says (p. v): 'I selected the subject of *Babylonian Law in its relation to the Laws of Moses.*' Elsewhere he speaks of 'the Laws of the Israelites' (p. iii); but the title finally chosen is *The Relations between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew*

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Peoples. One may fairly ask, Who are 'the Hebrew Peoples'? Are Israel and Judah only intended, as most readers would understand? or was the title expressly so framed, in order to comprehend all the other and kindred nations who spoke the 'language of Canaan' (שפת כנען Isa. xix 18), of whose laws, however, we know little or nothing?

A synopsis of each lecture would have been very useful as a clue to the general drift and import of it, but none is given; and I have found it extremely difficult to make any satisfactory analysis of what, with all its many unquestionable merits, must be admitted to be a somewhat desultory and discursive piece of work.

The late Prof. W. R. Smith has much to say about the 'progress of revelation' in Israel, but little or nothing about its process. What the modern mind is most curious to learn is by what precise means and particular methods, through what channels or media, in short, *How* did God 'reveal'—unveil, disclose, make known—Himself and His Will and Laws to Israel and mankind? 'God speaks', says the Professor, 'in the events of history and the experiences of human life. He spoke to Amos in the thundering march of the Assyrian, and he spoke to Hosea in the shame that blighted his home' (*Prophets* p. 181). What then of the narrative of Exod. xix and xxiv? and in what sense are we to understand the statements of Exod. xxxii 16, xxxiii 11, xxxiv 1, cf. 27, 28? The later Jews did not regard the supernatural accompaniments of the Giving of the Law as poetical embellishment or figurative or symbolical language. On the contrary, they yearned for the restoration of the ancient atmosphere of miracle and the return of the standing wonders associated with the Exodus and the Tabernacle: see 2 Macc. ii 8 (*'and the glory of the Lord shall be seen and the Cloud'*).

In the sculptured scene at the head of his Code Hammurabi stands in an attitude of devotion before a seated god, Shamash, the Judge of Heaven and Earth. He is usually supposed to be receiving the laws from the god (Harper; Johns); but the text does not expressly say so. Of Moses, we are told that Yahweh spoke with him 'face to face' (Exod. xxxiii 11), but that he did not actually see the face of the Deity (Exod. xxxiii 20). The phrase 'to see the face of Yahweh' was, however, current in ancient Israel in the sense of visiting a sanctuary for worship (Exod. xxxiv 20 al.); and we may reasonably conjecture that this peculiar way of speaking was a vestige of the time when the presence of the deity in his shrine was symbolized by a visible image. That the image or statue of a god or king was believed to embody, in some real though mysterious way, the living personality of the divine original is evident both from the ceremonies of inauguration (opening the eyes, mouth, &c.) with which it was consecrated, and from the regular food-offerings appointed by rulers like Gudea for their own statues.

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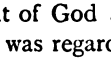
Other instances of apparently mythical phraseology, but perhaps admitting of a different historical explanation, may be recognized in the description of the two stone tablets of the Decalogue as 'written with the Finger of God' (Exod. xxxi 18 b), and in the at first sight startling statement that 'The tablets were a work of Elohim, and the writing was writing of Elohim graven upon the tablets' (Exod. xxxii 16). How are we to understand this apparent ascription of excellent calligraphy to the immediate activity of God? It is not a sheer fantasy of pious credulity, destitute of all foundation in the prosaic past. We seem to have here another trace of the survival of old Babylonian tradition in Canaan. The Sumerian words BILLUD and GARZA and KUSH, which the Assyrian lexical fragments explain as meaning *commands* of the king or of God (*billudû*, a ritual law or rule of the sanctuary; *parçu ša šarri*; *parçu ša ili*), are all written with the character  ; a compound of the two simple characters *scribe* (picture of a stylus) and *god, king*. (As in China, so in old Babylonia, the divinity of kings was an immemorial dogma.) It will thus be evident, even to readers unfamiliar with ideographic systems of writing, that from the remotest period the men of the East thought of God as the primary fountain of Law and Justice. A written law was regarded as the work of the Stylus of God or of the Scribe of Heaven.

In Babylonia, Egypt, China, history begins with the self-glorification of kings. The history we find in the Pentateuch is the history of a people. If the *Books of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and Judah* had survived, doubtless we should have found in them a much greater likeness to the boastful annals of Assyrian and Babylonian sovereigns than is displayed by the priestly and prophetic narratives which have actually reached us.

The superb self-consciousness of Hammurabi as the Chosen of the gods of his country, expressly called by them to conquest, to government, and to legislation, is freely exhibited throughout the Prologue and Epilogue of his Code. The peculiar way in which Moses speaks in Deuteronomy of his personal relations with the God of Israel, who assigned to him his task as leader and lawgiver, finds an essential parallel (*mutatis mutandis*) in the similar language of Hammurabi, who flourished perhaps a thousand years before him. Did the yet earlier lords of Shinar, the old Sumerian monarchs, into whose heritage of culture the Semitic Dynasty of Hammurabi entered, express the same view in regard to themselves and the laws they sanctioned? There is ample reason to believe they did.

I have seen it argued somewhere that Abraham must have been originally a lunar figure; but a careful perusal of Dr Jeremias's astral interpretations of O. T. story has not convinced me of their probability.

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As well might we assume that Hammurabi, who boasts that the Moon-god (Sîn) begat him (Prol. col. ii 13–15), or Hammurabi's father Sîn-muballiṭ, or his royal correspondent Sîn-idinnam of Larsa, is really a double of the Moon-god. It is true that in his correspondence with Sîn-idinnam, and in the Prologue and Epilogue of his Code, Hammurabi has told us incidentally and directly a great deal about himself, revealing much of a life crowded with royal business of all sorts and throwing a vivid light upon the remarkable civilization of his age. As Dr Johns observes (perhaps with some exaggeration), 'Hammurabi we know; his life and reign are as well or better known than those of the Saxon kings of England' (p. 18). But the history of this reign (which is itself far from complete) is as a light shining in darkness. Where shall we turn for the history of Sîn-muballiṭ, his predecessor, or for that of Samsu-iluna, his successor on the throne of Babylon? Contracts there are in plenty; but where are the chronicles of these and other rulers of the First Dynasty? At present the history of ancient Babylonia is a broken mosaic, a record in which the lacunae are far greater than the legible remains; while the chronology of the whole period is involved in such uncertainty that we cannot even be sure of an approximate date for Hammurabi himself. In this respect at least the Saxon kings have the advantage. We do not know whether Abraham wrote any memoirs of his own life and doings. His history appears to be both composite and fragmentary. It is, however, far less meagre than the reigns of some of the later kings for whose history the canonical writers are content to refer to the lost Books of the Chronicles of Israel and Judah; and it is difficult to see how some things related of him could have been remembered, unless they had been committed to writing at the time of their occurrence or soon after, either by himself or by a scribe attached to his clan. There is no *a priori* objection, since we know that writing was of immemorial use in Babylonia and Egypt, and probably also in the intervening countries, which were usually under the sway or influence of one or the other of them.

It is curious that Abram-Abraham is not found as the name of any other individual either in O. T. or N. T. (Neither is Isaac; contrast Jacob, Mt. i 15, and its modern equivalent James.) But Abram seems to be another form of Abiram, which is perhaps identical with Assyr. Abû-râmu, Abû-râmê, the eponym of the year 677–676 B. C. In that case, the probable meaning is *The* (divine) *Father is loving* (or *merciful*), the second element being the ptcp. râ'imu, râmu, *loving*; cf. rêmênû, rîmnû (4 R 9, 27 a), *merciful*, as a standing epithet of Sîn (and other gods). The root is thus identical with Heb. רחם *to love*, and Arab. رحم *to have mercy* or *pity on* (c. acc.). In the passage cited the Moon-god is addressed as Abû rîmnû, *Merciful Father!* If Abram was a native of

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Ur, the chief seat of the worship of Sîn in southern Babylonia, he must have been a worshipper of that deity (cf. Joshua xxiv 2); and therefore he settled for a time in Harran, the principal northern seat of that worship, until bidden by the oracle to emigrate to Canaan. Arriving at the holy place of Shechem, by the Terebinth of Moreh, he has a vision of Yahweh, apparently worshipped there, who promises to give him His land (i. e. Canaan); and Abram recognizes His claim to worship as the local deity, by building an altar 'to Yahweh who appeared to him' (Gen. xii 6, 7). Afterwards Yahweh ratified His promise by a Blood-covenant with Abram (Gen. xv), thus investing him, a foreigner, with all the rights of an indigenous worshipper. (We know from Judges ix 4 that the Shechemites worshipped the Covenant-Lord, בעל ברית.) In all this and much more that is told of Abraham there is nothing in the least improbable. In what is related of his dealings with the Deity, we have to make due allowance for the *usus loquendi* of the time. The peculiar religious phraseology which seems to describe direct personal intercourse between God and man, and has therefore been regarded as proof of the fabulous nature of the narrative, may be paralleled from the contemporary monuments of Babylonia. Hammurabi and his subjects were as familiar with God and the things of God as ever was Abram the Hebrew. Only Hammurabi was the chosen of many gods; Abram of but One. Hammurabi boasts that Ellil and Merodach gave him the office of Shepherd of the people; Zamama and Ishtar provided him with a sword of might; Enki, the 'Lord of Earth', allotted him an 'Open Eye'; the Great Gods 'called him by name' (ibbûninnîma). He prays: *By the command of Shamash, the great Judge of Heaven and Earth, may my Righteousness shine in the land!* (i. e. as manifested in his laws engraved on the monolith). If Merodach is his Lord, Zarpânîtum is his Lady (bêlîa . . . bêltîa). He invokes *Sîn, Lord of Heaven, the God my Creator* (or *Father*), *whose scimitar glitters among the Gods* (DINGIR EN-ZU bêl šamê, DINGIR bânî šâ šêrîzû îna ilî šûpât!), as well as NIN-LIL, the Great Mother, the consort of ELLIL; *Adad, Lord of Abundance, Prince of Heaven and Earth*, who controls wind, rain, and flood; Nergal, the matchless Warrior and Giver of Victory; DINGIR NINTUD, *the Mother who created me* (or *bore me*: Ummum bânîtî); and half a dozen other deities, including the interesting name of Dagan (probably Dagon) *his Creator* (or *Father*: bânîšû). When Abram broke away from Babylonia, he would seem at the same time to have severed his connexion with the Babylonian pantheon.

The domestic relations of the Hebrew patriarchs are curiously reflected in the provisions of the Code of Hammurabi, which regulate a man's dealings with his wife and the females of his household: see §§ 144–146. The behaviour of Abram to Hagar and Ishmael may

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almost be said to be prescribed by Babylonian usage. It is surely a notable coincidence, to say the least, that the laws of a king supposed to have been Abram's contemporary should provide for contingencies which are stated to have actually arisen in his domestic life; or, to put it otherwise, it is a clear mark of truth that the Biblical narrative makes Abram's domestic experience conform so closely to the conditions of the time that it exhibits a state of things and a highly peculiar customary law entirely corresponding to what is presupposed and ordained for such cases by the recently discovered contemporary code of the very Babylonian king whose name is associated with Abram's in Gen. xiv. Whatever the customs of a later age, before the discovery of the Code of Hammurabi no one could have known that Abram's dealings with Hagar and Ishmael were in strict conformity with the law of his supposed period. And if these particular customs always prevailed in Israel, how was it that they were not registered in the 'Book of the Covenant', or in 'the Priestly Legislation', or in Deuteronomy? How was it that a late romancer, inventing a history for the Father of the Faithful, succeeded in presenting what we now know to be a correct account of the marriage-customs of the primitive age to which he refers his hero? It is precisely the most repulsive features in the life of Abram that we find reflected in the Code of Hammurabi-Amraphel; and if Abram was really an emigrant from Babylonia, we can understand his life-story far better than on any other supposition.

It is not probable that Hammurabi wrote his own compilation of laws any more than that Moses wrote his, or that Nebuchadrezzar himself wrote the long set self-laudations which we find on his numerous cylinders. The ruler of a great empire, under the immense pressure of daily business, would hardly find leisure for this kind of work. The task would naturally fall to certain Court officials. Moreover, Hammurabi was codifier rather than original author of the Laws of Hammurabi, although changes in language and detail would be due to him and his counsellors, perhaps a Royal Commission. All, of course, is sanctioned as the immediate expression of the monarch's will, which is not arbitrary but guided from above. The Laws of Hammurabi were as truly a 'repetition' or copy of the immemorial Sumerian laws of the country as Deuteronomy was a repetition of the so-called Book of the Covenant (משנה of Deut. xvii 18, xxvii 3, 8, Joshua viii 32). In regard to this last it may be noted as significant that the conception and representation of a body of laws as a covenant or compact between a people and its god does not occur in the Code of Hammurabi, and would appear to be peculiar to Israel.

We should be sorry to part with 'Chedorlaomer, king of Elam'; for he is the only king of Elam specified by name in the entire

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O. T., although 'the king of Elam' is mentioned many times by Ezekiel, &c. The following reasons may excuse us from giving him up altogether. (1) His name has an unmistakeable stamp of Elamite vernacular, agreeing as it does with the few other royal names of that nation known to us, and being about as faithful a reproduction of *Kudur-Lagamar* ('Servant of the goddess Lagamar') as we might look to find in a Hebrew writer. Cf. the LXX transcript Χοδολλογόμορ, which assimilates the *r* of kudur to the following *l*, but correctly represents the Strong Ain (ע = ʿ) of the Hebrew by *g* (γ). Even the vocalization is substantially authentic. Kĕdor = Kŭdur and Lāg̊ômĕr = Lagamar (i. e. probably Lagâmar) exhibit only such modifications of vowel-sounds as are normal in Hebrew as we have it. To put it otherwise, the pronunciation Kĕdor-Lāg̊ômĕr, which we now find in our Hebrew Bibles, faithfully represents what an original Kudur-Lagâmar might become according to the Massoretic rules of vocalization. By what process of divination could a Jewish author devise such a name for his king of Elam, unless he found it in some ancient source?

(2) No complete list of the kings who reigned in Elam is at present available. Until such has been discovered, we have no right to exclude the solitary contribution of O. T. from a place in the meagre record which includes such names as Kudur-Mabuk and Kudur-Naḫundi (also written Kudur-Naḫuntè).

(3) If in an age comparatively late the Assyrian invader Shalmaneser could describe Jehu as *apil Ḫumrî*, 'the son of Omri', is it reasonable to expect minute accuracy in similar matters from the traditions of times as much more ancient as those of Hammurabi and 'Abram the Hebrew'? Must tradition be required to remember the exact date when Hammurabi finally reduced Larsa-Ellasar, and assumed the style of 'King of Shumer (Shinar) and Akkad', on pain of having its testimony to the broad fact of Abram's contemporaneousness with Hammurabi rejected altogether?

(4) It is evident that the Hebrew text of Gen. xiv has not reached us in a condition unimpaired by the chances of time, nor has it been miraculously exempted from those editorial changes and interpolations to which all ancient texts are liable in the course of transmission by the hands of innumerable scribes. It is perfectly evident from verses 4, 5, 9 that Chedorlaomer was the leader of the expedition against the West country related in this chapter. In *v.* 4 he is mentioned alone, as the suzerain of the five Amorite kings, who had cast off his allegiance; and in *v.* 5 'Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him' (i. e. his allies and probably vassals) undertake a punitive campaign against the rebels. If this be so, there must be something wrong with *v.* 1, which, as it stands, would seem to make Amraphel the principal figure in the invasion of the West, while the other kings accompany him as his allies or vassals.

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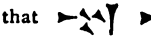
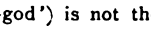
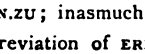
In Dr Johns's opinion this brings the narrative into direct conflict with the testimony of the monuments. Rim-Sin of Larsa (Ellasar?) maintained his independence until the thirty-first year of Hammurabi. 'Till then no one could call Hammurabi King of Sumer' (Shinar), 'and then it is certain he could be no ally with Rîm-Sin. Hammurabi was, however, always King of Babylon. He could hardly have been called King of Shinar by any one who knew anything about his history'. But surely such a prolepsis, on the part of a foreign writer imperfectly acquainted with Babylonian history, was not at all unnatural. We are not, however, restricted to this view of the case; for the text of *v.* 1 is suspicious on several grounds, the asyndeta contrast strangely with the construction of verses 2, 8, 9, and a literal rendering of *v.* 1 leaves *v.* 2 without a subject for its opening verb: *And it came to pass in the days of Amraphel, &c., they made war, &c.* The suggestion of Ewald that the word *Abram* (אברם) has fallen out before the similar *Amraphel* (אמרפל) improves the construction of the verse: *And it came to pass in the days of Abram that Amraphel, Arioch, &c. made war &c.* But, as we have seen, according to the sequel of the narrative, Amraphel was not the leader of the expedition, and 'Abram the Hebrew' is apparently mentioned for the first time in *v.* 13. Following then the indications of the sequel, we might restore Chedorlaomer to his proper place and read *v.* 1 thus: *And it came to pass in the days of Amraphel king of Shinar (that) Chedorlaomer king of Elam and Arioch king of Ellasar and Tidal king of . . . (Gôyim*; i. e. certain tribes whose name was defaced in the MS, or possibly the corrupt form of a proper name) *made war with Bera, &c.* A king of Larsa might very well have joined forces with a king of Elam 'in the days of Amraphel'; especially as ERUM-D.EN.ZU and RIM-D.EN.ZU, kings of Larsa, were sons of Kudur-Mabuk, king of Elam.[1] Of Chedorlaomer-Kudurlagamar we know nothing beyond the present narrative. Ultimately, of course, he may have to be relegated to the limbo of historical confusions and mistakes, side by side with 'Belshazzar the son of Nebuchadnezzar' and 'Darius the Mede'. But at present it cannot fairly be said that anything in our fragmentary sources for the history of Hammurabi contradicts the story of Gen. xiv.

C. J. BALL.

[1] It is not certain that  ERUM-D.EN.ZU i. e. 'Servant of the Moon-god') is not the same name as  RIM-D.EN.ZU; inasmuch as RIM (spelled, phonetically, ri-im, may be only a popular abbreviation of ERIM, a possible variant of ERUM 'Servant' (*ardu*; cf.  ERI, *ardu*). And since D.EN.ZU means the moon-god Sin, who was also called D.AKU (2 R 48. 48 ab), it follows that both ERUM-D.EN.ZU and RIM-D.EN.ZU may be equivalents of ERI-AKU = Arioch, who is connected with Elam in Judith i 6.

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How Luke was written: Considerations affecting the Two-Document Theory, with special reference to the Phenomena of Order in the Non-Marcan Matter common to Matthew and Luke. By E. W. LUMMIS, M.A. (Cambridge University Press, 1915.)

MR LUMMIS attempts to revive the theory that the non-Marcan matter common to Matthew and Luke is to be explained not, as is usually supposed, by their use of a common source or sources, but by the hypothesis that Luke derived this material directly from Matthew. The book shews a great deal of careful work and much ingenuity, but though it is not impossible that Luke had seen Matthew, the objections to the view that he derived the so-called 'Q matter' from him are so insuperable that it is difficult not to feel that it is labour and ingenuity wasted.

If there were nothing else against it, the theory that Luke derived his Q matter solely and directly from Matthew makes shipwreck on one single fact—a fact which, I believe, has not been generally noticed—to which my own attention was first called by Sir J. Hawkins.

Go through St Mark's Gospel in a Greek Testament and put a mark against the exact point in the Marcan outline in which a 'Q' saying is inserted by either Matthew or Luke, and note the result. With the exception of the Q additions to the Marcan version of John's Preaching and the Temptation (the context of which, of course, is fixed by their subject-matter) it will be seen that there is not a single case in which Matthew and Luke insert the same Q saying at the same point in the Marcan context. Now this is exactly what one would expect to happen if Matthew and Luke were *independently* incorporating another source or sources in the Marcan outline. It is, however, incredible that, if Luke knew this 'Q matter' only as it appears already incorporated by Matthew in the Marcan outline, he should in *every single case* have removed it from its context in Matthew to put it into a different one—the more so as the contexts into which Matthew inserts his additions are as a rule extraordinarily appropriate, which is by no means the case with Luke.

This one fact is fatal to Mr Lummis's theory, but it is by no means the only objection. It may be true, for instance, that the original form of a 'Q' saying is more often given better in Matthew than in Luke, but there are plenty of cases where the contrary seems to hold good. Again it is not credible that the five great discourses of Matthew, so symmetrically and convincingly arranged as sermons on connected topics, should have been deliberately broken up and distributed, often

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to quite inappropriate contexts, by Luke. Luke, it must be remembered, was himself a considerable literary artist, and the natural explanation of his arrangement of the Q matter is that he simply followed his source or sources.

The one positive contribution Mr Lummis has to make to the subject is his insistence on the relatively large amount of fundamental agreement in order between the Q material in Matthew and Luke, if one looks below the surface. This he has carried further than previous workers, but he fails to see that the agreement of order, in so far as it exists, is as explicable on the hypothesis that Matthew and Luke used a common document, as on the hypothesis that one of them made use of the other.

The Gospel according to St Matthew. By A. H. McNeile, D.D., Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. (Macmillan, 1915.)

The critical and theological position from which this important Commentary is written may be illustrated by two typical quotations. From the Introduction—'In the narrative of the Virgin-birth the central fact is framed in material, which both in the First and Third Gospel, doubtless contains an imaginative or midrashic (not mythological) element. This was a not unnatural effect of the marvellous nature of the fact. But for the record of the fact itself, it is maintained . . . no adequate explanation has yet been offered other than its occurrence in history: it can be traced to no earlier literary origin'. Again in the note on Mt. xxvi 39 we read 'The utterance has an important bearing on Christology, as evidence for a Human Will, which must be kept by self-denial in unison with the Father's Will. Cf. John Damasc. *De Fide Orth.* iii 18.'

But though the writer's own bent is towards the more conservative and cautious solutions of debated questions, his attitude is thoroughly critical. The Synoptic Problem is not discussed at any length, but the general position adopted towards it and the way in which light from the study of it is thrown on the interpretation of individual passages appear to the writer of this review to be eminently sound. One could have wished that the remarks in the Introduction on the teaching and Messianic claim of Christ in relation to Jewish eschatological thought could have been expanded considerably. They contain much that is suggestive, and the general position taken up has much to commend it; but one desiderates a fuller examination of alternative views.

The notes throughout are clear, full, and to the point, and are rich in illustrative matter from Rabbinic sources, and the more important passages are dealt with more fully in detached additional notes. The amount of material collected is immense, and considerable judgement

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is shewn in its selection and great compression in its presentation. Altogether it is probably the most sound and useful commentary which has so far appeared in English; although those who like at any rate to consider, even if they do not accept, more adventurous suggestions, will prefer to base their studies on a book like Mr Montefiore's *Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels*, using Dr McNeile's as a correcting and steadying influence.

The Parables of the Gospels (Hulsean Prize Essay). By L. E. BROWNE, M.A., Lecturer at St Augustine's College, Canterbury. (Cambridge University Press, 1913.)

THIS book in the main consists in an analysis of the nature of parabolic teaching, with illustrations from Jewish sources. It is largely directed against the rather wooden theories of Jülicher, and as a criticism of these is completely successful. So little has been done in English on the subject that this little book must be pronounced a distinct, though not an outstanding, contribution to learning; and as coming from (presumably) so young a scholar, it creates an expectation of future good work from the same pen.

B. H. STREETER.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, July 1915 (Vol. lxxx, No. 160: Spottiswoode & Co.). P. BATIFFOL France at war—F. B. JEVONS Human Thought and the philosophy of Höffding—W. F. NORRIS Prayer Book revision: procedure by canon—H. J. WHITE The 'dogmatic' variations in St Matthew—A. C. HEADLAM Kikuyu: the Archbishop of Canterbury's statement—C. BICKERSTETH St Augustine's *City of God* and the War—W. C. BISHOP Prayer Book revision: the present stage—B. LEVETT Mysticism—J. W. HORSLEY The Church and Prison Reform—The War: our danger—A. C. HEADLAM Nestorius and orthodoxy—Short Notices.

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The Journal
of
Theological Studies

JANUARY, 1916

DOCUMENTS

A THEOLOGICAL TRACTATE ON THE DIVINITY OF THE SON, FROM PARIS MS B.N. LAT. 653.

MS Paris B. N. lat. 653, written towards the close of the eighth century in Northern Italy, and possibly at Verona,[1] contains a unique anonymous expansion of Pelagius's commentary on the Epistles of St Paul. For the most part the additional comments are of somewhat similar compass to the brief notes of Pelagius himself. But here and there throughout the manuscript we find much longer interpolations. I have already recovered from it three portions of a lost work of Pelagius himself, the *De Libero Arbitrio*, with the author's name attached.[2] A fourth interpolation, this time anonymous, I ventured to publish in the JOURNAL for July 1913 under the title, 'The Commonitorium of Fulgentius of Ruspe on the Holy Spirit.'[3] No published criticism of my view has come to my notice. One or two scholars have suggested privately that, if it be not by Fulgentius, it at any rate belongs to the same *milieu*. I have hoped in vain for an expression of opinion from Dr O. Friebel, the author of a useful monograph on the style of the admitted works of Fulgentius. Dom Donatien de Bruyne, O.S.B., in an unpublished paper, with a copy of which he favoured me, has expressed the view that the tractate could be regarded, with more reason, as an extract from the lost books of Pelagius's *De Fide Trinitatis*.

It cannot be said that an examination of the language of the treatise, side by side with the vast collections made for the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* at Munich, which I was most courteously permitted to inspect in July or August 1913, has led to a definite conclusion for or against my view. The word *efficientia* (p. 484, l. 29) is quoted once from Fulgentius, but occurs often in Hilary, and is also found in Jerome (e.g. *epist.* 120, § 12, p. 514, l. 17 ed. Hilberg) in the same connexion as in our passage. Again, the word *omnipotentia* (p. 486, l. 34) is found

[1] See W. M. Lindsay *Notae Latinae* (Cambridge 1915) p. 471.

[2] Published in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* vol. ii pp. 435–439 (=27–31); *Journal of Theological Studies* vol. xii (1910–1911) pp. 34 f; cf. vol. xiv (1912–1913) p. 481 n.

[3] Vol. xiv pp. 481–488.

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oftener in Fulgentius than elsewhere, but occurs already in Hilary and others, as well as in Cassiodorus, &c. But *probamentum* (p. 488, l. 2), though found as early as Ambrosiaster and Pacian, is not cited from Fulgentius; and the same is true of *praesumptiue* (p. 488, l. 8), which can be traced back as far. I have found another instance of the same form of Matt. xxviii 19 (see p. 482) in Fulgentius, namely in Migne *P. L.* lxv 506 D. It is instructive also to compare Migne pp. 716 ff with the tractate as a whole. If the extract be by Pelagius, why did the scribe not indicate the fact, as in the three other cases, by adding the name? On the other side, however, I can make Dom de Bruyne a present of a very striking parallel with genuine words of Pelagius:—

Tractate: p. 488, ll. 7 ff.	Pelagius ap. Augustin.: *De Natura et Gratia* 37, 44.
Quid inueniri iniquius potest quam simpliciter me credere nolle quod lego, et praesumptiue credere uelle quod non lego?	Credamus igitur quod legimus et quod non legimus nefas credamus adstruere.

Leaving the final decision in this matter of authorship to a later period, I wish here to print another tractate or fragment, which is undoubtedly by the same author as that with which we have been dealing, whosoever he may have been. This piece is, like the other, anonymous. It occurs on ff. 108 v–110 v of the same MS, immediately after the undoubted Pelagian comment on 1 Cor. viii 6, and is introduced in the same simple way as the other, by the word *Aliter*.

A cursory comparison of the language of the two tractates will at once shew the identity of authorship. *Denegent* (p. 133, l. 5, &c. = p. 488, l. 4), *scripturarum testimoniis* (p. 133, l. 5 = p. 487, l. 13), *illud . . . propheticum* (p. 133, l. 7 = p. 483, l. 28 *illud Dauiticum*), *deitatem* (p. 133, l. 11, p. 134, l. 23, p. 135, l. 15 = p. 486, ll. 10, 31, 34), *nuncupari* (p. 133, l. 12, &c. = p. 485, l. 31), *beati apostoli* (p. 133, l. 12 = p. 486, l. 4), *euidentius* (p. 134, l. 8, &c. = p. 486, l. 12), *unam atque eandem* (p. 134, l. 8, &c. = p. 484, l. 6, p. 485, l. 30), *certe* beginning a clause (p. 134, l. 11 = p. 484, l. 37), *non igitur* (p. 134, l. 14, &c. = p. 484, l. 24), *conprobandam* (p. 134, l. 23 = p. 486, l. 13), *deus . . . adorandus* (p. 135, l. 9 = p. 487, l. 37), *idem*, beginning its clause (p. 135, l. 9, &c. = p. 483, l. 33), *conueniunt* (p. 135, l. 13, &c. = p. 488, l. 3), *sine dubio* (p. 135, l. 13 = p. 483, l. 1), *proprie* (p. 135, l. 16 = p. 485, l. 6), *competunt* (p. 135, l. 17, &c. = p. 485, l. 1), **diligenter, quaeso te, lector, attende** (p. 135, l. 23 = p. 487, l. 4), *et reliqua* (p. 135, l. 27 = p. 486, l. 8), *contendant* (p. 135, l. 33, &c. = p. 485, l. 6), *quisnam* (p. 135, l. 33 = p. 484, l. 27), *procul dubio* (p. 136, l. 1 = p. 484, l. 38, p. 485, l. 12), *tam . . . quam* (p. 136, ll. 2–3 = p. 485, ll. 30–31, p. 487, ll. 19, 39), *illud* anticipatory (p. 136, l. 7 = p. 486, l. 22), *fas non* (p. 136, l. 14 = *nefas* p. 487, l. 35).

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It will be admitted that this is a long list, considering the brevity of the present document. It is right, however, to call attention to the fact that, while in the previously published document *consubstantialis* (p. 484, ll. 19, 23) is the word used, and in this it is *consubstantiuus* (p. 136, l. 14), yet Tertullian and Marius Mercator use both words.

The quotations from scripture in the present document are fewer in number and perhaps of inferior interest to those found in the previous tractate. A number of them are short, and can be passed over as not disagreeing with the Vulgate text. There remain about eight, which are worthy of closer study.

Esai. xliii 10 **fuit alius** Old-Latin: est formatus deus *vg.*

xlv 14 This verse, either in whole or in part, is habitually employed as a proof-text by writers on the Divinity of our Lord from Tertullian downwards. A study of the numerous passages given by Sabatier will shew to what group our citation inclines. Certain variants without special significance are here unmentioned, in order to throw the significant variants into greater relief.

haec dicit dominus
fatigata est Aegyptus
et negotiatio Aethiopum
et Saba (Sabai) uiri excelsi
ad te **transgredientur** (-untur)
et tui erunt serui
et post te **ambulabunt**
uincti conpedibus
et adorabunt te
et in te **precabuntur**
quia (quoniam) in te deus est
et non est deus **alius**
praeter te.

Every one of these characteristic variants is to be found in the Cyprianic form of the verse (Hartel 68). At the same time the writer of our tractate did not copy the citation from the *Testimonia*: for in l. 1 Cyprian has *sic* for *haec*, and *dominus deus sabaoth* for *dominus*, and in l. 4 he has *Sabaim* and *alti* respectively. In every other respect the two citations agree absolutely. The detailed evidence for the significant variants is as follows:—

2. fatigata est *Cypr.* : laborauit *Hil. Vict-Af.*[1] *Ambr. Hier. Ps-Vigil.*

[1] A most independent quoter, who, when he uses a Latin Bible at all, appears to employ a European text.

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5. transgredientur *Cypr.* : transibunt *Tert. Hil. Faustin. Ambr. Hier. Ps-Vigil.*
: transient *Greg.-Illib.*

7. ambulabunt *Cypr.* : sequentur *Tert. Hil. Faustin. Ambst. Ambr. Hier. Ps-Vigil.*

8. uincti conpedibus *Cypr.* : alligati uinculis *Hil. Faustin. Ambst. Ambr. Ps-Vigil.*

10. precabuntur *Cypr.* : deprecabuntur *Hil. Faustin. Ambst. Ambr. Greg.-Illib. Ps-Vigil.*

12. alius *Cypr.* : *om. Hil. Faustin. Ambst. Ambr. Hier.*

The evidence points clearly to Africa, or to Spain, the daughter of Africa, as the origin of our fragment. It is not, however, favourable to the authorship of Fulgentius, unless we suppose that he used two totally different types of text at different times; for Sabatier notes that in his citation of this verse Fulgentius *resp. c. Arian.* pp. 66, 67 agrees exactly with Ambrose *de fide* lib. i (tom. ii p. 448 A). Of course Fulgentius may have taken the citation bodily from Ambrose.

Bar. iii 36–38 is like the previous citation, in that it constantly occurs in such a context as we have here. Also there is little doubt that so well known a passage was quoted sometimes from an earlier author, sometimes from memory. It is not possible to distinguish two branches of readings so easily as in the last case. The most significant renderings would appear to be:—

aestimabitur *Ambst. vg Aug. Fulg.* : deputabitur *Cypr. Hil. Faustin. Greg.-Illib. Ps-Fulg. Vigil.* ½.
: reputabitur *Ambr. Rufin.*

alius *Cypr. vg Ambr. Aug.* ½ *Ps-Prosp.* : alter *Hil. Ambst. Rufin. Aug.* ½ *Ps-Fulg.* *Vigil.* ½ *Ps-Vigil.*

absque *Cypr. Ps-Prosp. Ps-Fulg. Vigil.* *Cassiod.* : ad *Hil. Ambst. Rufin. Paulin.-Nol. Aug.* ½ *Fulg.* ½ *Vigil.* ½ *Ps-Vigil.*
: praeter *Fulg.* ½.
: aduersus *vg*

eo *Rufin. Ps-Prosp. Ps-Fulg.* : illo *Cypr. Faustin. Greg.-Illib. Vigil.* ½ *Cassiod.*
: eum *Hil. Ambst. vg Rufin. Paulin.-Nol. Aug.* ½ *Fulg. Vigil.* ½ *Ps-Vigil.*
: illum *cod-Sang. Fulg.* ½.

inuenit *cod-Sang. Cypr. Hil. Faustin. Greg.-Illib. Aug. Ps-Prosp. Ps-Fulg. Ps-Vigil.* : adinuenit *Ambst. vg Ambr. Fulg.* ¾.

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iustitiae unique, and probably an error: prudentiae *Cypr. Faustin. Greg.-Illib. Aug. Ps-Prosp. Ps-Fulg.*
: scientiae *Hil. Ambst.*
: disciplinae *cod-Sang. vg Ambr. Fulg.* ¾.

Our text might be described as late African. It bears no close relation either to the Old-Latin text printed with the Vulgate, or to the text employed by Fulgentius.

John vi 29	eum; unique?	: in eum, *ceteri.*
Rom. xi 34	⌒ eius consiliarius unique?	: consiliarius eius (*etc.*); see Wordsworth-White.
35	**ei** *m t* Tert. ½ Hil. ½ Orig.-lat.	: illi *vg*
	illi *d g m t* Tert. Cypr. Hil. ¾	: ei *vg*
1 Cor. ii 8	**maiestatis** *d* Ambst. Pelag. etc.	: gloriae *vg*
2 Thess. ii 16	et (2°) *om. g z* (ed. Buchanan) *Ambst. cod. et comm. Vigil.* ⅔. *Ps-Hier. codd.*	: *habent vg Pelag. etc.*
Apoc. i 8	haec *Orig.-lat.*	: *om. vg etc.*

These references favour an origin identical with that of the others previously examined, but they are not so favourable to Fulgentius as the author. Perhaps further fragments may turn up, which will help us to determine the origin of these tractates with greater certainty.

A. SOUTER.

De eo uero quod solent dicere, UNUM DEUM PATREM ab apostolo praedicari, propter illud, quod ad Corinthios scriptum est: UNUS DEUS PATER, EX QUO OMNIA, ET UNUS DOMINUS IESUS CHRISTUS, PER QUEM OMNIA, primum interrogandi sunt utrumne DEUM PATREM etiam DOMINUM esse fateantur, an denegent. qui si negauerint, scripturarum testimoniis reuincendi sunt, quae multifarie DEUM PATREM etiam DOMINUM esse testantur. et illud est propheticum: HAEC DICIT DOMINUS et NUNC DOMINUS MISIT ME: si uero confessi fuerint, respondendum est: 'quo modo DOMINUM dicitis PATREM, cum UNUS DOMINUS filius esse dicatur?' aut sic quod UNUS DOMINUS filius dicitur, dominationem patri non eripit, nec quod UNUS DEUS PATER dicitur, filio potest eripere deitatem.

Etiam DOMINUM nuncupari beati apostoli utamur exemplo: ait enim: O ALTITUDO DIUITIARUM SAPIENTIAE ET SCIENTIAE DEI: QUAM INCONPREHENSIBILIA SUNT IUDICIA EIUS ET INUESTIGABILES UIAE EIUS: QUIS

1, 4, 9, 10, 11 cf. 1 Cor. viii 6 2 1 Cor. viii 6 6 multifariae *cod.* 7 Esai. xlv 14, &c. Esai. xlviii 16 10 sic] si *cod.* 13 Rom. xi 33–36 inconpraehensibilia *cod.*

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ENIM COGNOUIT SENSUM DOMINI, AUT QUIS EIUS CONSILIARIUS FUIT? AUT QUIS PRIOR DEDIT EI ET RETRIBUETUR ILLI? QUONIAM EX IPSO ET PER IPSUM ET IN IPSO SUNT OMNIA. quaero itaque de quo hoc apostolus dixerit: de patre an de filio? si de patre, et ipse DOMINUS dicitur: QUIS, inquit, COGNOUIT SENSUM DOMINI? si de filio, DEUS et ipse nuncupatur: O ALTITUDO, inquit, DIUITIARUM SAPIENTIAE ET SCIENTIAE DEI!

Et ut euidentius unam atque eandem substantiam operationemque monstraret, hic propter unitatem substantiae ad unam personam refert, quod alibi duarum esse significat, quoniam ait: EX IPSO ET PER IPSUM ET IN IPSO SUNT OMNIA. certe hic unum atque eundem dicit, EX quo ET PER quem OMNIA SUNT, cum alibi EX patre OMNIA et CUNCTA dicat ESSE PER filium. unde iterum interrogandi sunt, de quo hoc dictum putent: si de patre, PER IPSUM OMNIA, sicut et PER filium, non igitur maior est pater; si de filio, EX IPSO OMNIA, sicut EX PATRE, non igitur minor est filius. si autem dixerint in hoc maiorem intellegi patrem, quod ubique prior filio nuncupatur, ostendendum est ad amputandam huius opinionis impietatem quodam loco ab apostolo filium priorem nuncupatum esse quam patrem, ut ibi: IPSE AUTEM DOMINUS NOSTER IESUS CHRISTUS ET DEUS PATER NOSTER, QUI DILEXIT NOS ET DEDIT CONSOLATIONEM AETERNAM ET SPEM BONAM IN GRATIA, EXHORTETUR CORDA UESTRA.

Illud sane ad ueram deitatem filii conprobandam inter cetera demonstrandum est, quod quaecumque magna et non nisi DEO DIGNA de patre dicuntur, eadem etiam inueniantur dici aeque de filio. pater DEUS dicitur, idem etiam et filius: ET EX QUIBUS CHRISTUS inquit apostolus SECUNDUM CARNEM, QUI EST SUPER OMNIA DEUS BENEDICTUS IN SAECULA. DOMINUS ET DEUS pater dicitur, idem etiam et filius: DOMINUS MEUS inquit Thomas ET DEUS MEUS. NON ESSE DEUS ALIUS PRAETER patrem dicitur; hoc etiam de filio significatur: QUONIAM IN TE inquit Esaias DEUS EST, ET NON EST DEUS ALIUS PRAETER TE. quod de filio dictum esse inferius demonstrauimus. item aput Hieremiam: HIC DEUS NOSTER, ET NON AESTIMABITUR ALIUS ABSQUE EO, QUI INUENIT OMNEM UIAM IUSTITIAE, ET DEDIT EAM IACOB PUERO SUO ET ISRAHEL DILECTO SUO: POST HAEC IN TERRIS UISUS EST, ET CUM HOMINIBUS CONUERSATUS EST. OMNIPOTENS pater dicitur, id etiam filius in Apocalypsi: HAEC DICIT QUI EST ET QUI ERAT ET QUI UENTURUS EST OMNIPOTENS. UENTURUM enim filium ESSE

5 Rom. xi 34 5, 6 inquid *cod.* 6 Rom. xi 33 10, 12, 14 Rom. xi 36 12, 14 1 Cor. viii 6 15 Rom. xi 36 19 2 Thess. ii 16, 17 25 cf. Sap. 3, 5 26 Rom. ix 5 29 Ioh. xx 28 29, 31 Esai. xlv 14 32 de] ne *cod.* 33 Bar. iii 36–38 36 Apoc. xix 15 37 apocalypsin Apoc. i 8

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quis dubitet? ALTISSIMUS pater dicitur, hoc etiam filius in euangelio Lucae: ET TU PUER PROPHETA ALTISSIMI UOCABERIS; PRAEIBIS ENIM ANTE FACIEM DOMINI. de patre dicitur quod SIT DEUS OMNIA IN OMNIBUS, hoc et de filio: SED OMNIA inquit apostolus ET IN OMNIBUS CHRISTUS. DOMINUS MAIESTATIS pater creditur, hoc et filius ab apostolo dicitur: SI ENIM COGNOUISSENT, NUMQUAM DOMINUM MAIESTATIS CRUCIFIXISSENT. IN DEUM PATREM CREDENDUM est, similiter ET IN FILIUM: nam ipse dicit: HOC EST OPUS DEI, UT CREDATIS EUM, QUEM MISIT ILLE. deus pater adorandus est, idem et filius: ET ADORENT EUM inquit Moses OMNES ANGELI DEI. deus PATER SUSCITAT MORTUOS ET UIUIFICAT, idem et filius, ut ipse ait: SICUT ENIM PATER SUSCITAT MORTUOS ET UIUIFICAT, SIC ET FILIUS QUOS UULT UIUIFICAT.

Si igitur haec omnia non nisi deo uero conueniunt, UERUS sine dubio et ille DEUS est, cui probatur omnia ista conuenire. nescio quid ad assignandam ueram filii deitatem hac luce clarius uel hac ratione inueniri euidentius possit, quam ut nihil eorum quae proprie de deo patri conpetunt filio deesse monstretur. illud quoque sancti Esaiae testimonium quo modo intellegant percontandi sunt, quo continetur: HAEC DICIT DOMINUS: FATIGATA EST AEGYPTUS ET NEGOTIATIO AETHIOPUM ET SABA UIRI EXCELSI AD TE TRANSGREDIENTUR, ET TUI ERUNT SERUI, ET POST TE AMBULABUNT UINCTI CONPEDIBUS, ET ADORABUNT TE, ET IN TE PRECABUNTUR, QUIA IN TE DEUS EST, ET NON EST DEUS ALIUS PRAETER TE. diligenter, quaeso te, lector, attende: HAEC DICIT inquit DOMINUS. DOMINUM certe eum asserit esse, qui DICIT: nunc eum cui dicit quid intellegi uelint expecta: FATIGATA EST inquit AEGYPTUS ET NEGOTIATIO AETHIOPUM ET SABAI UIRI EXCELSI AD TE TRANSGREDIUNTUR, et reliqua, QUONIAM IN TE DEUS EST. quis iste est ad quem DOMINUS DICIT quod IN ipso sit DEUS, ne forte sanctus ali[illegible] (sit) uel propheta: sed NON EST inquit DEUS ALIUS PRAETER TE. non ergo si nulli hominum competit, de filio dictum esse quis [illegible] si hoc de filio dictum est, uide utrumne uerum deum debeamus [illegible] PRAETER quem DEUS ALIUS negatur existere. si autem non [illegible] dictum esse contendant, primum quisnam ille sit, a quo [illegible] dominum legimus, cogentur ostendere, deinde qua ratione [illegible] conueniat, QUONIAM IN TE DEUS EST, quo modo cum non [illegible] sit, IN ipso ESSE dicitur DEUS. aut si respondere uoluerint [illegible] intellegendum esse, quod ipse deus sit, qui ESSE dicitur: [illegible]

1 cf. Num. xxiv 16, &c. 2 Luc. i 76 3 1 Cor. x 2 [illegible] 5 cf. Ps. xxviii 3 apostulo *cod.* 6 1 Cor. ii 8 [illegible] 9 Deut. xxxii 43 10 cf. Ioh. v 21 11 Ioh. v 21 [illegible] *bis*] haec *bis cod.* 16 propriae *cod.* 17 monstretur [illegible] xlv 14 22 praecabuntur *cod.* 24, 25, 29 inquit [illegible] 35 Esai. xlv 14 29 sit *om. cod.*

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ipsum procul dubio deum esse dicturi sunt; et nihil refert utrum hoc de patre an de filio dictum intellegant, dum modo tam deum esse, qui in deo est, quam illum deum, in quo deus est, esse consentiant. nos uero ita illud intellegendum putamus, quod de sancto spiritu et filio et patre dicatur, id est quod sanctus spiritus sit, de quo dicitur: HAEC DICIT DOMINUS, et filius, de quo dicitur; IN TE DEUS EST, et pater, qui esse referatur in filio. illud quoque sancti Esaiae quo modo habebunt interrogandi sunt, quod positum est: ANTE ME NON FUIT ALIUS DEUS, ET POST ME NON ERIT. si de patre dictum esse contenderint, posteriorem illo deum affirmare non poterunt: ET POST ME inquit NON ERIT. si de filio, anteriorem alium non habebit: ANTE ME ENIM inquit NON FUIT ALIUS DEUS, et cogendi sunt aut deum penitus filium denegare, et impietatis suae magnitudinem prodere, aut patri consubstantiuum esse cognoscere. quocirca fas non sit alium anteriorem posterioremue deum dicere, quia diuinitatis patris ac filii una eademque et sempiterna substantia anterius posteriusue non recipit.

6 Esai. xlv 14 7 esaie *cod* 8 habebant *cod.* quod] quo *cod.* 8, 11 Esai. xliii 10 11, 12 inquid *cod.* 13 impietati *cod.* 14 quod circa *cod.*

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AUGUSTINE-FRAGMENTS FROM THE CAIRO GENIZAH.

AMONG the Taylor-Schechter MSS in the Cambridge University Library are three tattered vellum leaves and some smaller bits which once formed part of a handsome Codex of St Augustine's works. The hand is not unlike that of the well-known Fulda MS (A.D. 546); I have no hesitation in assigning the fragments to the sixth century.

The fragments are now mounted between panes of glass and are numbered *CUL* Add. 4320 (*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*). Each leaf contained one column of writing, 30 lines to the page, the size of the page being about $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ inches. The extant text consists of the end of *De Sermone Domini in Monte* bk ii, immediately followed by Sermon cxviii.

The contents of the several leaves are as follows:—

4320 (*c*) *De Serm. Dom. in Monte* ii = *Migne* P. L. xxxiv 1300

recto

[et con]uersi dirumpant uos canes er[go]
[pro op]pug[n]atoribus ueritatis porcos
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . et stomachando non uideo·

verso

-go simplex et mundum cor ha[bere]
. . . . . .

4320 (*a*) *De Serm. in Monte* ii = *Migne* xxxiv 1307 f.

recto

Apostolus (end of § 83)—*uisibilia illa* (beg. of § 85)

verso

miracula—[dici]t apostolus· s[erum] (col. 1308, middle of § 86)

4320 (*b*) *De Serm. in Monte* ii = *Migne* xxxiv 1308, followed by *Sermo* cxviii = *Migne* xxxviii 671 f.

recto

. . . . . .
[ ] SCI QUAS ESAIAS PROPHETA
[COMMEM]ORAT SED SIUE ISTE ORDO IN
[HIS CONS]IDERA[N]DUM SIT SIUE ALIQUIſ *sic*
[ALIUS] FACIENDA S[UN]T QUAE AUDIMU[S] *sic*
[A DN̄O SI U]OLUMUS AEDIFICARE SUP[E]R
[PETRAM·] AMEN· ›››

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E[XP]LK[· LI]B[ᵓ] II̅ DE SERMO
N[E] DNI[· IN M]ON[TE H]A[BITo]

[3 *or* 4 *illegible lines here follow, probably a rubricated title.*]

[*Blank*]
[OM]NES QUI MULTA UERBA QUAERITI[S]
[HO]MINIS JNTELLIGITE UNUM UERBUM
[D̅I̅ IN P]RINCIPIO ENIM ERAT UERB[UM] *sic*
[IN PRINCI]PIO FECIT D̅S̅ CAELUM ET TER
[RAM SED] ERA[T] UERBUM QUANDO [AU]
[DIUIMUS IN] PRINCIPIO FECIT D̅S̅ AGNOS
[CAMUS] CREATOREM· CREATOR ES[T E]
[NIM Q]UI FECIT· CREATURA AUTEM QUOD

At the beginning of the *verso* FEC[IT] is legible.

I have not identified the passages on the smaller fragments, numbered 4320 (*d*). A good deal more could be read of (*a*) and (*c*).

As I have indicated, s is sometimes written in a more cursive manner at the ends of lines, as is generally the case in Latin uncials. I cannot quite make out the compendium for *explicit*: the vellum is much torn. The initial I of *intelligite* (l. 24) has a well-marked tail.

The leaves are palimpsest, the upper writing being a Hebrew Masoretic MS.

The chief interest of these fragments is their age and provenance. Latin MSS from Egypt are rare at all periods, but the Nitrian MS B.M. Add. 17182 (the older codex of Aphraates, partly written A.D. 512) has bound up with it a scrap from a sixth-century MS of the Vulgate Gospels. No doubt the Augustine leaves reached the Cairo Synagogue merely as waste vellum.

Sermon cxviii was first published by Sirmond in 1631 from a MS belonging to the monastery of St Victor at Paris, and the Benedictine editors adduce no other MS. When the Vienna Corpus reaches the *De Sermone Domini in Monte* it may be possible to determine to what branch of transmission the Cairo MS of St Augustine belonged.

F. C. BURKITT.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

W AND Θ: STUDIES IN THE WESTERN TEXT OF ST MARK (*continued*).

Hosanna.

THE problems raised by the *voces populi* at the Entry of our Lord into Jerusalem very well illustrate the inter-relation of the textual, literary, and historical problems of the Gospels. The present article is a continuation of a study of W and Θ, the two comparatively newly discovered texts, but in view of the intrinsic interest of the problems which cluster about the cry of *Hosanna* I shall not confine myself merely to questions of various readings.

There can be little doubt as to the true text of

(11)[1] Mk. xi 9b, 10.

Ὡσαννά· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου·
εὐλογημένη ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δανείδ·
ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.

This is the text of ℵ B and a good many other authorities, including the Latin and Syriac Vulgates, and also of all modern critical editions. There are three variants of importance:—

(i) after *βασιλεία*, *ἐν ὀνόματι* Κυρίου is added by ς (A N al^{pl}), but no Versions earlier than *q* goth syr.hl. There can be no doubt, from the mere weight of authority, that the addition is out of place: it may have come by accident from the preceding line into the archetype of *K*, and as it seemed edifying it was allowed to remain. Except for this addition *K* agrees with *H* (i. e. ℵ B &c).

(ii) ὡσαννά (1°)] om. D W *b ff r*... + *ἐν ὑψίστοις* 299 *ci*... + *ἐν ὑψίστῳ* 28 *a*... + *τῷ ὑψίστῳ* Θ 13&c 565 700 *k* arm (*sic*).[2]

A very curious cross-grouping of interesting authorities!

(iii) ὡσαννὰ (2°) *ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις*] *εἰρήνη ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις* W 28 700 syr.*S* Orig^{Mt} . . . *εἰρήνη ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις* Θ arm . . . + *εἰρ. ἐν οὐρ. καὶ δ. ἐν ὑψ.* 1&c . . . pr. *εἰρ. ἐν οὐρ. καὶ δ. ἐν ὑψ.* 251 syr.hl*.

A good deal of this mass of variation is clearly secondary. The readings *ἐν ὑψίστοις* and *ἐν ὑψίστῳ* in (ii) are very weakly supported in Greek and are to be regarded as mere corruptions of *τῷ ὑψίστῳ*. The

[1] The number refers to the continuous numeration of the texts considered in these articles.

[2] The Armenian is *bardsreloyn*: cf. Acts vii 48.

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readings in (iii) must be considered in connexion with Lk. xix 38 where 'peace in heaven and glory in ὑψίστοις' is substituted for 'hosanna in the highest'. Lk. xix 38 is thus the ultimate source of the latter found in W 28 vet syrS Orig[M]. That ἐπὶ is not original is practically proved by the occurrence of ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις in Mk. xi 9, where also the former ὡσαννὰ occurs in the first 'Hosanna in the highest'.

We may thus distinguish here two distinct tendencies in Christian documents. On the one hand there was a tendency to get rid of ὡσαννὰ altogether as a 'barbarous' word: this is seen in the paraphrase given by Luke, and also in W. On the other hand the tendency to treat ὡσαννὰ tend to add an object in the dative.

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This brings us to consider what the meaning of *Hosanna* was. Here there are two traditions, the one *grammatical*, the other [illegible] as if we were asking the meaning of the German cry 'Hoch!' one should say it means 'high' and another that it means 'Long live!'. The ultimate derivation of *hosanna* is, no doubt, אוֹשִׁיעָה נָּא. No doubt, also, the original use of the word as an exclamation is to be seen in 2 Sam. xiv 4, 2 Kings vi 26, where הוֹשִׁיעָה is the cry of a suppliant to the King, like *Haro! à mon aide!* But the use of a ritual exclamation is not necessarily [illegible] derivation: when we shout 'God save the King' it is as if the King as in particular need of rescue or

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Gospel times, in Palestine, while the Temple was still standing and e sacrifices still being offered, the Jewish Religion was far more system of ritual than a book-religion: the average Jew, as distinct om the professed Scribe, knew how to perform his religious duties etter than he knew what was written about them. If certain acts were ccompanied by certain cries, he knew the cries themselves better than e knew where they were written in the Bible. If the crowd really houted *Hosanna!* on this occasion it was not because the word ccurred in Psalm cxviii, but because the occasion itself was somehow imilar to that presupposed in Ps. cxviii.

What was the occasion for which Psalm cxviii was composed? An xtremely probable guess is that it was composed for the Dedication of he Temple by Judas Maccabaeus in December 165 B.C.[1] The words of the Psalm will then have been chosen with reference to the actual usages at the Feast. And how was the new Dedication Feast (*Hanukka*) celebrated? The answer is given in 2 Macc. x 6, which tells us that they celebrated it something like the old Feast of Tabernacles, θύρσους καὶ κλάδους ὡραίους ἔτι δὲ καὶ φοίνικας ἔχοντες, i.e. with green boughs and branches, such as they could get in December. These green boughs are what is common to Tabernacles and the ceremonies that accompanied Dedication.

And what was the popular Aramaic name for a *thyrsus*? Let us hear Haman instructing King Ahasuerus about the wicked customs of the Jews: 'On the 15th of Tishri they make booths on the roofs of their houses, and they go out into our gardens and pull off our palm-branches[2] and pick our oranges[3] and tear away our greenery and devastate our gardens, and they pull up their own hedges and spare them not and they make for themselves *Hosannas* . . . and they rejoice and go round with the *Hosannas* and jump about and spring like kids, and we do not know whether they are blessing us or cursing us, and they call it the Feast of Tabernacles' (Targum II to Esther iii 8). So far as outward appearances are concerned, there must have been a certain resemblance between the behaviour of the Galilean crowd at the Entry and the scene so maliciously described by Haman.

Why should green boughs plucked from the hedges be 'Hosannas', except because *Hosanna* was sh[illegible] when th[illegible] used? A[illegible] in Psalm cxviii 25 th[illegible]-cry is [illegible] trod[illegible], *hoshi'a-na*! Ah! I[illegible] all go

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readings in (iii) must be considered in connexion with Lk. xix 38, where 'peace in heaven and glory ἐν ὑψίστοις' is substituted for Mark's ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις. Lk. xix 38 is thus the ultimate source of the εἰρήνη found in W 28 700 syr.*S* Orig^{Mt}. That εἰρήνη is not original is practically proved by the occurrence of ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις in Matt. xxi 9, where also the former ὡσαννά occurs in the form 'Hosanna to the Son of David'.

We may thus distinguish here two distinct tendencies in Christian documents. On the one hand there was a tendency to get rid of *Hosanna* altogether as a 'barbarous' word: this is seen in the paraphrase given by Luke, and also in W. On the other hand the texts that retain *Hosanna* tend to add an object in the dative.

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It is obvious, of course, that the cry of *Hosanna*, followed as it is by *Benedictus qui uenit in nomine Domini*, has something to do with Ps. cxviii (cxvii) 25 f, where הושיעה נא actually occurs in the Hebrew. But what do the words mean in the Psalm? And why should that Psalm, or phrases from it, be shouted by a crowd? At the risk of being tedious, let me put down in words one feature in which an investigation such as this differs from those of older expositors, up to fifty years ago. Till quite recent times the religion of Jews was regarded almost exclusively as synonymous with the Old Testament, with a greater or less admixture of Oral Tradition. 'The Law' meant to European scholars the Pentateuch itself rather than the religious system enacted in the Pentateuch. And similarly the mere fact that such-and-such words occurred in a Psalm seemed sufficient reason for their use by Jews, almost on any occasion. Psalm cxviii forms part of the 'Hallel', a collection of Psalms sung at certain times, and this was thought in itself a sufficient explanation of why the crowd should say *Benedictus qui uenit*.

The religion of Jews has probably never been so much of a book-religion as Christians have imagined, but it is quite certain that

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in Gospel times, in Palestine, while the Temple was still standing and the sacrifices still being offered, the Jewish Religion was far more a system of ritual than a book-religion: the average Jew, as distinct from the professed Scribe, knew how to perform his religious duties better than he knew what was written about them. If certain acts were accompanied by certain cries, he knew the cries themselves better than he knew where they were written in the Bible. If the crowd really shouted *Hosanna!* on this occasion it was not because the word occurred in Psalm cxviii, but because the occasion itself was somehow similar to that presupposed in Ps. cxviii.

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Why should green boughs plucked from the hedges be called 'Hosannas', except because *Hosanna* was shouted when they were used? And so we find in Psalm cxviii 25 the Hosanna-cry is actually introduced: 'Ah! LORD, *hoshi'a-na*! Ah! LORD, make all go well!'

[1] The whole tone of the Psalm speaks of a recent deliverance from the Gentiles (*v.* 10) after chastisement (*v.* 18). Is it possible that אסרו חג בעבתים (*v.* 27) means 'Institute a Feast of obligation, to be celebrated with *thyrsi*'? 'Hallel', including Ps. cxviii, is still sung at *Ḥanukka*.

[2] *Lulab*. [3] Or rather, 'citrons', *Ethrog*.

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When the Jews sing the Hallel now, they repeat this twice. When they came to *hoshi'a-na* they waved their palm-branch (*lulab*): most of them in Talmudic days waved their branch also at 'make all go well', but Rabbi Gamaliel and Rabbi Joshua waved only at *hoshi'a-na*! (T. B. *Succa* 37 b).

The conclusions to which these ritual facts seem to point are these:—

(i) 'Hosanna' had come to be a cry for good luck to God at the Feast of Tabernacles, from quite ancient times, before the minor details of the Feast were finally stereotyped.[1]

(ii) The fact that the name for the thyrsi is *Hosanna*, not *Hosianna* (הוֹשַׁעְנָא not הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּא), suggests that the Gospels are correct in giving this shortened form as a popular exclamation.

(iii) Psalm cxviii, composed for the Dedication of the Temple by Judas Maccabaeus, gives us a hint of the ritual procession to the Temple then made; it confirms 2 Macc. x 6 in representing this procession as modelled upon the ancient procession at the Feast of Tabernacles.

(iv) Psalm cxviii 25 is not the ultimate source of the cry *Hosanna*, but *Hosanna* finds a place in the Psalm because the ancient cry of *Hosanna* was used at that Dedication.

(v) It is a fair deduction to suppose that the behaviour of the Galilean crowd at our Lord's Entry into Jerusalem was based on what was appropriate for *Ḥanukka*, for the Feast of the Dedication, rather than by what was appropriate for Tabernacles.

I venture to suggest that if (v) be accepted as valid many of the essential difficulties of the traditional narrative disappear. The essential thing is to get a rational cause for the general action of the crowd and for the most peculiar and unexpected feature of it, viz. the cry of *Hosanna!* All the rest is accessory, and a question of literary method on the part of the Evangelists. But so long as *Hosanna* merely suggests to us a scene imitated from the Vintage-feast of Tabernacles the whole account is puzzling. The difficulty has always been slurred over in English Commentaries, even in C. G. Montefiore's, but I feel there is great force in the ingenuous Note of the Christian Rabbinic scholar A. Wünsche, who says in his *Neue Beiträge* (1878), p. 241, note: 'Our passage [i. e. Matt. xxi 8 f] either contains a confusion of Passover with Tabernacles, or the narrator has intentionally transferred a ceremony of the Feast of Tabernacles to Passover'. Such a treatment of the Gospel narrative is only one step removed from the thoroughgoing scepticism of those who say the story of the Entry is so improbable that it cannot really have taken place.

[1] In the same way *pax* was an ejaculation, before the pax-brede or *osculatorium* came into use.

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But when once we connect the sentiments of the followers of Jesus with the Feast of the Dedication, many other things become clear besides the reason for *Hosanna*. Much has been written about the significance which our Lord may be supposed to have attached to His public Entry into Jerusalem: what that significance was must, strictly speaking, remain conjectural, for He is not recorded ever to have referred to it. But on the other hand we do know what directly followed the Entry. It led up to the most public action of His whole career, the Cleansing of the Temple. It is true that according to Mark it did not take place till the next day, a postponement which is so little in accordance with romantic effect that we cannot fail to accept it as sober fact. But notwithstanding the delay, the Cleansing takes place. It must have been a remarkable scene; no wonder the authorities sought some way of bringing the Galilean Prophet to grief. And it is difficult to believe that the personal ascendancy of a single stranger would have compelled instant obedience with such summary commands, if unsupported by a large body of those who already sympathized—more than sympathized, expected something striking and astonishing. Mk. xi 18^{b}, in fact, tells us that the action of Jesus was supported by the crowd. We need not even suppose that πᾶσ ὁ ὄχλοσ xi 18 means the crowd who had shouted *Hosanna* yesterday, but if those who had shouted *Hosanna* told others that their Prophet was coming as the messenger of the covenant to purify the sons of Levi just before the great and terrible Day of the LORD, that Passover-multitude would be far more ready to let Him do what He would, for a time. A new Dedication—that is the connecting link between the Entry and the Cleansing. On the next day begins the tragedy: Jesus still has the shout of *Hosanna* in mind; but things go on as usual. The end has not come, and He thinks of Himself as the stone which the builders have rejected. Before the end of the day the hot-heads among the Galileans will have learned that their Prophet is willing after all to pay tribute to Caesar.

One further point must be noticed. The Fourth Gospel puts the Cleansing of the Temple at the beginning of the public Ministry. I regard this as a deliberate alteration, an alteration of the same nature as the omission of the Baptism of Jesus by John and the omission of the words about the Bread and Wine at the Last Supper. But in the case of these events the Fourth Evangelist has been careful to insert elsewhere important sections which give the teaching connected with the Baptism and the Last Supper. So also here. What is the text in St John that most of all corresponds to 'By what authority doest Thou these things?' Is it not John x 24? 'How long dost Thou hold us in suspense? If Thou be the Christ, tell us openly.' This is said

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to have taken place in Jerusalem, at the Feast of the Dedication. It is practically impossible to take this literally, i. e. to place Jesus in Jerusalem in December, if the narrative of Mark be at all historical. I cannot help thinking that this mention of τὰ Ἐγκαίνια may have originated in a sort of consciousness that one visit of Jesus to Jerusalem had something to do with a Dedication of the Temple, a Dedication which was also, in the words of 2 Macc. x 5, the καθαρισμὸσ τοῦ ναοῦ.

Two other features in the *voces populi* at the Entry call for remark. 'Our father David' is, so far as I can gather, unparalleled elsewhere. 'Our father Abraham', or 'our father Jacob' (John iv 12), is natural enough in the mouth of an Israelite, but David is never called the Father of his people. The expression occurs in the line εὐλογημένη ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸσ ἡμῶν Δαυείδ·—surely a very unlikely transcription of the shouts of a crowd, if taken *verbatim*. If we try to reconstruct for ourselves what such a crowd as our Galileans may be supposed to have actually uttered, we must remember not only that, like other crowds, they would use much shorter cries than this, but also that they would certainly avoid any direct Name of God. At the most they might say 'in the Name of *Heaven*' for ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου, but it is likely that they did not actually say anything corresponding to ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου at all, and only shouted '*Bārūch hab-bā*'.[1] Now the Messianic Kingdom might be called the Kingdom of David or the Kingdom of God, and for the latter you may say βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ in Greek without offence; it was only in Hebrew and Aramaic that Jews avoided naming God's Name. But you might say 'Kingdom of our Father', meaning the Kingdom of God, as in Matt. xiii 43. I cannot help thinking that the crowd only shouted 'Kingdom of our Father! Kingdom of David!' and that the double cry has been made into one by the Evangelist.

Still more doubtful is what really corresponded to ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖσ ὑψίστοισ. The simplest explanation is that of the *Acta Pilati* i 3, 4, which makes ἐν τοῖσ ὑψίστοισ a vocative, as if it were ὁ ἐν τοῖσ ὑψίστοισ. It would thus be equivalent to Solomon's 'then hear Thou in heaven their prayer and maintain their cause' (1 Kings viii 45). This is not, however, a good linguistic parallel, as the Hebrew in Kings has השמים only and the Greek ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. As the phrase is unparalleled elsewhere it seems to me possible that it is based altogether upon a misunderstanding, and that it represents הושענא לעילא lit. 'Hosanna upwards', i. e. 'Up with your wands!' It was at the moment when they waved their Hosanna-boughs (or palm-branches, if they had them) that the actual cry of *Hosanna!* was made.[2]

[1] Compare Lagarde *Onomastica Sacra* 160[26], 201[66].

[2] See above, p. 4.

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The Fourth Gospel, recognizing the near resemblance of the scene at the Entry to the procession at Tabernacles, speaks of the crowd taking Palm-branches (τὰ βαΐα, i. e. the *Lulab*). Whether this be strictly historical or not—the Mount of *Olives* was nearer than Jericho and the season was March or April—we may accept it for the moment, on the ground that a 'Palm-branch' does have associations with us of processional use, whereas 'olive-branch' and 'green bough' have altogether alien connotations in English. We may then, I venture to suggest, reconstruct the cries of the crowd at the Entry somewhat thus: —they escorted the ass and its Rider with shouts of 'Hosanna!' 'Blest be He who comes!'—'Our Father's Kingdom!'—'The Kingdom of David!'—'Up with your palms!'

And if the general argument here followed is sound, the best English equivalent for *Hosanna*, when it does not mean the green boughs, will be 'God save Israel!', used more or less as we are told they use 'God save Ireland!' over the water. I mean, that *Hosanna* is a festal shout, but a festal shout in the form of a prayer to God to give a good turn to the affairs of the nation. It is not accurate to say with Suidas that *Hosanna* means εἰρήνη καὶ δόξα, but when Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* i 5) says that φῶσ καὶ δόξα καὶ αἶνοσ μεθ' ἱκετηρίασ τῷ Κυρίῳ is the interpretation of Ὡσαννά in Greek, he gives a fair account of the actual use of the word.[1]

From this long excursus into historical criticism we can now come back to the variants to Mk. xi 9, 10, both in the MSS and in the other Synoptic Gospels. We have already considered the paraphrase of *Hosanna* in Luke: as usual, his Hellenized phraseology is not far off the general sense, but the local colour is gone. In Luke, the crowd praise God with loud voices in thankfulness, but the ἱκετηρία, the supplication, is absent. In Matt. xxi 9 ὡσαννά is retained, but τῷ υἱῷ Δαυείδ is added, both at the Entry and in the story, peculiar to Matthew, of the boys shouting 'Hosanna to the Son of David' in the Temple. This phrase presents grave difficulties. I have ventured to give as a paraphrase of *Hosanna*, 'God save Israel'; Mr Weymouth gives 'God save the Son of David' as a paraphrase of ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυείδ, but the two expressions are not really analogous. Just as the address to God is understood though not expressed in the ritual shout of *Hosanna*, so also the object, *viz.* 'us', 'Israel', 'Thy holy People' is also inevitable. The Jews only shouted 'Hosanna' *to* God and they did not shout it *for* anybody in particular. Furthermore, 'Son of David' is one of the favourite catch-words of Matthew, representing an

[1] What does Clement mean by φῶσ? Is it merely a mistake for φωναί, or did his informant ultimately connect the cry with the Feast of the Dedication, a popular name for which, according to Josephus, was the τὰ φῶτα?

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aspect of the Christ that he is always anxious to bring forward; where 'Son of David' occurs in Matthew and is absent from the parallels in other Gospels, it is always more likely to be an unhistorical addition than an independent survival of tradition. And finally, the point of the quotation of Psalm viii 2 in Matt. xxi 16 depends on the Greek LXX rendering (*αἶνον*) and is lost in any Semitic language.

For these reasons I regard the appending of *τῷ υἱῷ Δαυείδ* to *ὡσαννά* as a later addition, made in Greek, and not based on any tradition which goes back to the original Aramaic-speaking community. This conclusion has often been reached before, but it is important to see what is involved by it. In the first place, if the cry *ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυείδ* be not historical, but merely literary, it affords yet another proof of the close connexion between the sources used by Hegesippus (Eus. *H E* ii 23) and our Gospel according to Matthew.[1] But another deduction has to be made. *Ὡσαννά* is retained in Matthew's narrative without explanation, and even an addition (in Greek) is made to it: we must infer that among these Greek-speaking Christians, for whom Matthew wrote, *Hosanna* had already become a ritual cry, like *ἀλληλουιά*. It is, I suppose, a safe inference that wherever we find a Hebrew or Aramaic phrase occurring in the New Testament, without an interpretation added, it must have been used in worship: *Rabbi* is the only exception. But if *Hosanna* was used in worship by some Christians earlier than the writing down of the Gospel of Matthew, we should expect some traces of it to survive, independent of the literary influence of that Gospel.

This is actually the case. When Bryennius first edited the *Didache* he found 'Hosanna to the God of David!' in the MS and thought it a mere scribal blunder. But in later times it is a most improbable blunder for a Christian scribe to make, to whom 'Hosanna to the Son of David' is so familiar from worship even more than from Scripture. And a parallel to the MS reading from Jewish liturgical sources can now be given, for in the archaic Palestinian recension of the 'Eighteen Benedictions' the 14th runs 'Blessed art Thou, O LORD, God of David, Builder of Jerusalem', where the ordinary recension omits 'God of David'.[2] *ὡσαννὰ τῷ θεῷ Δαυείδ* is therefore no mistake, but an ancient Christian exclamation.

[1] Many no doubt would say simply, that Hegesippus based the diction of his account of the martyrdom of James the Just on our Matthew. I have preferred the more cautious expression in the text, to leave open the possibility that the similarities between Matthew and Hegesippus are derived from the same source, viz. the Greek-speaking community of Christians established in Jerusalem (not yet *Aelia*), after the Destruction in A. D. 70.

[2] This recension of the 18 Benedictions is given from Schechter's text in Dalman's *Worte Jesu*, p. 300.

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The same may in all likelihood be said of ὡσαννὰ τῷ Ὑψίστῳ, found as a variant in Mark. At any rate this reading is not formed by harmonization to the text of Matthew. It is attested by Θ 13&c 565 700 *k* and the Armenian: when it is noticed that D W 28 *a b c ff i r* all differ in various ways from the accepted text, it will be seen that a variant is here attested by all the Western phalanx except syr.*S*.

Readers of the former article on W and Θ will not expect me to draw the conclusion that St Mark wrote ὡσαννὰ τῷ ὑψίστῳ, but it does seem to me to have been far the most widely spread text o Mark i.. the second century. The addition was certainly absent from the text of Mark used by Matthew and by Luke, but its presence in *k*, combined with the other Latin evidence, shews that it was already in the text when the first Latin translation was made. It would be interesting to know in what part of the Christian world they once used to say 'Hosanna to the Most High!' 'The Most High' as a current Name for God is specially characteristic of 4 Ezra and the Apocalypse of Baruch, but as these books are of Jewish origin the coincidence may not have significance.

One special point remains to be noticed. Origen in his Commentary on St John (*tom.* x; Brooke i 207 f) quotes the story of the Entry in full from Matthew, Mark, and Luke. The quotation was evidently intended to be exact, for where Origen means to skip (as in the case of the story of the Fig-tree) he says: ἐξελθόντων ἀπὸ Βηθανίασ ἐπείνασεν. εἶτα μετὰ τὴν τῆσ ξηραινομένησ συκῆσ οἰκονομίαν· Ἔρχονται εἰσ Ἱεροσόλυμα. As a matter of fact, the quotation is very accurate, and Mk. xi 9, 10, which we are now considering, agrees exactly with Westcott and Hort. The text of Origen on St John rests upon the Munich Codex of the thirteenth century; it is usually a faithful witness, and there does not seem any evidence that the long occasional quotations have at any time suffered assimilation by copyists to the current texts of the Gospels. In writing the Commentary on St John, therefore, Origen used a text of Mark agreeing here with ℵ B and modern critical editors against D and W and Θ and other Western evidence.

The passage is again noticed by Origen on Matt. xxi 6 ff (*tom.* xvi; Delarue iii 744), a later work. Here the passages are not cited in full, only the beginnings and ends. Mk. xi 4–9 is thus given: ὁ δὲ Μάρκοσ οὕτω κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐξέθετο· καὶ ἀπελθόντεσ εὗρον πῶλον δεδεμένον πρὸσ τὴν θύραν ἔξω ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀμφόδου, καὶ λύουσιν αὐτόν, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆσ ἕωσ τοῦ· εὐλογημένη ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸσ ἡμῶν Δαβίδ, εἰρήνη ἐν τοῖσ ὑψίστοισ. Here are two variants at least, the important one (εἰρήνη for ὡσαννά) agreeing with W.

It might be held that the abridged citation in the Commentary on Matthew was simply inaccurate; but in the same context, on Matt. xxi 1

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aspect of the Christ that he is always anxiou[s to] 'Beth[phage] 'Son of David' occurs in Matthew and is [not] in the other Gospels, it is always more likely to [be] than an independent survival of tradition [in] quotation of Psalm viii 2 in Matt. xxi 1[6] rendering (αἶνον) and is lost in any Ser[vice].

For these reasons I regard the app[eal] as a later addition, made in Greek [in] which goes back to the original [Aramaic] conclusion has often been reach[ed a]nd Lk. xix 28, 29, will what is involved by it. In th[e subse]quent history of the text Δαυείδ be not historical, but m[erely] agreed with ℵB and the of the close connexion bet[ween] as the true text and Origen *in* (Eus. *H E* ii 23) and our G[reek] text of Mk. xi 1 really invites deduction has to be made. [Jesus] to Jerusalem to Bethphage and without explanation, and [this] —no doubt this indicates that they we must infer that amo[ng] s end in Jerusalem, close to villages at Matthew wrote, *Hosann[a]* ves called Bethphage and Bethany, but it is It is, I suppose, a saf[e] Accordingly the sentence is expanded by Aramaic phrase occ[ur]d. tation added, it m[ay] ys Jesus 'went on, going up to Jerusalem. And exception. But i[t] ear to Bethphage and Bethany by the Mount of earlier than the [Luke] 28, 29). Matthew eases the sentence by omitting the expect some tra[ce] Bethany, and also by the insertion of a fresh verb: 'When of that Gospel [came] near to Jerusalem and came to Bethphage by the Mount of

This is act[ually] (Matt. xxi 1). It is the profusion of place-names in the sen- he found 'J[esus] e of Mark that causes the other evangelists to rewrite it. Moreover a mere sc[ribe] is no hint that in the story of the tied ass either Matthew or Luke blunder [in] using any source beyond Mark. As then they agree in mentioning of Davi[d] Bethphage, a village otherwise unnamed in the gospel, it is reasonable And a[s] to suppose that Bethphage was in the text of Mark used by Matthew now [in] and Luke, and therefore that those texts which now omit it have Ben[ed] suffered corruption.

B[ut] The same may be said of the variant in Mk. xi 10: ὡσαννά is there I[n] more primitive than εἰρήνη.

Our problem is therefore this: How does it come about that Origen's citation in his Commentary on St John has a more correct text than in his Commentary on St Matthew, written some years later?

This is really a very troublesome question, much as the textual student would like to have an authoritative answer for it. It is not likely that the text underwent progressive corruption of this kind in the days of Origen. Nor is it very likely that the one text is Egyptian and the later one Palestinian, for we must suppose that a professed scholar like Origen would carry his books with him, μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας.

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o Origen before he embarked upon critical studies was a more or less corrupted text. It implies, moreover, that the texts commonly used by his contemporaries in worship and reading were corrupted texts, and naturally these remained in use until Origen's own works, and the reputation they won, set the better readings in circulation.[1] And further, if the texts used by Origen's contemporaries were inferior, it is likely that Origen, when quoting by memory, or when not verifying his quotations by the special MSS or transcripts which he had collected, would quote in accordance with the corrupted texts. We must remember that he wrote no commentary on Mark: he made no special study of that gospel, so far as we know, and he may have been simply unaware of the extent of the variations between the actually existing MSS.

In any case the fact remains that in nine cases out of ten, as for instance in the readings discussed in the present article, the readings of the type called by Hort 'Neutral', by von Soden '*H*', the readings in fact of Codices ℵ and B, whether supported by Origen or not, whether supported by the 'Textus Receptus' or not, do continually approve themselves to critical editors. There is, indeed, a remaining tenth of which a different tale is told, about which I shall hope to say something later on: I am speaking now of the nine-tenths majority.

[1] No doubt this was done through the agency of Pamphilus, rather than by Origen himself.

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(Delarue iii 737 and 743), Origen states that Matthew says 'Bethphage', Mark 'Bethany', Luke 'Bethphage and Bethany'. This is true of the Western texts D lat. vt-vg, but not of any others, the double name being found in W, in Θ, and in syr. *S*, as well as in all Greek texts except D, including Origen *in Ioan.* (Brooke, p. 208). We must therefore accept these two important variants, viz. the omission of Bethphage in Mk. xi 1 and the substitution of εἰρήνη for the second *Hosanna* in xi 10, as really characteristic of the text from which Origen was citing in his Commentary on Matthew.

A comparison of Mk. xi 1 with Matt. xxi 1 and Lk. xix 28, 29, will make it pretty clear that, whatever the subsequent history of the text may have been, the original text of Mk. xi 1 agreed with ℵB and the 'Textus Receptus': i.e. Origen *in Ioan.* has the true text and Origen *in Matt.* the corrupted text. The ordinary text of Mk. xi 1 really invites change. 'And when they draw near to Jerusalem to Bethphage and Bethany by the Mount of Olives'—no doubt this indicates that they were not far from their journey's end in Jerusalem, close to villages at the foot of the Mount of Olives called Bethphage and Bethany, but it is very awkwardly expressed. Accordingly the sentence is expanded by Luke into two; he says Jesus 'went on, going up to Jerusalem. And when He drew near to Bethphage and Bethany by the Mount of Olives . . .' (Lk. xix 28, 29). Matthew eases the sentence by omitting the mention of Bethany, and also by the insertion of a fresh verb: 'When they drew near to Jerusalem and came to Bethphage by the Mount of Olives' (Matt. xxi 1). It is the profusion of place-names in the sentence of Mark that causes the other evangelists to rewrite it. Moreover there is no hint that in the story of the tied ass either Matthew or Luke is using any source beyond Mark. As then they agree in mentioning Bethphage, a village otherwise unnamed in the gospel, it is reasonable to suppose that Bethphage was in the text of Mark used by Matthew and Luke, and therefore that those texts which now omit it have suffered corruption.

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Nor again, for the reasons given above, need we suppose that the text as given in our MS of the Commentary on St John does not represent what Origen wrote.

The only explanation I can give is that the citation in the Commentary on St John was really copied from a good MS, while the citation in the Commentary on St Matthew was given by Origen from the current text, or at least not from the specially good MS that he used for the extract from Mark in his Commentary on St John. The broad fact, apart from single instances to the contrary, is that Origen is both the first Christian scholar to occupy himself with questions of text and variant readings, and also the earliest generally consistent patristic witness to the text preferred by critical editors. Before his time the evidence, such as it is, is predominantly Western. The easiest explanation of this state of things is that Origen is himself somehow responsible for the emergence of this good, non-Western text, and as it is highly unlikely that he invented it by conjecture he must have gathered it from the discovery of better MSS—in this case, probably of some old MS which had escaped certain widespread corruptions.

But if this be the case, it implies that the text of the Gospels known to Origen before he embarked upon critical studies was a more or less corrupted text. It implies, moreover, that the texts commonly used by his contemporaries in worship and reading were corrupted texts, and naturally these remained in use until Origen's own works, and the reputation they won, set the better readings in circulation.[1] And further, if the texts used by Origen's contemporaries were inferior, it is likely that Origen, when quoting by memory, or when not verifying his quotations by the special MSS or transcripts which he had collected, would quote in accordance with the corrupted texts. We must remember that he wrote no commentary on Mark: he made no special study of that gospel, so far as we know, and he may have been simply unaware of the extent of the variations between the actually existing MSS.

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It was one of the great surprises of von Soden's Greek Testament that the text accepted is so like Hort's. Theories of Greek Testament textual criticism change, in fact, more than the text accepted by critical editors as original. Hort's theories and von Soden's about the grouping of authorities, of the relative value of the groups, of the causes of corruptions and of the method of reconstructing the true text differ very widely: the odd thing is that they come to much the same result. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.* It is very surprising, and the simplest explanation I can give is that something that Origen did brought in an otherwise untraced element of very great value. And further, it seems to me that when Origen trusted to the ordinary texts round him or to his own memory, his quotations are as full of bad Western readings as other people's quotations are.

Additional Note upon the readings in Origen in Ioan. (*Brooke* i 207–209).

In Origen's Commentary on St John, as mentioned above, the texts of Matt. xxi 1–9, Mk. xi 1–12, Lk. xix 29–40, are quoted in full. I have made a collation of these passages with Westcott and Hort (text) and the 'Received Text' (ς). Most of the variants naturally are small points, about which mere tabulated statement gives the fairest impression. The results are:—

Matt. xxi 1–9.	
Origen agrees with W.-H.	8 times
,, ,, ,, ς	6 ,,
,, differs from both	6 ,,
Total	20 variants.
Mk. xi 1–12.	
Origen agrees with W.-H.	16 times
,, ,, ,, ς	3 ,,
,, differs from both	3 ,,
Total	22 variants.
Lk. xix 29–40.	
Origen agrees with W.-H.	9 times
,, ,, ,, ς	4 ,,
,, differs from both	6 ,,
Total	19 variants.

It is noteworthy how very much higher the proportion of agreement with Westcott and Hort (i.e. with ℵ B) is in St Mark than in the other Gospels.

Three of these readings call for special remark. In Matt. xxi 5

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πῶλον υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου Origen omits υἱόν with ℵ[a]L Z *e* and some codd. of lat. vg. This might have been put down to mere carelessness or to an accidental omission in Origen's MS, but in the Commentary on Matthew (Delarue iii 738), where he assumes for Matthew the full reading πῶλον υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου, in comparing it with the text of Zechariah he says ἢ ὡσ ἔν τισι· πῶλον ὑποζυγίου. The omission of υἱόν here is therefore accurate, so far as the text of Origen's commentary in John goes; he is copying here from the text which he calls in his Matthew that of 'some copies'. Whether the omission of υἱόν is ultimately to be preferred is of course quite another matter.

In Mk. xi 7, 8 Origen omits καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ πολλοὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν ἔστρωσαν εἰσ τὴν ὁδόν. This is quite unsupported: the texts of *k*, of syr. *S*, and of W, all omit words just about here, but not these words. The loss is made up in Origen by the addition of ἔστρωσαν εἰσ τὴν ὁδόν after ἄλλοι δὲ στιβάδασ κόψαντεσ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν.[1] Evidently Origen's codex was descended from an ancestor that had lost a couple of lines, or clauses, and the loss has been not quite successfully patched up. We need not imagine that even if Origen succeeded in unearthing a very ancient and valuable text that text was impeccable, or that it contained no scribal or other errors.

In Lk. xix 37[b] we read that 'all the multitude of the disciples began rejoicing and praising God' (ἤρξαντο, *or* ἤρξατο, ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθοσ . . . χαίροντεσ αἰνεῖν). For ΑΠΑΝ the newly-discovered text W is found to read ΑΠΑΝΤΑΝ, which Prof. Sanders (p. 141) curiously calls a mistake in gender. Origen also has ΑΠΑΝΤΑΝ, but quite clearly understands by it ἀπαντᾶν 'to meet', for the subsequent χαίροντεσ αἰνεῖν is changed into χαίροντεσ καὶ αἰνοῦντεσ, so that the whole passage runs 'a multitude of the disciples began to meet him (sc. Jesus, as He neared the Mount of Olives, *v.* 37[a]), rejoicing and praising God'. Here we may note (i) that the variation is wrong, for it is only in the (unhistorical) presentation of the Fourth Gospel that the Hosanna-shouting crowd comes out to meet Jesus (ἐξῆλθον εἰσ ὑπάντησιν αὐτῷ, John xii 13); (ii) Origen's text, as in the case of Mk. xi 7, 8, has been doctored a little, to make the corrupt reading make sense; (iii) Origen and W after all do not agree, for in Origen ΑΠΑΝΤΑΝ has been formed out of ἅπαν τό, while in W it has been formed by a kind of reduplication from ἅπαν only: it should be added that Origen and W shew no other signs of noticeable agreement in this part of Luke; (iv) a certain tendency to introduce the Johannine feature of the crowd from Jerusalem meeting Jesus is to be

[1] The mention of the ἀγρῶν is highly characteristic of the ℵ B text, in fact green stuff from the *fields* only appears in ℵ B (C) L Δ sah (boh) syr.hl.mg Orig of all our critical authorities, early and late. Thus in Origen's text no garments, but only στιβάδεσ, are laid on the path.

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found elsewhere: to Matt. xxi 9^{b} we find added in syr. *C* 'and many went forth to meet Him, and they were rejoicing and glorifying God for all that they saw', which agrees with an addition found in Φ (Codex Beratinus): ἀπήντων δὲ αὐτῷ πολλοὶ χαίροντες καὶ δοξάζοντες τὸν θεὸν περὶ πάντων ὧν εἶδον. The Arabic Diatessaron (xxxix 31–35), it should be noted, gives a different combination. I mention these readings here, because I think the single coincidence between Origen and W in Lk. xix 37, striking as it is at first sight, is very likely nothing more than an accidental coincidence in error, and therefore of no great significance.

F. C. BURKITT.

(*To be continued.*)

TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

AN INSTANCE (PS. XCVII 11).

THE Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible may be broadly described as a starveling Science which ekes out its existence on false pretences. Except in the Pentateuch, of which there exists a Hebrew-Samaritan recension, there are (as everybody knows) only a very few various readings of any importance or interest, which are preserved in Hebrew. But this meagre list, too thin to live by itself, has been incorporated by critics in another of imposing dimensions. 'The reading of the LXX' is a phrase in common use, and a goodly number of such 'readings' is found in almost every modern commentary upon almost any book of the Hebrew Bible. In fact the Textual Criticism of the O.T. lives chiefly by one hypothesis, viz., that a vast number of the *renderings* of the LXX can be turned back almost at sight into ancient *readings* of the Hebrew text. Renderings (readings) of other Versions are cited at the heel of the LXX, but chiefly by way of garnishing.

Critics pay lip-homage to Fact when they confess that the LXX was born in ignorance and brought up in a state of continual textual corruption. It was made in Egypt because the Egyptian Jews were fast forgetting their Hebrew, it suffered corruption because it was a popular version, which could be tried by no standard except that of popularity. It was fated both to follow the easier reading and also to fall further and further away from the Hebrew original. When we arrive at codex

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'B' in the fourth century A.D. we have moved far both from the Hebrew text and from the original LXX.

And yet, in practice, critics are wont to invoke the LXX almost as an Oracle. They find a Hebrew phrase which does not immediately explain itself represented in the Greek by a smooth and simple term, and they leap to the conclusion that the LXX found the precise Hebrew equivalent of this term in the text from which they made their translation. It is possible, and yet the probability is the other way. The Hebrew-forgetful translators must have made many a slip, and must often have misread a rare or unexpected Hebrew term as a commonplace.

But a slip of the LXX is not infrequently echoed in the Peshitta and to a certain extent in the Latin Vulgate (specially in the Psalter). Thus it often comes to pass that the textual material with which the critic of the O.T. works is beset with uncertainty. In nine cases (perhaps) out of ten this uncertainty ought to be emphasized, and the critic should confess that his work is only tentative, and that it does not at all amount to scientific proof.

It is the usual absence of this confession together with a frequent failure to verify textual statements which justifies the reproach of false pretences against the critics. An instance will shew this.

Psalm xcvii 11 (P–B.V.) reads:—

'There *is sprung up* a light for the righteous'
(φῶς ἀνέτειλεν τῷ δικαίῳ, LXX. BAℵ).

A.V. (=R.V.: no marg.) gives:—

'Light *is sown* for the righteous'
(אור זָרֻעַ לצדיק).

The whole verse in the Vulgate runs as follows:—

Lux orta est *iusto*
Et rectis corde laetitia.

It happens that the rendering of the LXX (ἀνέτειλεν) answers exactly in sense to the Hebrew זרח. Did the Greek translators then find זרח (not זרע) in the copy from which they made their translation? If they found it, is it to be preferred to the reading of the M.T.? These are questions of Textual Criticism which should be carefully considered.

How carelessly, and at the same time how positively, eminent German critics can treat the subject is illustrated by the notes of J. Wellhausen and R. Kittel on this verse, the former in the *Polychrome Bible* (1895) edited by P. Haupt, the latter in his well-known *Biblia Hebraica* (1906). Wellhausen's note is as follows:—

(Read) זָרַח for 𝔐. זרע following 𝔊𝔖𝔗𝔍 (ἀνέτειλε, רנח, *orta est*).

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Kittel annotates as follows:—

'l. c. (*i.e.* lege cum) ı MS 𝔊 Hie 𝔖𝔗 זרח.'

Neither of these notes is adequate or accurate. In both a very important fact is omitted. They do not tell us that there is a parallel passage in the Psalter which is bound to exercise a disturbing influence on the text of xcvii 11. Yet the parallel is clear enough. In Ps. cxii 4 we read:—

'Unto the upright there hath arisen light in the darkness' (זרח בחשך אור לישרים, LXX ἐξανέτειλεν, codd. א A; *vacat* B). Under the influence of this passage two of Kennicott's MSS hesitate in xcvii 11 between זרע and זרח, while one of de Rossi's actually reads זרח. No doubt there is an original connexion between xcvii and cxii; the comparatively obscure expression 'light is sown' (xcvii) was (it seems) paraphrased by the more ordinary phrase, 'light hath arisen in the darkness', which is found in cxii. It is moreover to be noted that the very occurrence of the additional clause 'in the darkness' suggests that the later Psalmist found in the earlier Psalm some word like 'sown' (Targum, 'hidden') which he was tempted to paraphrase.

The only solid doubt affecting our Hebrew MSS is whether זרע should not be read with full *shureḳ*. According to Kennicott 42 MSS have the reading זרוע, while three others had it *prima manu*. Abu-'l-Walid (Book of Roots, *s.v.*) has the same. On the other hand the Massorah (ed. Ginsburg) records זָרֵעַ as the correct reading, and notices that it occurs only once in the Bible. The writer of this note inspected three of the good MSS in the Camb. Univ. Library on Oct. 9 last, and found זרע with defective *shureḳ* in all. These MSS are:—

Mm. 5. 27 (= Kenn. 89). Sephardic, dated 616 (= 856 A.D.);

Add. 465 (not in Kenn., nor de Rossi). Sephardic, cent. xii–xiii; and

Ee. 5. 9. German Ashkenazic, dated 5107 (= 1347 A.D.). Hagiographa with Targum.

The second fact ignored by Wellhausen and Kittel is the rendering of Aquila and Symmachus as recorded in the Syro-Hexapla (ed. Ceriani), i.e. ܙܪܝܥ originally ἐσπαρμένον or (as Field suggests) ἔσπαρται. Thus the testimony to זרוע (passive part.) goes back to certainly the second century A.D. This fact should be borne in mind when the evidence of the Peshitta and of St Jerome is considered.

Besides omissions there are also misstatements in the notes of Wellhausen and Kittel. We may let pass (for the moment) the appeal of the two writers to the LXX, only remarking that Kittel's *lege cum* contains an assumption which may be true, but cannot be verified.

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How does Kittel know that the LXX *read* זרח in their Hebrew copy when they wrote ἀνέτειλεν? May they not have had זרע before them, and emended it from Ps. cxii 4? An easy emendation appealed quite as much to ancient translators as to some modern scholars.

Wellhausen and Kittel agree again in citing the Peshitta in favour of the reading זרח. But the Syriac rendering is curious in form and ought to have been cited and discussed. It runs (see my *Peshitta Psalter*, Cambridge, 1904):—

ܢܗܘܪ ܐ̈ܝܬ ܠܙܕܝܩ̈ܐ

(in Ps. cxii 4, on the contrary, ܐ̈ܝܬ in the Syriac corresponds to זרח in the Heb.). The same rendering only pointed as a participle was to be expected here. *Why*, then, is the form with ܐ prefixed used? Indeed may not ܐ̈ܝܬ be a 'primitive corruption' of ܙ̈ܝܬ? Those who have worked at Syriac MSS will recognize how easily such a corruption might arise, alike in Estrangela and Jacobite script.

The carelessness (to use no severer a word) of the two critics culminates in their appeal to the Targum in support of the reading זרח. The rendering of the clause is as follows:—

נהור [1] דְּנַח וּמְטַמַּר לְצַדִּיקַיָּא .

i.e. 'Light springeth up *and is hidden* (treasured up) for the righteous ones'. Thus, in fact, the Targum gives two renderings, the former presupposing זרח either as part of the text or as an emendation, while the latter is a rendering of זָרַע. Which of these two renderings is the earlier cannot be determined; their order in the text must not be taken as any indication of their order in time.

When Wellhausen proceeds further to cite the Vulgate, he is equally careless. The Vulgate in this passage from the Psalter agrees with the LXX. What else could it do? The Psalter of the Vulgate is simply an old translation from the LXX corrected by St Jerome, but not freshly translated from the Hebrew. It may be taken as evidence as to the Greek text (of which no one is in doubt); it is worthless as evidence for the Hebrew text of Jerome's time.

Here Kittel is more discreet. He quotes Jerome himself, meaning probably the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*. If we could always trust this Father to follow the Hebrew and disregard on occasion the LXX, we might take the *orta est* of the *iuxta Hebraeos* as important evidence. But has Jerome really followed the Hebrew here? His rendering suggests the opposite conclusion, for the wording of the *iuxta Hebraeos* does not vary from that of the Vulgate. *Lux orta est iusto* is an exact reproduction in Latin of φῶς ἀνέτειλεν τῷ δικαίῳ. Jerome, it is true,

[1] So pointed in C.U. Ee. 5. 9.

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avoids the *lumen* of the Old Latin, but he could obtain *lux* from the Greek.

Looking back over the evidence one sees that Wellhausen's textual note is not a piece of textual criticism, but a hasty statement made to justify a foregone conclusion. A brief note written on Wellhausen's lines, but more carefully, would run somewhat as follows :—

זרע (*v.* זרוע) M.T. All Heb. MSS collated (exceptions below). Aquila Symmachus. [𝔗].

זרח (= Ps. cxii 4) 1 Heb. MS. [1 MS זרע; ע sup. ras.] [1 MS זרעזרח] 𝔊^{vid} [𝔖 *q.v.*] [𝔗].

But probably Wellhausen did not take his own critical note seriously. He preferred the reading (or rendering) of the LXX on internal grounds and felt secure in his own judgement.

So he has rejected a reading which is thoroughly Hebraic. The metaphor expressed in the words 'Light is sown for the righteous' is just one which would appeal most forcibly to the old Hebrew mind. Israel was an agricultural people, and the processes of farming enriched their language with many vivid (and even startling) images. 'They *sow* the *wind*', cries Hosea, 'and they shall *reap* the *whirlwind*' (Hos. viii 7). 'The plowers', says another Hebrew, '*plowed* upon my *back*; they made long their furrows' (Ps. cxxix 3). '*Judgement*', says Hosea again, '*springeth* up as hemlock *in the furrows* of the field' (Hos. x 4). 'Thou *winnowest* my *path*', cries a Psalmist (Ps. cxxxix 3).

Light is *sown* for the righteous, when the fruition of it is appointed for the future. Light is *sown*, when the night is lit with seeds of light (stars), which are the forerunners of the coming dawn. That which is *sown* is destined to *spring up*, as the Hebrew commentator reminds us (Rashi *in loco*).

The context favours the reading of M.T. Ps. xcvii is one of those Psalms which look forward to the Coming of JEHOVAH to judge the World. The Psalmist realizes to himself the scene as though it were already present, and yet he lets us see that it is still future by the hopes which he expresses. He says that (*v.* 7, Hebrew) 'they *shall be* ashamed that serve graven images', and again (*v.* 10, Hebrew) that 'JEHOVAH will deliver His Saints from the hand of the wicked'. So he proceeds to say (*v.* 11) *not* that 'light has already dawned for the righteous man', but that 'light is *sown*' for a great uprising when the LORD shall manifest Himself in judgement. The Psalm is one of Expectation and Hope.

W. EMERY BARNES.

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THE DEIFICATION OF MAN IN CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

I

THE possibility of man being deified, or becoming a god, is asserted by many Christian Fathers from the middle of the second century onwards, but by none more frequently or unreservedly than by Clement of Alexandria. In the following pages all the passages of Clement which bear upon this subject will be examined, and an attempt made (i) to fix his meaning with certainty; and (ii) to trace his thought to its origins.

II

Deification, according to Clement, is a process that begins on earth. It is made possible by the fact that man contains within himself a spark of the divine nature, and is therefore in the highest part of his being akin to God. God is Mind (ὁ νοῦς),[1] 'and the image of Mind is seen in man alone; so that the good man is, so far as his soul goes, in the form and likeness of God, while God in His turn is in the form of man: for the form of each is Mind.'[2] Elsewhere the common element is said to be reason, or the Word, present with God in the character of the Son and with man in the character of the Saviour.[3] This union of man with God is fostered and developed by the practice of virtue and by progress in knowledge. Each advance in virtue is a step towards the divine life. Here it must be remembered that Clement's idea of the divine life is negative rather than positive; for he thinks of it

[1] See i 71[25] (78), where the Word is called 'a true Son of the Mind' (υἱὸς τοῦ νοῦ γνήσιος). Also ii 331[10] (648) ὁ . . . λόγος, πατὴρ δὲ τούτου ὁ νοῦς. And ii 32[2]-[3] (638), where Schwartz's conjecture is rendered almost a certainty by the two parallels here adduced. See again ii 317[11] (634). The references in this [illegible] are to volume, page, and line in Stählin's edition of Clement. The [illegible] figures indicate Potter's pages.

[2] ii 468[5-7] (776) ὁ τοῦ νοῦ εἰκονισμὸς ὁρᾶται ἐν μόνῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ᾧ καὶ [illegible] θεοείκελος ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ κατὰ ψυχὴν ὅ τε αὖ θεὸς ἀνθρωποειδὴς· τὸ γὰρ εἶδος [illegible] νοῦς.

[3] i 236[28]-237[1] (251) μεσίτης γὰρ ὁ λόγος ὁ κοινὸς ἀμφοῖν, θεοῦ καὶ [illegible] ἀνθρώπων.

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chiefly as an absence of all human activities and corporeal limitations.[1] God is without needs (*ἀνενδεής*) and without feelings or passions (*ἀπαθής*).[2] Consequently we find the 'gods' of Psalm lxxxi 6 interpreted to mean those who throw off as far as possible all that is merely human (*πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον*).[3] Virtue is thus regarded as a divesting process, an approach to the passionless life of God, rather than as an unceasing activity for good.[4] Since God and man are alike Mind, God in His entire being and man in his innermost essence, it follows that man has only to set aside, as far as possible,[5] the temporary encumbrance of body and senses to become something very much like what God is. Again, a marked characteristic of the divine life is unity,[6] and unity is acquired by man when he attains to the condition of *ἀπάθεια*, i. e. when he is no longer disturbed and divided by warring passions. So from this point of view also man is said to become deified even on earth.[7] Sometimes Clement speaks of this life as being a preparation for the god-like life to come. Christians 'practise here on earth the heavenly way of life by which we are deified'.[8] Or again, the soul, becoming virtuous in thought, word, and deed through the Lord's power, practises being a god.[9] Deification also follows upon discipleship; as Ischomachus makes his pupils farmers, Demosthenes orators, Aristotle scientists,

[1] iii 6^{1} (831) *μηδαμῆ περιεχόμενος* ('free from all limitations'—Dr Mayor's translation). See also ii 374^{7-15} (689), where Clement says that by abstracting length, breadth, depth, and position, you arrive at a conception of unity. If you then take away all that pertains to bodies or to things called bodiless, you can reach some sort of conception of God, learning, however, not what He is, but what He is not.

[2] We must not take these expressions too literally, or God would be reduced to a mere idea. The truth is, Clement has failed to combine the various elements of his thought.

[3] ii 181^{8-10} (494). Explaining Ps. lxxxi 6 (Sept.) 'I said, ye are gods; and ye are all sons of the Highest', Clement says, *τίσι λέγει ὁ κύριος; τοῖς παραιτουμένοις ὡς οἷόν τε πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον.*

[4] iii 10^{23-25} (836) *ἐξομοιούμενος θεῷ ὁ γνωστικός, τῷ φύσει τὸ ἀπαθὲς κεκτημένῳ τὸ ἐξ ἀσκήσεως εἰς ἀπάθειαν συνεσταλμένον ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα ἐξομοιῶν.* Good works (*τὰ ἔργα τὰ ἀστεῖα*) are mentioned in i 68^{25-26} (75). See also ii 484^{27} (792), 'What is the use of a good that does not do good?' Still, Clement's general thought tends towards a repression, rather than a judicious use, of our full human nature. One who followed out his principles to their logical extreme would be more likely to become a contemplative hermit than, let us say, a missionary to lepers.

[5] Clement always inserts his *κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν*, or some equivalent. The body must be used while on earth.

[6] God is often called by the Pythagorean term *μονάς*, e.g. i 65^{30-31} (72) *τὴν ἀγαθὴν μονάδα.*

[7] ii 315^{25-26} (633) *εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀπάθειαν θεούμενος ἄνθρωπος ἀχράντως μοναδικῶς γίνεται.* ii 181^{5-6} (494) *τίνας τούτους* (i. e. the 'gods' of Ps. lxxxi 6); *τοὺς ἡδονῆς κρείττονας, τοὺς τῶν παθῶν διαφέροντας.*

[8] i 149^{4-5} (156) *ἐνθένδε ἤδη τὴν ἐπουράνιον μελετῶντες πολιτείαν, καθ' ἣν ἐκθεούμεθα.*

[9] ii 488^{26-27} (797) *οὕτως δύναμιν λαβοῦσα κυριακὴν ἡ ψυχὴ μελετᾷ εἶναι θεός.*

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Plato philosophers, and so forth, in the
those who learn from Him and obey
The disciple will strive to become

The second means of reaching the
knowledge; for Clement is in full
that knowledge is equivalent to
he says, is deified by 'heavenly
(i.e. the gnostic) will know 'what
as to how one should live who will
now being made like to God'.[6] In
Clement says that our 'Father' means
speaks of those who know God as
is not a mere intellectual knowledge
outside and indifferent to the
tion of the bond that exists between
to a union of love wherein God is
and such a relationship may possibly
(ἰσάγγελος) here on earth.[7] The
just as its opposite is a descent. Those
and rush into heretical opinions are
beasts, because they have lost the
when one returns, hears the Scripture
if a god is produced out of a man
through knowledge is contemplation

[1] iii 71[14–21] (894) ὡς δὲ ἐὰν προσχῃ τ
καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει φυσικόν, καὶ φιλόσοφον
δοθείσῃ δι' αὐτοῦ κατακολουθήσας προφητεί
ἐν σαρκὶ περιπολῶν θεός.

[2] ii 468[3–4] (776) ἐξομοιοῦσθαι βιάζετα

[3] ii 488[27–29] (797) ἡ ψυχὴ . . . κακου
τῇ μὴ κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον ἐνεργεια
ὑποφίσεων ἄγνοια αἰτία. In iii
'weakness' as well as to ignorance
καὶ ἀσθένεια.

[4] i 81[1] (88–89) οὐρανίῳ διδασκαλ

[5] iii 5[1–3] (830) οὗτος δ' ἂν εἴη
βίον, ὅπως βιωτέον τῷ ἐσομένῳ κα
ment). διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιγνόντας

[6] ii 507[1–2] (816) πατέρα δὲ κα

[7] iii 42[8–11] (866) ἡ μεταβολή
ἐνθένδε ἤδη φίλον φίλῳ τὸ γιγνώσκ
ἐνθένδε ἤδη προλαβὼν ἔχει τὸ

[8] iii 67[15–16] (890) οἷον ἐξ ἀνθρώπ

[9] iii 49[15–16] (873) τὴν τοῦ
ψυχὴ λαμβάνει.

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who contemplates the unseen God is said to 'live as a god among men'.[1]

III

So far we have considered deification as applied by Clement to man upon earth. What his hyperbolical language means is simply this, that the divine element in man is gradually brought into closer and more conscious union with God from whom in the beginning it came. This element is by nature purely spiritual, i.e. opposed to matter. It can only reach its full developement, therefore, when by the practice of virtue it is freed from material associations, from the needs and affections of sense; and when at the same time it is used for its proper purpose, viz. the contemplation of ideas or, in other words, the vision of God.[2] One in whom this developement takes place is lifted far above the level of ordinary men, since he has parted with most of what is merely human in his nature. So great is the difference, that Clement feels no hesitation in calling him no longer a man, but a god.

There are, however, a number of passages which speak of deification as occurring after death. These deserve separate consideration. First of all we notice a passage that stands in an intermediate position, inasmuch as it describes the stages in the process of deification, stretching over from this life into the next. These stages are: (i) Baptism, (ii) enlightenment, (iii) sonship, (iv) perfection, (v) immortality. Clement illustrates the final result of this developement by a reference to Ps. lxxxi 6 (Sept.) 'I said, ye are gods', &c.[3]; that is to say, he asserts that men become gods when to the gnostic perfection attained on earth there is added that immortality which can be fully possessed only after death. Perfection and immortality are of course two prominent characteristics of God, and when man attains them he becomes like God. Accordingly Clement applies the term 'god' to angels and spirits of the blest, who are conceived of as dwelling above in the 'super-celestial place'.[4] Here are the 'blessed abodes of the

[1] ii 317^{11-12} (634) *τὸν οὖν ἀοράτου θεοῦ θεωρητικὸν θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ζῶντα εἴρηκεν* (i. e. Plato—but Clement fully accepts the thought).

[2] ii 317^{10-12} (634) *εἰκότως οὖν καὶ Πλάτων τὸν τῶν ἰδεῶν θεωρητικὸν θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ζήσεσθαί φησι· νοῦς δὲ χώρα ἰδεῶν, νοῦς δὲ ὁ θεός.* And, a few lines further on, ii 317^{15-19} (634–635) *ὅταν γὰρ ψυχὴ γενέσεως ὑπεξαναβᾶσα καθ' ἑαυτήν τε ᾖ καὶ ὁμιλῇ τοῖς εἴδεσιν, οἷός ἐστιν ὁ ἐν τῷ Θεαιτήτῳ "κορυφαῖος", οἷον ἄγγελος ἤδη γενόμενος σὺν Χριστῷ ἔσται, θεωρητικὸς ὤν, ἀεὶ τὸ βούλημα τοῦ θεοῦ σκοπῶν.* For Clement's conception of God who is the object of contemplation see ii 374^{5-15} (689), a summary of which passage is given on p. 158 note 1 *supra*.

[3] i 105^{20-22} (113) *βαπτιζόμενοι φωτιζόμεθα, φωτιζόμενοι υἱοποιούμεθα, υἱοποιούμενοι τελειούμεθα, τελειούμενοι ἀπαθανατιζόμεθα· "ἐγώ", φησίν, "εἶπα, θεοί ἐστε καὶ υἱοὶ ὑψίστου πάντες."*

[4] ii 42^{15} (355) *τὸν ὑπερουράνιον τόπον.*

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gods',[1] whence the great company of 'angels and gods' look down upon the Christian athlete as, while yet upon earth, he struggles in the spiritual conflict.[2] One day, when the lusts of the flesh have left him, he too will ascend to that heavenly sphere and be immortalized with the divine beings.[3] Of this life the gnostic training gives a foretaste, since it teaches us 'the nature of the life we shall hereafter live with gods (*μετὰ θεῶν*), according to the will of God (*κατὰ τὸν θεόν*)'.[4] To those who reach this stage, Clement goes on to say, 'the name of gods is given, for they will be enthroned along with the other gods, who are set first in order under the Saviour'.[5]

This last remark will shew how careful Clement is to distinguish between the most exalted of men or angels and Christ. 'The whole army of angels and gods has been subjected to the Word.'[6] The prophets are called 'children of God', but Christ is the 'true Son'.[7] The title 'god' is therefore never applied by him to angels or men in the same sense as to Christ. In a like manner he guards against any confusion of the human and divine natures which might be imagined to arise from the presence of the Holy Spirit in man; for he asserts expressly that 'it is not as a portion of God that the Spirit is in each one of us'.[8]

IV

Before we consider the sources of Clement's teaching as here outlined, it will be useful to notice certain similar expressions which occur in other Christian writings of earlier or contemporary date. The

[1] iii 10^{8-9} (835) *αἱ μακάριαι θεῶν οἰκήσεις.*

[2] iii 14^{26-28} (839) *θεαταὶ δὲ ἄγγελοι καὶ θεοί, καὶ τὸ παγκράτιον τὸ πάμμαχον "οὐ πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα", ἀλλὰ τὰς διὰ σαρκῶν ἐνεργούσας "πνευματικὰς ἐξουσίας" ἐμπαθῶν παθῶν.*

[3] i 120^{30-31} (128) *τῆς πίστεως ἡ κοινωνία . . . τοῖς θείοις ἀπαθανατίζουσα (τὸν ἄνθρωπον).*

[4] iii 41^{16-17} (865) *προδιδάσκουσα τὴν ἐσομένην ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸν θεὸν μετὰ θεῶν δίαιταν.*

[5] iii 41^{23-25} (865) *καὶ θεοὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν κέκληνται, σύνθρονοι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ σωτῆρι πρώτων τεταγμένων, γενησόμενοι.* Compare Milton *Comus* 9–11:

> 'the crown that Virtue gives,
> After this mortal change, to her true servants,
> Amongst the enthroned gods on sainted seats'.

[6] iii 6^{3-4} (831) *τούτῳ (τῷ λόγῳ τῷ πατρικῷ) πᾶσα ὑποτέτακται στρατιὰ ἀγγέλων τε καὶ θεῶν.*

[7] ii 382^{7-9} (697) *τοὺς εἰς προφητείαν κεχρισμένους, τοὺς μὲν παῖδας θεοῦ ἀνηγορευμένους τὸν δὲ κύριον υἱὸν ὄντα γνήσιον.*

[8] ii 384^{10-11} (699) *ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς μέρος θεοῦ ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἡμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα.* This statement may be intended primarily to deny that the Holy Spirit is a material body, able to be distributed in portions to many people. (See Origen *Contra Celsum* vi 70; *De Principiis* i 1. 3.) The above argument would not be invalidated if this were the case. On the contrary, it would be strengthened, since the Spirit's presence would tend to dwindle into a vague power or influence.

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deification of man is mentioned by Justin Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, Irenaeus, and Hippolytus. Speaking of Ganymede and other characters of Greek mythology who were taken up to heaven, Justin contrasts the Christian belief that 'only those are immortalized who live near to God in holiness and virtue'.[1] Again, the Word 'by his instruction makes mortals immortal, makes men gods'.[2] Theophilus of Antioch discusses whether God made man by nature mortal or immortal. Not immortal, he says, for in that case 'God would have made him a god'. Man was, in fact, made neither mortal nor immortal, but capable of either state, so that if he kept the commandments of God he should receive immortality as a reward and should become a god.[3] Irenaeus and Hippolytus write in the same way; the Christian is at length 'to become a god', or in other words to be 'begotten unto immortality'.[4] It is plain that neither of these writers understands 'deification' to be anything but another and rather more forcible expression for the immortalizing of Christians after death. We have already shewn that this is substantially what Clement means by it. The only difference is, perhaps, that Clement lays stress upon the earthly preparation for immortality as being itself the first stage in the process of deification. This, however, is a natural consequence of his division of Christians into 'simple believers' and 'gnostics', a distinction unknown to his predecessors at any rate outside Alexandria. The 'gnostic', by detachment from the things of sense, coupled with unceasing contemplation, gains for himself while still on earth the essentials of the divine life, in a manner not possible to ordinary men. Allowing for this difference, we may say that Clement's thought on the subject of deification does not go beyond that of most second and early third century Greek Christian writers.

V

We can now ask, 'What was the influence that led the earliest Greek Fathers, and Clement in particular, to use language expressing deifica-

[1] Justin Martyr *Apol.* i 21 *ἀπαθανατίζεσθαι δὲ ἡμεῖς μόνους δεδιδάγμεθα τοὺς ὑσίως καὶ ἐναρέτως ἐγγὺς θεῷ βιοῦντας.*

[2] Justin Martyr *Oratio ad Graecos* 5 *ποιεῖ τοὺς θνητοὺς ἀθανάτους, τοὺς βροτοὺς θεούς.*

[3] Theophilus *ad Autolycum* ii 27 *εἰ γὰρ ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐπεποιήκει, θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐπεποιήκει.* Again: *οὔτε οὖν ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν, οὔτε μὴν θνητόν, ἀλλὰ . . . δεκτικὸν ἀμφοτέρων· ἵνα . . . τηρήσας τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μισθὸν κομίσηται παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀθανασίαν, καὶ γένηται θεός.*

[4] Irenaeus iv 38. 4 'non ab initio dii facti sumus, sed primo quidem homines, tunc demum dii'. Hippolytus *Philosophumena* x 34 (Cruice) *γέγονας γὰρ θεός . . . ὅτι ἐθεοποιήθης, ἀθάνατος γεννηθείς.* Also the closing words of the book: *οὐ γὰρ πτωχεύει θεὸς καὶ σὲ θεὸν ποιήσας εἰς δόξαν αὐτοῦ.*

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tion, when all they had in mind was the simple Christian doctrine of the future life?' Certainly it was not the Scriptures. There is nothing in either the Old or the New Testament which by itself could even faintly suggest that man might practise being a god in this world and actually become one in the next. In the Old Testament the bare question of a future life is scarcely raised at all.[1] Later on, in the Apocryphal and Apocalyptic literature, it is brought into prominence in connexion with the kindred doctrines of a Resurrection and World-judgement. But no Jewish writer, whether Palestinian or Hellenistic, was likely to obscure his firm belief in the unity of God by applying to men the terminology of deification. As for the New Testament, we can imagine how vigorously such language would have been repudiated by, let us say, St Paul, in whose eyes 'gods many and lords many' could never have seemed anything but the distinctive mark of false religion. A Scriptural origin being therefore out of the question, we must turn to Greek thought as the influence responsible for this element in Clement's theology. It is no exaggeration to say that Clement views every Christian doctrine through the medium of Greek ideas and a Greek temperament. In the case in hand the medium has exercised a plainly discernible effect upon the doctrine, as will be seen from the following considerations.

(i) Greek philosophy, depending largely upon Plato, tended to regard the future life of the virtuous man as an ascent of his spiritual nature, after death, towards the divine.[2] This is opposed to the purely Christian view, as taught in the New Testament; for there the new life is essentially a 'resurrection life', i. e. one which follows upon a divine intervention and judgement. The New Testament doctrine has kinship with Jewish Apocalyptic, but shews little, if any, trace of Greek influence. In Clement, however, the Greek idea of gradual ascent is dominant.[3] The root difference between these two conceptions may be thus stated. The one postulates a common judgement, equally necessary for all, because all have sinned. This is followed, in those who believe on Christ, by exaltation to an eternal life with God. The stress being laid upon God's goodness and Christ's redemption,

[1] Certain aspirations after immortality find expression in the later Psalms. Cf. Ps. xvi 10, xlix 15. Dan. xii 2–3 belongs of course to the Apocalyptic writings.

[2] See Plato *Phaedo* 80 D–81 D.

[3] He speaks, for instance, of the various dwelling-places that are allotted to believers in accordance with their deserts. See ii 264^{12-13} (579) *εἰσὶ γὰρ παρὰ κυρίῳ καὶ μισθοὶ καὶ μοναὶ πλείονες κατὰ ἀναλογίαν βίων.* Also ii 489^{6} (797) *αἱ μοναὶ ποικίλαι κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πιστευσάντων.* Clement's constant use of the phrase *ὁμοίωσις θεῷ*, 'assimilation to God' (from Plato, cf. *Theaetetus* 176 B) also shews his belief that man's progress is throughout a gradual one. For example see i 64^{31} (71), and everywhere.

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there is little room left for inequalities among believing men. The other view represents the future life as beginning immediately after death,[1] without any judgement other than what may be called a self-acting one. If a man has in this life despised all bodily things and devoted himself to contemplation, death is a manifest gain, for it rids him of a useless encumbrance. But such men are rare; and therefore wide differences appear, a few choice spirits ascending at once to high places, while the majority keep close to the earth they have loved. In this scheme God is hardly needed at all, except as an object of contemplation. Clement's extant works prove that his mind dwelt naturally in this Greek atmosphere; for he rarely mentions either the Resurrection or the Judgement (in their objective Christian forms) or the Second Advent,[2] whereas the spiritual 'life after death' meets us, one might almost say, on every page. It was this which allowed the higher souls, such as those of gnostics and martyrs,[3] to ascend at once into the very presence of God, an exaltation so great that it seemed to warrant their being called divine, or even gods.[4]

(ii) A second influence is to be found in the idea of the universe as a series of spheres circling above the earth. We do not begin to understand the thought of the ancient world in regard to such matters as the conception of a future life until we put away all modern notions of astronomy. It would seem that Clement accepted the current theory of seven heavens rising one above the other, followed by the fixed sphere which bordered on the 'intellectual world' (*κόσμος νοητός*).[5]

[1] *μετὰ τὴν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγήν*, or *ἀποδημίαν*, as Clement often says. See i 67^{7-6} (74), i 107^{19-20} (115), i 112^{7} (120), ii 409^{9} (722), and elsewhere.

[2] The Resurrection in a spiritual sense is mentioned several times. See i 61^{19} (68 *αὕτη πρώτη τοῦ παραπτώματος ἀνάστασις* (cf. Rev. xx 5): iii 54^{17-20} (877) *οὗτος ἐντολὴν τὴν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διαπραξάμενος κυριακὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ, ὅταν ἀποβάλλῃ φαῦλον νόημα καὶ γνωστικὸν προσλάβῃ, τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἀνάστασιν δοξάζων*. Clement twice promises a treatise on the Resurrection—i 118^{2-3} (125) and i 219^{28} (232)—but apparently he never wrote it. He makes three casual allusions to the Second Advent: iii 152^{21} (1002), iii 213^{20} (1010), and iii 223^{19-20} ('Address to the Newly Baptized', not found in Potter).

[3] ii 254^{27}–255^{1} (570) *εὐθαρσήσας τοίνυν πρὸς φίλον τὸν κύριον, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐκὼν ἐπιδέδωκεν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχήν, ὡς οἱ δικασταὶ προσεδύκησαν, ἔρχεται, "φίλε κασίγνητε" ποιητικῶς ἀκούσας πρὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου ὁμοιότητα*.

[4] In this paragraph it is not maintained that the two views of the future life are irreconcileable; but only that Clement leans, both in thought and in expression, almost entirely towards the Greek view. The contrast between these two is presented from another point of view in R. H. Charles's *Eschatology* pp. 80 (note) and 155 sq.

[5] ii 318^{30-31} (636) *ἑπτὰ οὐρανοί, οὕς τινες ἀριθμοῦσι κατ' ἐπανάβασιν*. Also the lines following these: ii 318^{31}–319^{1} (636) *ἡ ἀπλανὴς χώρα ἡ πλησιάζουσα τῷ νοητῷ κόσμῳ*. See, too, ii 377^{19-24} (692), an Apocalyptic quotation; and ii 503^{8-9} (811-812) *μετὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ πλανωμένων τὴν ἀπλανῆ συγκαταριθμοῦντες σφαῖραν*.

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These heavens varied in degree of grossness according to their distance from the earth; but not even the highest of them was what we should call incorporeal. The soul of man was thought of as rising in a spatial sense through these spheres,[1] until it reached the abode (μονή) for which it was fitted. We cannot set down any consistent account of Clement's opinions on this subject,[2] nor is it necessary for the present purpose. The general outlines of the system are enough to prove how naturally titles of divinity would attach themselves to souls who had reached the highest possible heaven, when that heaven is believed to be spatially above us. Much of the majesty of God to a child's mind is due to the fact that He dwells 'above the bright blue sky': and the decay of this belief accounts to some extent for the confusion in which the average man finds himself to-day with regard to the existence of God; he has ceased to look for Him in the sky,[3] and has not yet discovered where else to turn his eyes.

The belief in a series of heavens is not of course exclusively Greek. It is found also among the Jews, and clear signs of it appear in the New Testament. St Paul speaks of 'the heavenly places',[4] and he himself was caught up into the 'third heaven'.[5] Christ the great high priest has 'passed through the heavens', and is now made 'higher than the heavens', according to the Epistle to the Hebrews.[6] But the New Testament, while accepting this belief (for no other was open to that age), does not use it to explain the exaltation of saints after death.[7] Clement's thought must therefore be held to come ultimately from Greek and not from purely Christian sources.[8]

[1] Just as daemons, who, according to Clement, are foul and earth-loving spirits, cannot ascend at all, but remain fixed to earth. See i 45^{28-30} (49) and Plato *Phaedo* 81 C D.

[2] Origen is more explicit. The 'heaven' of God's people is either in the 'fixed sphere', or above it; it is not incorporeal (*mundum incorporeum*), only invisible to us; nor is it a world of 'pure ideas', as the Greeks thought (*imagines quasdam, quas Graeci ἰδέας nominant*), but in its way substantial: *De Principiis* ii 3. 6–7. There are also super-celestial abodes, in which dwell higher beings still; *De Principiis* ii 9. 3.

[3] For old-world ideas, in which Clement heartily concurs, see i 56^{1-3} (53) τόνδε (τὸν οὐρανὸν) ἡγοῦ θεόν, from Euripides; and a quotation of similar import from Democritus in i 52^{17-20} (59).

[4] Eph. i 20 and elsewhere, τὰ ἐπουράνια.

[5] 2 Cor. xii 2.

[6] Heb. iv 14; vii 26.

[7] In 1 Thess. iv 17, for instance, where a progress through the air is spoken of, this is mentioned in connexion with the Second Advent and the General Resurrection, just those doctrines which Greek thought was inclined to leave out of sight.

[8] The ideas of deification current in Orphic and Pythagorean circles, or those connected with the Stoic theory of the divine immanence cannot be regarded as

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VI

Clement was in no way conscious that his ideas were not quite on a line with the Scriptures taken in their original meaning. He lived in a Greek world, among people who, whether themselves Greek or Jewish or Christian by birth and religion, breathed Greek ideas as inevitably as they breathed the common air. When Clement examined the Scriptures he had no eyes to see them as they really were, but only as they appeared through this peculiar mental atmosphere. Under such circumstances he could find in them support and authority for ways of thinking which had their true source elsewhere. In regard to the deification of man there are two Scriptural passages which furnished him with proof for his statements: Ps. lxxxi 6 (Sept.)[1] and St Luke xx 36 (particularly the expression *ἰσάγγελος*). The first of these passages derives special importance from the fact that it is appealed to in St John x 34–35 as bearing some sort of witness to the truth of Christ's divinity. The original sense is difficult to determine. Probably the passage does not refer to princes or judges of Israel, but to subordinate deities or angels who ruled over heathen nations under the chief sovereignty of Jahweh.[2] In St John x 34, however, it seems to be interpreted as applying to princes: 'those to whom the word of God came'. Clement does not mention this New Testament use of the passage, nor does he attempt to investigate its context or literal meaning. He takes the words as a simple prophecy of what Christians may become both now and hereafter.[3]

having materially influenced Clement, on account of their essentially pantheistic character. Clement certainly never believed that the spirit of any man became merged in the Deity. Indeed, so strongly is he averse from this doctrine, that he vigorously denies the identity of human and divine virtue, which the Stoics taught. See iii 63^{10-11} (886); also his complete denial of pantheistic ideas in ii 384^{1-17} (698–699). Another possible influence that may be held to account in some measure for Clement's phraseology is the elasticity of the term *θεός*. See a valuable note by Harnack, *Hist. Dogma*, Eng. trans., i p. 119. But in genuinely Christian thought, if the New Testament is any standard, *θεός* was rigid enough, except when used in a depreciatory sense. The loose uses of *θεός* to which Harnack refers spring either from popular polytheism or from the pantheism of the educated world, to both of which Clement was irreconcileably opposed.

[1] *ἐγὼ εἶπα, θεοί ἐστε καὶ υἱοὶ ὑψίστου πάντες.* The first verse of the Psalm is also quoted in ii 181^{5} (494), *ὁ θεὸς ἔστη ἐν συναγωγῇ θεῶν, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ θεοὺς διακρίνει.*

[2] The Psalm seems to be a complaint about the oppression of Israel by the heathen; hence the last verse, *σὺ* (i.e. Jahweh) *κατακληρονομήσεις ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.* See Hastings *Dictionary of the Bible*, extra volume p. 724 *b*; and, for the other view of *οἱ θεοί*, vol. iv p. 570 *b*.

[3] See i 86^{17-18} (94), where the words are attributed to 'the prophet'. Other quotations of this passage occur in i 105^{22} (113), ii 181^{5-9} (494), and ii 314^{23-24} (632). The last one runs thus: *τούτῳ δυνατὸν τῷ τρόπῳ τὸν γνωστικὸν ἤδη γενέσθαι θεόν· "ἐγὼ εἶπα· θεοί ἐστε καὶ υἱοὶ ὑψίστου."*

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The other passage (St Luke xx 36), or rather the single word ἰσάγγελος is quoted three times in the Seventh Book of the *Stromateis*, while the parallel from St Matthew xxii 30 is referred to in the Fourth Book. The Jewish and Christian doctrine of angels could without much difficulty be merged into the Greek idea of subsidiary gods; and this is what Clement does, for we find his thoughts travelling from Homer to Plato, and again from Plato to the New Testament, with no consciousness of a break in the connexion. It will help to make this plain if the passage from the Fourth Book is quoted in full.[1]

'Plato says with reason that he who contemplates the ideas will live as a god among men. Now Mind is the place of ideas, and God is Mind. The man therefore who contemplates the unseen God is living as a god among men, according to Plato; and Socrates in the *Sophist* called the Eleatic stranger, who was a dialectician, a god, of the same kind as the gods who, "in the guise of strangers",[2] visit the cities of men[3] ... For when a soul has once risen above the sphere of generation, and exists by itself and in company with the ideas, like the *coryphaeus* in the *Theaetetus*,[4] such an one, having now become "as an angel", will be with Christ, rapt in contemplation, ever observing the will of God. That is the real man who "alone is wise, while others flit as shadows".'[5]

Here Clement lays his thought as bare as he can. It is fundamentally Greek, and the Scriptural reference is brought in to illustrate opinions already formed; though probably Clement would have felt and declared that the Scriptures were his sole authority.[6]

None the less we must admit that the two passages here mentioned, and more especially Ps. lxxxi, exercised in their way a powerful influence on Christian thought. Had they been absent from the Scriptures, Clement's allegorism was no doubt capable of finding others to support his views; and yet it is hard to think of anything that could have quite filled the place of the unmistakeable 'I said, ye are gods'. These words come to him instinctively whenever the perfection of man is in question; and the same is true of Origen. Though in order of thought they are not a prime authority, it is certain that they helped materially to keep alive the idea and language of deification.

[1] ii 317^{10-19} (634–635). The text of the important parts of this passage is given on p. 160 *supra* notes 1 and 2.

[2] Homer *Odyssey* xvii 485.

[3] Stählin suspects a break in the text here.

[4] Plato *Theaetetus* 173 c.

[5] Homer *Odyssey* x 495.

[6] The exact references to ἰσάγγελος are iii 42^{11} (866), iii 56^{6} (879), and iii 60^{7} (883). There is another instance in ii 484^{30} (792). These add nothing to what is said above.

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VII

Two other points may be mentioned. The language of deification must have had, one would think, great disadvantages at a time when the Church was struggling to secure her position in a world dominated by polytheism. To simple men, who pay more regard to words than to the meaning which may be hidden behind them, it might well have seemed that Clement, and some of the Apologists who preceded him, were in danger of giving away the Christian case by their loose employment of θεός and cognate terms, in the current Greek fashion, to designate immortalized men. Plainly, however, this view of things never affected Clement; for, as we have seen, he calls men 'gods' without any reserve or hesitation. This mode of speech was, moreover, continued long after his day, as the writings of subsequent Greek Fathers testify.[1] But we do notice, I think, in Origen, a tendency to be more restrained and careful than Clement is in the use of such terms. It is true that the *loci classici* of Ps. lxxxi 6 and St Luke xx 36 mean practically the same for him as they do for Clement. He admits, for instance, on the strength of Ps. lxxxi 1, that the angelic powers are called 'gods'[2]; but when, in another place, he interprets the same verse of human judges 'who, on account of the superhuman purity of their character, were said to be gods', he adds the qualification, 'in accordance with an ancient Jewish mode of speech'.[3] Angels, again, because of their divine nature, are sometimes called 'gods' in the Scriptures; but not, Origen hastens to say, in order that we may worship them in place of God.[4] When speaking of men made perfect he uses such expressions as the following: 'equal to the angels'[5]; 'taken up into the order of angels'[6] to behold the 'holy and blessed life'[7]; placed 'in the assembly of righteous and blessed beings'.[8] With Clement the last of these phrases would in all likelihood have read, 'the assembly of angels and gods'.[9] In his commentary on St John, Origen has occasion to notice the phrase 'every man is a liar'. 'So', he continues, 'every man must be said not to stand in the truth. For if anyone is no longer a liar, and does stand in the truth, such an one

[1] Harnack says that 'after Theophilus, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Origen, it is found in all the Fathers of the ancient Church'. *Hist. Dogma*, Eng. trans., iii p. 164 note.

[2] Origen *Contra Celsum* viii 3-4; also iv 29.

[3] *Contra Celsum* iv 31 ἐλέγοντο εἶναι θεοὶ πατρίῳ τινὶ Ἰουδαίων ἔθει.

[4] *Contra Celsum* v 4; also v 5.

[5] *De Principiis* iv 1. 29 (iv 4. 2); also *Contra Celsum* iv 29.

[6] *De Principiis* i 8. 4. [7] *Ibid.* i 3. 8.

[8] *Contra Celsum* vi 61.

[9] Compare Clement iii 6^{3-4} (831) στρατιὰ ἀγγέλων τε καὶ θεῶν: iii 14^{26} (839) ἄγγελοι καὶ θεοί: and iii 41^{16-17} (865).

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is not a man; so that to him and to his like God can say, "I said, ye are gods".'[1] Even here Origen is careful to leave the words to God. The difference between Clement and Origen on this point is not great; but these passages give at the least some reason for thinking that Origen hesitated to reproduce his master's expressions in their more unguarded forms.

Secondly, the whole argument of this paper shews that, wherever in Clement the word θεός occurs in reference to man (exclusive of Christ), the true English equivalent is not 'God', nor 'god', but 'a god'. In the plural of course there is no difficulty. The *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, which contains the only translation into English of Clement's complete works, frequently mars the sense by rendering θεός as 'God'.[2] In every case 'a god' will give as nearly as possible the meaning that Clement intended; i. e. one of a number of spiritualized and exalted beings, endowed with immortality, free from bodily passions, and devoted solely to the contemplation of God. Such a sentence as the following may perhaps seem at first sight not to fit in with this rule: ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος, ἵνα δὴ καὶ σὺ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου μάθῃς, πῇ ποτε ἄρα ἄνθρωπος γένηται θεός, 'the Word of God became man, in order that from man even you may learn in what possible way man may become a god.'[3] Any difficulty that is felt here comes from the fact that ἄνθρωπος and θεός are set over against each other; and as we are accustomed to say 'God became man', it appears right to preserve the balance by adding 'man may become God'. It is very doubtful, however, whether Clement's own thought (as contrasted with later theology) would not be better represented by the insertion of the indefinite article before both nouns. But even if ὁ λόγος . . . ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος means to him 'the Word became man',[4] παρὰ ἀνθρώπου must almost certainly mean 'from a man'. There is then no exception to the rule here laid down, any deviation from which is likely to result in an obscuring, if not a serious misrepresentation, of Clement's thought.

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[1] Origen *Comm. on St John* xx 27 (xx 241–242). Other references to this subject in Origen are: *Comm. on St John* xx 29 (xx 266); *Homilies on Jeremiah* xv 6; also a quotation from him in Pamphilus *Apol. pro Orig.* 5.

[2] See *Ante-Nicene Library*, 'Clement of Alexandria', i 24, i 274, ii 209, ii 370, ii 408 ('divine', which avoids the difficulty, but is not a correct translation), ii 477 ('a God', which seems to be unmeaning). Dr Mayor's translation of *Stromateis* vii gives 'a god' except in one instance (p. 7 of Hort and Mayor's edition), where 'god' stands without the article.

[3] i 9^{9-11} (8).

[4] Clement uses the phrase ὁ λόγος σὰρξ γενόμενος. i 95^{20} (103).

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ARISTOTLE AND TERTULLIAN.

HAS any one noticed a curious affinity between Tertullian's famous paradox and a passage in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*?

In arguing against the docetism of Marcion, Tertullian (*de Carne Christi* 5) flashes out into the following epigrams: 'Natus est Dei Filius: non pudet quia pudendum est; et mortuus est Dei Filius: prorsus credibile est, quia ineptum est; et sepultus resurrexit: certum est, quia impossibile.' This is one of the most defiant paradoxes in Tertullian, one of the quick, telling sentences in which he does not hesitate to wreck the sense of words in order to make his point. He deliberately exaggerates, in order to call attention to the truth he has to convey. The phrase is often misquoted, and more often it is supposed to crystallize an irrational prejudice in his mind, as if he scorned and spurned the intelligence in religion—a supposition which will not survive any first-hand acquaintance with the writings of the African father. The odd thing is, however, that consciously or unconsciously he was following in the footsteps of that cool philosopher Aristotle. In the second book of the *Rhetoric* (23. 22) we find the following sentences in a discussion of the various kinds of demonstrative proof: ἄλλος ἐκ τῶν δοκούντων μὲν γίγνεσθαι ἀπίστων δέ, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἔδοξαν, εἰ μὴ ἦν ἢ ἐγγὺς ἦν. καὶ ὅτι μᾶλλον· ἢ γὰρ τὰ ὄντα ἢ τὰ εἰκότα ὑπολαμβάνουσιν· εἰ οὖν ἄπιστον καὶ μὴ εἰκός, ἀληθὲς ἂν εἴη· οὐ γὰρ διά γε τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ πιθανὸν δοκεῖ οὕτως. It is not difficult to see how this line of argument would justify Tertullian's 'credibile quia ineptum, certum quia impossibile'.

Aristotle's point is that, with regard to incredible events which are supposed and asserted to have taken place, you may argue that they would never have been believed at all, unless they had actually occurred; such statements must be true or almost true (εἰ μὴ ἦν ἢ ἐγγὺς ἦν). Still further. You may argue that such incredible events are all the more likely to be true, on the ground that men believe either in (*a*) actual facts or in (*b*) probabilities; hence, if a certain statement cannot be classified under (*b*), i. e. if it is incredible and not probable, it must represent an actual fact. The assumption is that all objects of belief are either facts or probabilities, and this disjunctive judgement involves the paradoxical conclusion that if a given assertion is ἄπιστον καὶ μὴ εἰκός, or, as Tertullian would say, *impossibile*, it is all the more likely to belong to the class of τὰ ὄντα.

We demur, especially in these days of war-rumours, to Aristotle's argument about this class of demonstrative enthymemes. Common

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sense suggests that if a given statement is extremely improbable, it need not therefore be true. But Aristotle ignores the fact that the sheer incredibility of a thing is not the best proof of its reality, and the result is what Gomperz calls a disconcerting piece of dialectical audacity. We are invited to believe that if some statement is wildly improbable (*ἄπιστον*, *incredibile*), it is more improbable still that any one should have invented it; in other words, that it would never have been made or credited, unless there had been some evidence for it, and consequently that such evidence must be strong!

Tertullian knew his Aristotle, but he was perfectly capable of striking out a similar paradox on his own account. The passage from the *Rhetoric* may be no more than a parallel; possibly the argument it conveys may have been current among rhetoricians. Still, I think it is not uninteresting to note how Aristotle, in a sober discussion of the topics proper to forensic debate, could for the moment take a line which the jurist Tertullian took in the glow of theological controversy. Even if it is only a curious coincidence, it serves to modify some of the sweeping inferences drawn from the *De Carne Christi* by some modern critics who tend to exaggerate the psychological idiosyncrasies of the author. The paradox of the *certum quia impossibile* remains as pointed as ever, but it should be read in the light of the fact that this African father of the Church was not the first to defy what seems to us to be an obvious axiom of historical proof.

JAMES MOFFATT.

A LITURGICAL FRAGMENT FROM THEBES.

IT may be worth while to put on record the following liturgical fragment inscribed upon an ostracon purchased a few years since at Thebes. Ostraca of the Coptic period with liturgical texts are often of considerable size: our fragment, which measures 12 × 9·5 cm., is from the bottom of the ostracon and may be only one half or even one quarter of the original. The right edge is intact but for some small damages; a narrow triangular piece has been broken away from the left side.

The character of the script suggests that the fragment was written in the early seventh century: the hand is a thick, heavy, and informal semi-uncial, generally well-rounded; and is of a papyrus rather than a vellum type. Ligatures and cursive features occur, and abbreviations are common. The text of the *recto* is remarkably bright and clear, but

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the porous surface of the *verso* has caused the ink to run, making reading very difficult.

At intervals in the text the symbol // is introduced indicating some sort of division, and once on the *recto* and twice on the *verso* the beginning of a line is under- and over-scored. Mr Brightman has suggested that the latter feature at any rate probably marks the beginning of a new piece,[1] and that the former may have the same value. If this is so, the fragment is no more than a list of *incipits*. It is possible that a new piece begins at l. 11 of the *recto*; and what remains of the text on the *verso* looks very like 'first lines'; but I think ll. 1–10 of the *recto* may be regarded as continuous, since // is well established as a symbol indicating verse-endings where, from motives of economy, the verses are written continuously.[2]

There are some points of resemblance between the text of the fragment and the 'Abendhymnen' Nos. 2 and 3 of Maas's *Frühbyzantinische Kirchenpoesie*,[3] and these are remarked in the notes following our text.

A copy of the whole is first given without resolution of abbreviations or corrections of provincial orthography; but I have added a text of the *recto* in ordinary type in which the verses are distinguished. The scansion-accents *alone* are marked.

Recto.

. . .]ω . [. . .
⟦αινογ[cειν]⟧
] χερογβειν // ον αιν[ογcειν
cεραφει]ν // ον εκ τον ογ̅νον θ̅ς̅ χ̣α̣ρ̣[ι]ζ̣-
[ει // καγχ]ησονται οι οcιοι εν δοξ̣α
εις α]γ̣ωνα // αγγελικη υμνωδια
αλη]θινον υμνον ⸗ λογικ/ λατρι/
κ]αγχησονται οι οcι/ εν δοξ̣/ και
αγαλλιασ̣ι // αινογcειν cε η δοξ̣/
των αγ̣/ // αι δυναμεις των
ογ̅νων αινογcειν cε χε //
θ̅αγ̅μαcτ̣ ο θ̅c̅ εν τοις εκ/
ανεcτη εκ των νε-
κρων χ̅c̅ ο βα-
cιλευc

Verso.

παντα τα εργα τογ θε̣[ογ . . .
λογι̣ καταλθι // ια̣[. . . . . η-]
μας ελ/ ι̅ν̅ χε κ̅ε̅[. . .
ο τα πλογcια δωρ̣α̣[. . .
τον ποιμενα τον κ̣[αλον? . . .
ι . ω χ̣ρ̣ . . . . χ̅ῡ̅ //

[1] Cp. Crum *Coptic Ostraca* No. 519.

[2] So in the metrical portion of the stela of Alchis from Erment: cp. *Bulletin of the Metrop. Mus. of Art*, New York (forthcoming).

[3] In the *Kleine Texte* Series.

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The text of the *recto* should probably stand as follows :—

ὸν δοξάζουσιν] Χερουβίν, ὸν αἰν[οῦσιν Σεραφί]ν·
ὸν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν θεὸς χαρ[ί]ζ[ει.]
[καυχ]ήσονται οἱ ὅσιοι ἐν δόξᾳ [εἰς α]ἰῶνα.
ἀγγελικῃ ὑμνωδίᾳ [ἀλη]θινῶν ὕμνων καὶ λογικῇ λατρείᾳ
καυχήσονται οἱ ὅσιοι ἐν δόξᾳ και ἀγαλλιάσονται.
αἰνοῦσίν σε ἡ δόξα τῶν ἁγίων
αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν αἰνοῦσίν σε, Χριστέ.
θαυμαστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ⟨αὐτοῦ⟩·
ἀνέστη ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν Χριστὸς ὁ βασιλεύς.

Notes.

Recto. l. 2. ⟦ΑΙΝΟΥ[CΕΙΝ]⟧ is suprascript and cancelled. Compare generally with this line Maas *Frühbyz. Kirchenpoesie* 'Abendhymnen' iii 7 ὸν ὕμνοις δοξάζουσιν Χερουβίμ τα ἔνδοξα.

l. 3. ΤΟΝ ΟΥ(ΡΑ)ΝΟΝ : for the genitive plural. The letters following θ are fragmentary.

l. 4. Cp. Ps. cxlix 5.

l. 5. ΕΙC Α]ΓΩΝΑ : the Γ might equally well be Τ ; but either is clearly a blunder for Ι. ΥΜΝΩΔΙΑ is apparently dative with a dependent genitive ΥΜΝΟΝ (= ΥΜΝΩΝ), dependent upon the verbs in ll. 7–8.

l. 6. ΛΟΓΙΚ/ ΛΑΤΡΙ/ : the case is probably the dative and the noun is parallel to ΥΜΝΩΔΙΑ. Cp. Rom. xii 1 ; see also Pleyte and Boeser *Manuscr. Coptes du Musée de Leide* 138 ; Brightman *Liturgies E. and W.* p. 48 *b*, l. 1.

ll. 9–10. Compare Maas *op. cit.* 'Abendhymnen' iii 2–3 ὸν ὑμνοῦσιν ἄγγελοι καὶ ἀρχάγγελοι, | δυνάμεις οὐρανίαι.

l. 11. ΕΡ(ΓΟΙC) is certain and neither ΟC(ΙΟΙC) nor ΑΓ(ΙΟΙC) can be read.

ll. 11–13 seem to indicate that Easter was the festival for which the hymn was intended, unless indeed a new piece begins here.

Verso. l. 1 : adapted from the *Song of the Three Children*, fragments of which are not rare at Thebes.

l. 3. ΙΝ̄ : apparently for ΙC̄.

HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE.

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THE MEANING OF מָקוֹם IN HEBREW.

ETYMOLOGICALLY מָקוֹם should no doubt be 'something which stands up', or a 'place where something stands'; and though in course of time this became weakened to 'site' or 'place', there are many passages in which the word must have a more definite and special sense. Four such passages may be taken as representative: (*a*) Gen. xii 6 מקום שכם R.V. *the place of Shechem*; (*b*) Gen. xiii 14 ראה מן המקום אשר אתה שם R.V. *look from the place where thou art*; (*c*) Gen. xxii 4 וירא את המקום מרחוק R.V. *and saw the place afar off* (in ver. 5 נלכה עד כה *will go yonder*, pointing to it); (*d*) Gen. xxviii 11 . . . ויקח מאבני המקום . . . ויפגע בַּמקום וישכב במקום ההוא R.V. *and he lighted upon a certain place . . . and he took one of the stones of the place . . . and lay down in that place to sleep.* He was on his way to Haran, but 'the place' was not Haran (cf. ver. 19).

In these passages מקום, if it means merely 'place', is intolerably weak. In *a* it is superfluous; in *b* the whole phrase מן המקום אשר אתה שם is unnecessary; in *c* it must have been something conspicuous from a distance; as to *d*, you do not light upon a place when you are in a place, and the article shews that (at any rate according to masoretic tradition) it was something definite he found there, not 'a certain place' (and therefore not to be classed with the instances quoted in Ges.-Kautzsch § 126 *r*); we should expect 'he took a stone' and 'he lay down to sleep there', omitting מקום in both cases.

As the text stands some special meaning is required for מקום. In modern Palestine the corresponding word مقام is the proper term for a sacred spot under the protection of a nabî' or walî (*saint*). In the Survey of Western Palestine, Special Papers (London, 1881), p. 258+, Conder says 'the white dome of the Mukâm is the most conspicuous object in a Syrian village. The sacred chapel on the hill-top, or the sacred tree by the road-side, is of constant occurrence.' 'Few who have visited Palestine will doubt that in the Mukâm we see the survival of the Canaanite false worship; and in one case (Sheikh Abu 'Amr) I found beside the chapel a huge platform of unsquared stone and a pit cut in the rock, which seemed not impossibly to be the remains of the ancient altar of this divinity.' The mukâm is ordinarily a little square modern building with a dome, often with a large sacred tree near it, or it may be merely a rude circle of stones. The important thing is the sanctity of it. 'The chapels are sanctuaries in which property can be left with perfect safety.' The anger of the walî is much feared, and his

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power may extend for ten or twenty miles round. See also *PEF.*, *QS.*, October, 1915, p. 170+.

If מקום = مقام, this description gives a meaning to the passages quoted above, as well as to others. It must have been something which stands up, a building, tree, pillar, or cairn, not a mere site, as the commentators usually take it. This 'shrine' (for want of a wider term) afforded protection alike from men and demons, so that travellers would naturally encamp in or near it for the night. Thus in *a* Abram went עד מקום ש' *as far as the shrine at S* and stopped there for the night. In Gen. xii 8 he made a מקום between Bethel and Ai by building an altar and dedicating it to ('called upon the name of') the Lord. This is shewn by *b* (xiii 3, 4, 14) *look from the shrine where thou art camping.* In *c* they saw the shrine from afar, because it was conspicuous on the hill-top. It was a recognized place of sacrifice, with an altar. Abraham therefore first built up את המזבח *the* altar, which was already there, but was out of repair, as things usually are in the East. Most interesting is *d*. Jacob, on his way from Beersheba to Haran, lighted upon *the* מקום, that is to say, the shrine which was the natural stopping-place on his journey, and which Jacob knew just as the Bedouin know the best camping-places now. He took one of the stones of the shrine (which may have been only a heap or circle of loose stones) for a pillow, and lay down inside the shrine itself. Then follows a vision, which causes Jacob to exclaim in ver. 16 אכן יש יהוה במקום הזה ואנכי לא ידעתי— a strong expression of surprise. 'Why! the Lord is in this shrine. I knew it was sacred to some divinity, but I did not know that the Lord himself was here. This shrine really is to be revered (מה נורא).' We then see how a shrine would develope. In memory of his experience, Jacob dedicated a pillar, gave the shrine a name (it was near a town called in ancient times Luz) and vowed to erect a better building on his return. The writer of Gen. xxviii no doubt had in mind the important sanctuary afterwards existing at Bethel, and was here shewing reasons for its reputation. Perhaps also he was trying to justify the reverence for shrines, which was common in his day as it had been long before and still is.

The association of a temple or sacred place or object with dreams, visions, and supernatural occurrences, has been common at all times and needs no illustration. If then this explanation of מקום is right, we may expect the same association. In *a* Abram came to the מקום and in ver. 7 the Lord appeared to him. In *b* he was at the מקום when the Lord spoke to him. In *c* he was about to sacrifice Isaac on the altar of the מקום when the angel of the Lord called to him (xxii 11). In *d* Jacob was sleeping in the מקום when he had the vision. So in Gen. xiii 18 Abram built an altar at the oaks of Mamre, which

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were a shrine. Chapters xiv–xvii are an insertion. In xviii 1 the narrative continues with an appearance of the Lord there, and in xix 27 the place is described as a מקום where he had stood before the Lord. In xxxii 30 Jacob gave the name of Peniel to the מקום at which he had 'seen God face to face'. In xxxv 7–9 there is another appearance to Jacob at the מקום of Bethel. Many other passages might be quoted in which this sense is appropriate, e.g. the frequent expression 'the מקום which the Lord shall choose to set his name there'. No doubt the word often has the vague meaning of 'place' (like the Arabic مقام), but the special meaning is common, especially in early documents.

A. COWLEY.

TWO NOTES ON EUTHALIUS OF SULCI.

I. THE ATHOS-DOCUMENT.

A FEW years ago interest in Euthalius was increased by the publication of a document (*Cod. Laura, Athos* 149, f. 1–4) for which the claim was made that it solved the problems clustering about him. Its superscription ran: Ευθαλιου επισκοπου Σουλκης ομολογια περι της ορθοδοξου πιστεως.[1] A fresh examination of the document is offered in this note.

During the second Session of the Lateran Synod of A.D. 619, Deusdedit of Cagliari, in his indictment of Pyrrhus and the conception τὴν θεανδρικὴν ἐνέργειαν, asked that the ἔκθεσις of the Emperor Heraclius should be read. A version of it is preserved in Mansi,[2] introduced thus:

> Ἡ ἔκθεσις Ἡρακλείου τοῦ βασιλέως ληφθήτω καὶ ἀναγνωθήτω. καὶ λαβὼν Ἀναστάσιος νοτάριος ῥεγεωνάριος τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἑρμηνευθεῖσαν φωνῆς ἀνέγνω.

A comparison of this document and the one from Athos shews a series of noteworthy parallels; the chief of which are given below. I denote the Mansi-document A, and the Athos-document B.

1. A. πιστεύομεν εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.
   B. πιστευω εις ενα θν̄ πρᾶ παντοκρατορα και εις τον υιον αυτου τον μονογενη και εις το αγιον πν̄α.

[1] von Soden *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (1902) i 1. 637 ff.
[2] *Conciliorum Coll.* x 992–998.

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2. A. τριάδα ὁμούσιον, μίαν θεότητα, ἤτοι φύσιν καὶ οὐσίαν, καὶ δύναμιν, καὶ ἐξουσίαν, ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν.

B. την τρισυποστατον μιαν ουσιαν τε και θεοτητα, δυναμιν τε και θεληsιν και ενεργειαν, θν̄ τελειον τον πρᾱ, θν̄ τελειον τον υν̄, θν̄ τελειον το αγιον πν̄α, τρεις υποστασεις.

3. A. μονάδα ἐν τριάδι, καὶ τριάδα ἐν μονάδι.

B. τριαδα γαρ εν μοναδι και μοναδα εν τριαδι.

4. A. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ πανύμνητον ἀειπάρθενον Μαρίαν κυρίως καὶ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν θεοτόκον κηρύττομεν· οὐχ ὡς τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου ἀρχὴν τοῦ εἶναι ἐξ αὐτῆς λαβόντος, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν σαρκωθέντος ἐξ αὐτῆς.

B. και παναμωμου αγιας αειπαρθενου Μαριας της δεσποινης ημων, επ εσχατου των χρονων σαρκωθεντα εξ αυτης.

5. A. καὶ μίαν φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου, σεσαρκωμένην σαρκί, ἐψυχωμένην νοερῶς, καθὰ Κύριλλος ὁ θεσπέσιος ἐφρόνησέ τε καὶ ἐδίδαξε, καὶ ἐν δύο φύσεσι τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι δοξάζοντες.

B. πιστευω δε και ομολογω κατα την των αγιων πρῶν διδασκαλιαν και ορθοδοξον εννοιαν κατα μεν τον αγιον Κυριλλον και την κατ αυτων αγιαν συνοδον ωσπερ ενα Χν̄ υν̄ του θῡ, ουτως και μιαν του θῡ λογου φυσιν σεσαρκωμενην, σαρκα εμψυχωμενην ψυχη λογικη τε και νοερα,

A catena of references now follows in B having the names of Ambrose, Augustine, Athanasius, Leo, and Gregory. These are not in A. But A has after the citation of Cyril the theological statement which in B precedes the Cyrilline reference.

6. A. ὅθεν ἕνα ἴσμεν υἱὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἐξ ἀνάρχου πατρός, καὶ ἐξ ἀχράντου μητρός, τὸν αὐτὸν προαιώνιόν τε καὶ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἀπαθῆ καὶ παθητόν, ὁρατὸν καὶ ἀόρατον κτλ.

B. οικονομιαν του κῡ ημων Ιῡ Χῡ . . . τον αυτον θν̄ αληθινον εκ θῡ αληθινου του πρ̄ς̄ αναρχως γεννηθεντα προ παντων των αιωνων και ως αληθως ανον̄ αληθινον τον αυτον γεγονοτα εκ μητρος αληθινης της αχραντου . . . αορατον και ορατον . . . τον αυτον παθητον σαρκι, απαθη θεοτητι κτλ.

The lacunae introduced into B are filled, as is noted later, with the more ornate expansions of the theology in digest contained in A.

7. A. ταὐτὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν αἱ ἁγίαι καὶ οἰκουμενικαὶ πέντε σύνοδοι τῶν μακαρίων καὶ θεοφόρων πατρῶν, τουτέστι τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ, καὶ τῶν κατὰ ταύτην τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν, καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, καὶ τῶν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι, καὶ τῶν αὖθις ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ συνελθόντων συνόδῳ.

B. αποδεχομαι δε και περιπτυσσομαι τας αγιας και οικουμενικας τεσσαρας συνοδους, την εν Νικαια, την εν Κωνσταντινουπολει, την εν Εφεσῳ το προτερον και την εν Χαλκηδονι.

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The next short parallel not only shews that the two documents are drawing upon the same literary *testimonia*, but also serves as an introduction to the last part of the A and B.

8. A. καὶ τῶν δώδεκα κεφαλαίων τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Κυρίλλου.
B. και τα δωδεκα κεφαλαια του αγιου Κυριλλου.

The sentence from A is prefaced by a list of anathematized notions and persons, and closes thus:

καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πρώτης ἁγίας συνόδου καὶ τῶν δώδεκα κεφαλαίων τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Κυρίλλου, καὶ ὅσα ὑπὲρ Θεωδώρου καὶ Νεστορίου συνεγράψατο, καὶ τὴν λεγομένην Ἴβα ἐπιστολήν.

Between parallel 8 and the reference to Cyril, B inserts the following passage:

προσδεχομαι δε μετα και τουτων απαντων και την υπο του εν αποστολικη τη μνημη αγιωτατου παπα Μαρτινου συναθροισθεισαν εν Ρωμη αγιαν συνοδον επι βεβαιωσει των ορθοδοξων και αποστολικων δογματων ... ωσαυτως δε και τα δωδεκα κεφαλαια του αγιου Κυριλλου τα κατα του ανθρωπολατρου Νεστοριου.

This passage has been substituted for the one in A containing the list of heresies and heretics. B, however, commits an anachronism of, at the least, ten years, as will be seen from the appearance of Martin the Pope. This chronological error may have arisen from an attempt on the part of a later writer to give historic continuity to the acts of the synods concerning the subject of the one will in Jesus Christ.

On the other hand, A breaks off abruptly after the reference to Cyril (8). In this way it omits the closing statement of B commencing: ἀναθεματιζω δε και αποβαλλομαι πασαν αιρεσιν πολει η νεοστι; in which is included the significant allusion to Abbot Maximus. In some form that feature is perhaps necessary to the original text. Maximus became the head of the monastery of Chrysopolis in 639, the year in which the ἔκθεσις was written. He was the orthodox champion of his day as B shows: αββα Μαξιμου ανδρος ορθοδοξου. Again, the same hand that introduced Martin makes posthumous amends to Maximus.

The language of B, of which A is a kind of stenography, is unsuited to a lowly ecclesiastic, whether of the Sardinian church or not. Certain titles in B favour Rome as its source. For example: φωνη επι εκκλησια του θῦ διδασκω και κηρυττω: ο αποστολικος και πρω[ο]τοθρονος του αγιου Πετρου. The broad difference in literary character between the two versions of the ἔκθεσις suggests that A represents the synodical Minutes of the imperial utterance; while B is that document, if two anachronisms are deleted.

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II. The town Sulci.

The coincidence of the name of Euthalius's town, as given in certain of the manuscripts, Εὐθαλίου ἐπισκόπου (διακόνου) Σούλκης, with that of the Sardinian town Σούλκης in George of Cyprus (*Descriptio Orbis Romani* 680) is enticing. But Ptolemaeus (*Geographia* iii 3. 3) has a form Σόλκοι. And likewise Stephanus Byzantinus (*De Urbibus*) writes: Σόλκοι, πόλις ἐν Σαρδοῖ, ὡς Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἐν Ἐπιτομῇ· Ἀπὸ δὲ Καράλεως ἐπὶ Σόλκους. Strabo, xvi 1. 18, takes us further afield. Where he mentions Seleucia on the Tigris he says: Σελεύκεια, μεγάλη πόλις· Σολόκη δ' ἐκαλεῖτο πρότερον. This city is credited with a fifth-century Council. The Syriac version of the Canons has its name thus: ܣܠܘܩ.[1] Levy, in his Lexicon of late Hebrew, gives for Seleucia the form: סלק. Side by side with these details should be placed another, that in the Prologue to the Pauline Epistles ascribed to Euthalius use is made of Syro-Macedonian chronology. This has already been pointed out; and notably by Dr Robinson,[2] who noted that such a feature 'might be taken as pointing to Syria—perhaps to Caesarea or to Antioch' as the see or town of Euthalius. May not the name of the town be a Semitic outline with Greek vocalization? Then the *Notitia Thronorum Patriarchialium* by Nilus Doxapater[3] offers a solution as enticing as that of George of Cyprus where, under the Patriarchate of Antioch, he makes the entries: η'. τὴν Σελευκίας Ἰσαυρίας, ἥτις ἔχει ὑφ' ἑαυτὴν κδ'; and also among the eight archbishoprics: δ'. τὴν Σελεύκιαν τῆς Πιερίας. What the first Seleucia could bear by way of a Graeco-Semitic dress, one form of which Strabo has preserved, the second could as well affect.[4]

Vacher Burch.

[1] Lamy *Concilium Seleuciae et Ctesiphonte habitum anno 410* (1868) 22.

[2] *Euthaliana* (*Texts and Studies* (1895) iii 3) 44.

[3] *P. G.* cxxxii 1088 and 1089.

[4] It may be noted that so far as the ecclesiastical records go the name Euthalius is found only in the church life of Near Asia.

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EVST. 236.

(Scrivener 229.)

On the fly-leaf of this MS there is the following inscription in a wretched handwriting full of itacisms and other errors: *τὸ παρὸν θεῖον καὶ ἱερὸν εὐαγγέλιον ὑπάρχει κτῆμα τοῦ θείου καὶ ἁγίου ναοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Μάρκου, καὶ εἴ τις ἀποξενοῖ αὐτὸ ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ ἔχοιτο τῷ ἐπιτιμίῳ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων*, also the date, December 1619 (,αχιθ), and on the back cover the signature, *ἐμμανουίλ*, but beyond these worthless hints nothing is known of its previous history. It is of thirteenth–fourteenth century, and now belongs to Sion College, London. There are 218 leaves of vellum; some leaves are missing at the end, and there are a few lacunae. There are two narrow columns on each page, 19 lines, no illuminations, titles and musical signs in red, no signs of interrogation, + between the *ῥήματα*, frequent corrections p.m. and s.m., the latter generally in red ink. Aspiration and accentuation are fairly correct throughout the MS, but acute accent after circumflex in words followed by enclitica is nearly always missing (e.g. *σῶμα μου*). Iota subscript is not found, but iota ascript occurs seventy-nine times (seventeen times only in Evst. 235, described in the JOURNAL vol. xvi no. 64), most frequently after *ω*, especially in the introductions. Double grave accents are very frequent. Homoioteleuta occur at Mt. xxi 7 (?), xxiii 7, xxvi 9, Lk. xvi 26, John vii 41, all other homoioteleuta being corrected p.m. There are a few instances of haplography and dittography. The most frequent itacisms are: *αι* pro *ε*, 41; *ω* pro *ο*, 36; *η* pro *ει*, 31; *ει* pro *ε*, 32; *ο* pro *ω*, 24[1]; *ε* pro *αι*, 13. There are introductions to Gospels and different variants in the same passages when occurring in different places as usual in lectionaries. Uncommon feasts are: Sept. 15th, Memorial of the 6th Synod; 17th, Charalampus; 25th, Phobus, Romanus; Oct. 23rd, Zacharias, Symeon; Jan. 4th, Zosimus, Athanasius: otherwise the feasts are those found in most lectionaries. In this connexion I venture to remark that Scrivener is mistaken in the list of feasts he mentions as uncommon in his description of Evst. 221 in *Adversaria Critica Sacra*. I have lately, in conjunction with Mr H. V. Hughes, examined the menologies of some forty lectionaries, in practically all of which the said feasts are found. The MS does not contain the *pericope adulterae*, but has the last twelve verses

[1] Always *εὐονύμων* (pro *εὐωνύμων*).

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of Mark in the usual place.[1] There are no great divergencies from the T.R., but a special feature is the very frequent rearrangement of words; hence a fairly complete list is given of such variants.

Contents:

1. Daily Gospels from Easter to Pentecost . . foll. 1–47a
2. *σαββατοκυριακαί* for rest of year from St Matthew . „ 47b–69
3. „ „ „ St Luke . „ 70–93
4. Gospels from Septuagesima to Easter Even . . „ 94–163a
5. *Εὐαγγέλια ἀναστάσιμα ἐωθινά* i–xi . . . . „ 163b–171
6. Menology . . . . . „ 172–end.

Notable Variants.

(MS collated with Lloyd and Sanday's *N.T.*)

St Matthew.

i 13 Ἀβιούδ—Ἀζώρ—Ἐλιακείμ—Σαδώκ. ii 11 *εἶδον* pro *εὗρον*. iii 2 +*καὶ* ante *γὰρ*. v 45 *ὅμοιοι* pro *υἱοὶ*. vi 17 om. secund. *σου*. 18 om. *ἐν τῷ φανερῷ*. 24 +*τοῦ* ante *ἑνὸς*. 32 *ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα*. vii 5 om. secund. *τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ*. viii 8 *λόγω*. x 5 om. *τοὺς δώδεκα*. 8 om. *νεκροὺς ἐγείρετε*. xi 10 *κατασκευάζει*. xii 20 *ἐκβάλλει*. 32 *ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι*. 35 om. *τῆς καρδίας*. 36 om. *περὶ αὐτοῦ*. xiv 19 om. *καὶ* ante *λαβὼν*. xv 25 *προσεκύνησεν*. 32 *ἡμέραι*. xvii 27 *ἀναβαίνοντα*. xviii 3 +*ταῦτα* post *παιδία*. 11 +*ζητῆσαι καὶ* ante *σῶσαι*. 14 *μου* pro *ὑμῶν*. *ἓν* pro *εἷς*. 19 +*ἀμὴν* post *πάλιν*. 28 *εἴ τι* pro *ὅ τι*. 29 om. *πάντα*. xx 2 *καὶ συμφωνήσας*. om. *αὐτοῦ*. 3 om. *τὴν*. 34 om. secund. *αὐτῶν*. xxi 2 *πρὸς αὐτοὺς* pro *αὐτοῖς*. 3 *ἀποστέλλει*. 7 om. *καὶ ἐπεκάθισεν ἐπάνω αὐτῶν* (Hom.?). 11 om. *Ἰησοῦς*. xxii 7 *καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖνος*. 13 *χεῖρας καὶ πόδας*. 43 +*ἁγίῳ* post *πνεύματι*. xxiii 11 *ἔστω* pro *ἔσται*. 30 *ἤμεθα* (bis). xxiv 2 om. secund. *μὴ*. 15 *ἑστὼς*. 18 +*ὁμοίως* post *ἀγρῷ*. 21 *οὐδὲ μὴ* (om. *οὐ*). 24 *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα μεγάλα*. 27 *παρρησία* pro *παρουσία*. 31 +*καὶ* ante *φωνῆς*. 43 *ὥρᾳ* pro *φυλακῇ* (semel; bis = T.R.). *τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διορυγῆναι* (semel; bis = T.R.). 45 *οἰκίας* pro *θεραπείας* (semel; semel = T.R.). 46 *οὕτως ποιοῦντα* (semel; semel = T.R.). 48 om. *δὲ*. *μου ὁ κύριος*. 49 *τε* pro *δὲ*. xxv 4 om. *ἔλαιον* (semel; habet semel). 15 om. *εὐθέως* (semel; habet semel). 16 *ἐκέρδησεν* pro *ἐποίησεν* (semel; semel = T.R.). 19 *λόγον μετ' αὐτῶν* (semel; semel = T.R.). 24 *λαβὼν* pro *εἰληφὼς* (= supra). 26 *δοῦλε πονηρὲ* (= supra). 29 *δοκεῖ ἔχειν* pro *ἔχει* (= supra). 31 om. *δὲ* (= supra). 32 *συναχθήσονται* (bis). 40 *τότε ἀποκριθήσεται αὐτοῖς λέγων* pro *καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς . . . αὐτοῖς* (semel; semel = T.R.). 44 om. *αὐτῷ* (bis). xxvi 4 *δόλῳ κρατήσωσι* (bis). 9 *τὸ μύρον τοῦτο* (semel; semel = T.R.).

[1] *Εὐαγγ. ἀναστ.* iii.

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11 τοὺς πτωχοὺς γὰρ πάντοτε (bis). 15 τί μοι θέλετε (bis). om. αὐτόν (semel; habet semel). 26 εὐχαριστήσας pro εὐλογήσας. 33 om. καὶ. +δὲ post ἐγὼ. 34 ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ. 42 τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο. 52 ἀποθανοῦνται pro ἀπολοῦνται. 55 ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐκαθεζόμην διδάσκων. 57 συνήγοντο pro συνήχθησαν (semel; semel = T.R.). 59 θανατώσωσιν αὐτὸν (bis). 70 +αὐτῶν ante πάντων (bis). 71 αὐτοῖς pro τοῖς (bis). 74 καταθεματίζειν (bis). xxvii 7 τε pro δὲ (semel; bis = T.R.). 10 ἔδωκα (bis; semel = T.R.). 12 +καὶ τῶν γραμματέων post πρεσβυτέρων (semel; bis = T.R.). 13 τί οὗτοι pro πόσα (= supra). 15 τῷ ὄχλῳ ἕνα δέσμιον (bis), ἕνα δέσμιον τῷ ὄχλῳ (semel). ἤθελεν pro ἤθελον (semel; bis = T.R.). 23 om. λέγοντες (semel; habet bis). 33 ὅ pro ὅς (ter). μεθερμηνευόμενον pro λεγόμενος (semel; bis = T.R.). 35 βαλόντες (ter). om. ἵνα πληρωθῇ usque ad κλῆρον (bis; habet semel). 41 +καὶ φαρισαίων post πρεσβυτέρων (bis; semel = T.R.). om. καὶ πρεσβυτέρων (semel; habet bis). 42 ἐπ' αὐτῷ (ter). 43 om. νῦν (bis; habet semel). 55 ἦσαν δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ἐκεῖ πολλαὶ (semel; semel = T.R.). 56 om. ἡ τοῦ (semel; habet semel). 63 ὁ πλάνος ἐκεῖνος. xxviii 9 om. ὡς δὲ usque ad μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ. 19 om. οὖν (bis).

St Mark.[1]

i 9 εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου. 10 ἐκ pro ἀπὸ. 11 οὗτός ἐστιν pro σὺ εἶ. iii 4 om. ἢ κακοποιῆσαι. vi 8 τὰς ζώνας. viii 36 τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ. x 44 θελήσῃ. xv 24 διαμερίζονται (semel). διεμερίζοντο (semel). 28 om. vers. (semel; habet semel). 39 ἐνώπιον pro ἐξ ἐναντίας. xvi 1 om. ἡ τοῦ (bis). 8 om. ταχὺ (bis).

St Luke.

i 24 περιέκρυψεν. 27 +καὶ πατρίας post οἴκου. 44 τὸ βρέφος ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει. ii 51 ἡ δὲ μήτηρ. iii 2 ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως. iv 18 εὐαγγελίσασθαι. om. με post ἀπέσταλκε. 23 om. καὶ ante ὧδε. v 6 πλῆθος ἰχθύων. 19 πόθεν pro διὰ ποίας. vi 6 om. ἐγένετο usque ad διδάσκειν. 7 τε pro δὲ. 9 ἀποκτεῖναι pro ἀπολέσαι. 10 αὐτῷ pro τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. vii 6 om. μὴ σκύλλου. om. γάρ (οὐκ εἰμὶ). 8 om. τασσόμενος (add. s.m.). πορεύου. viii 13 +καὶ ante πρὸς καιρὸν. 15 τῇ γῇ τῇ καλῇ. 17 φανερωθήσεται pro φανερὸν γενήσεται. 19 παρεγένετο. 33 θάλασσαν pro λίμνην. 34 om. ἀπελθόντες. om. 36–37. 39 θεός pro Ἰησοῦς. 42 θυγάτριον μονογενὲς. 51 Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἰάκωβον. ix 3 ῥάβδον. 41 ἕως πότε pro καὶ ante ἀνέξομαι. τὸν υἱόν σου ὧδε. 61 ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ μου. 62 τῶν οὐρανῶν pro τοῦ θεοῦ. x 20 om. μᾶλλον (semel; habet semel). 36 πλησίον δοκεῖ σοι. 39 τῶν λόγων. 41 ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῇ. xii 39 τὴν οἰκίαν pro τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. xiii 29 om. ἀπὸ ante βορρᾶ. 31 μέλλει pro θέλει. xiv 3 τὸ σάββατον. 5 υἱὸς

[1] Lectionaries contain very little of St Mark's Gospel.

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pro ὄνος. xv 21 post versum +ποίησόν με ὡς ἕνα τῶν μισθίων σου. 32 τὰ ἐμὰ πάντα. xvii 4 om. ἐπί σε. ἄφες pro ἀφήσεις. xviii 5 γυναῖκα pro χήραν. 14 +γὰρ post ἤ. 25 om. γάρ. 40 om. δὲ. xix 4 om. δι'. 8 Ἰησοῦν pro κύριον. xxi 16 γονέων—συγγενῶν—φίλων—ἀδελφῶν. xxiii 33 εὐωνύμων (written, as usual, εὐονύμων) pro ἀριστερῶν (semel; semel = T.R.). xxiv 10 om. ἦσαν δὲ. om. αἱ. 44 καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτούς pro εἶπε δὲ αὐτοῖς.

St John.

i 28 Βηθανίᾳ. 31 om. τῷ ante ὕδατι. 40 om. δὲ post ὥρα. ii 10 ὅτε pro ὅταν. 22 δὲ pro οὖν. iii 25 Ἰουδαίου. iv 6 om. ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας (add. s.m.). 16 σου τὸν ἄνδρα. 18 om. ἄνδρας. 35 τετράμηνός. v 14 χεῖρόν σοι τί. vi 9 om. κριθίνους. 22 συνῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ. 61 om. οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. viii 12 αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς (semel; semel = T.R.). 52 om. οἱ ante Ἰουδαῖοι. ix 15 μου ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. x 37 υἱὸς θεοῦ. xi 8 οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λιθάσαι. xii 34 om. ὅτι ante δεῖ (semel; habet semel). xiii 13 ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ διδάσκαλος. xiv 3 ἑτοιμάσαι pro καὶ ἑτοιμάσω. 30 om. τούτου (bis). xv 8 om. vers. (semel; habet semel). 16 δώῃ pro δῷ. xvi 3 om. ὑμῖν (bis). 10 πορεύομαι pro ὑπάγω (semel; semel = T.R.). 11 περὶ κρίσεως δὲ (= supra). 14 λαμβάνει pro λήψεται (= supra). 18 om. ὃ λέγει τὸ μικρόν (= supra). xvii 11 ὦ pro οὓς (bis). 20 πιστευσάντων (semel), πιστευόντων (semel). xix 11 om. διὰ τοῦτο usque ad 12 fin. (semel; habet semel). 13 τούτων τῶν λόγων (semel; semel = T.R.). 20 ὁ τόπος τῆς πόλεως (bis). 21 om. τῶν Ἰουδαίων (bis). 26 ἴδε (quater). 27 ἡμέρας pro ὥρας (semel; quater = T.R.). +ἐκεῖνος post μαθητὴς (bis; ter = T.R.). ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτὴν (semel; quater = T.R.). 28 +περὶ αὐτοῦ post τετέλεσται (semel; ter = T.R.). om. ἵνα τελειωθῇ usque ad 30 τετέλεσται (= supra). 35 ἀληθινή ἐστιν ἡ μαρτυρία αὐτοῦ (bis), ἀληθινή ἐστιν αὐτοῦ ἡ μαρτυρία (semel; semel = T.R.). 36 +ἀπ' ante αὐτοῦ (ter). 40 om. τῶν. xx 29 om. Θωμᾶ.

C. STEENBUCH.

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REVIEWS

The Faith and the War: A series of Essays by members of the Churchmen's Union and others on the religious difficulties aroused by the present condition of the world. Edited by F. J. FOAKES-JACKSON, D.D. (Macmillan & Co., 1915.)

DR FOAKES-JACKSON and his nine friends may be congratulated on having produced a valuable war-book and one well calculated to help in the present distress of conscience. It is not that all the thoughts of all the essays are strikingly original—though some of them are original in a high degree—but they are all well put and in a way that both stimulates and consoles. The general character of the volume is indicated by the fact that six of the contributors are members of the Churchmen's Union, while all are what is termed Liberal Churchmen. The editor disclaims any attempt to secure uniformity of treatment, but he has his plan, which he propounds in his Introduction. Essays I—III deal with Providence; Essay IV with the Problem of Evil; Essays V—VII with three of the means by which Evil can be reconciled with Providence, viz. Hope, Belief in Immortality, Faith. Then come two essays on Christian Ethics, and a final one on the problem that will face the Church when peace is made.

The plan is well conceived and well carried out.[1] Of course, just as in anthologies there will always be pieces which this or that reader misses from the collection, so here there are topics whose absence one regrets. For instance, a book by Churchmen might have considered the attitude of the mediaeval Church towards war, and drawn a lesson from the Schoolmen. One of the contributors at least, Dr Rashdall, is entirely competent for the task, and an account from his pen of the teaching of eight hundred years, until Machiavelli stepped in with his new and deadly theory of the Prince, would have been very welcome.

But a critic's main business is with what has been done rather than with what might have been done, and to that business I shall mainly confine myself.

Professor Percy Gardner introduces the topic of Providence, and that in its relation to the individual. He warns against the pessimistic doctrine of a universe governed by chance, and the danger of limiting the sphere of God's action. His treatment and illustrations recall the

[1] I have only found one misprint. On p. 222, last line but 2, 'rehabitation' should be 'rehabilitation'. In a second edition Dr Foakes-Jackson might with advantage revise the punctuation of his essay.

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admirable presentment of the subject in Wendland's book on *Christian Miracle*. He differs, it may be noted, from the poet Clough in his view of the conditions that incline men to belief in Providence; and for those who 'when sin and sorrow strike *them*, incline to think there is *no* God', his serious and thoughtful arguments may prove of signal service.

Miss Alice Gardner takes up the theme in an excellent paper on the Idea of Providence in History. She traces the belief in tribal deities, through belief in divine justice, to that in an overruling Providence directing the whole course of the world. Her general treatment leaves nothing to be desired, and her remark that the conception of history as a unity began with the adoption of Christianity, is profoundly true. But her next statement, as it stands, is open to question. She says, 'there was, as far as I know, no tendency in mediaeval times to regard the progressive steps in social advance as manifestations of divine will or of a divine plan for the world.' But at the beginning of the middle ages we have Alfred echoing the thankful cry of Orosius that Christian women no longer behave like the Amazons (surely here is social advance); at the other end we have Nicolaus of Cusa declaring that the Spouse of Christ grows in wisdom as she accomplishes her earthly pilgrimage; while midway stand St Thomas and Dante. The former, as a good Aristotelian, cannot regard happiness in this life apart from earthly prosperity, but as a good Christian he submits it to providence, *Providentia hominis continetur sub providentia Dei*. The latter held that the institutions of his day, the guardians of man's peace and liberty, were part of God's great order for raising man to perfection. Even the monk in his cell prayed for worldly wealth as well as for immortality, and both the lesser blessing for which he asks the saints, and the greater blessing for which he looks to God, are equally part of the divine plan. And behind them all towers St Augustine with his City of God, in which the State co-operates with the Church in fulfilling the divine purpose. It may be admitted that social advance was not looked for in the middle ages, but to deny all tendency to see God's hand in it, when it came, is to make a generalization too heavy for the data.

Miss Gardner speaks golden words about the 'brute force' school of history, and warns us both against the worship of temporary success and against the discouragement arising from temporary failure in the world or in the Church. Her common sense mistrusts the intellectualists who seek for democratic control of diplomatic negotiations, and the utopists who expect the evangelization of the world within this generation; and her religious instinct leads her towards the right view of the relation between sin and suffering. To those who ask why God permits such sins, she answers, 'The sin is sin because He is not in it. But perhaps He is in the suffering in so far as it forms part of man's

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redemption'. This is a line of thought which might well have been carried further.

The third essay, by the editor himself, on 'Providence in its universal aspect', grew, as he tells us, out of a suggestion by Professor James Ward, of which the outline is given in the Introduction. It does not seem certain that Dr Ward would have developed it in quite the same way. The chief point, with which Dr Foakes-Jackson comes to deal in his last three pages, is the following: 'If evil is once known for what it is, it will be avoided by mankind. Prussian militarism is an evil; it has to be tried, as other evils have, and have been rejected. Once tried, it will not be repeated.' The pity is that we should supply the body for the experiment! Dr Foakes-Jackson is rather unduly hopeful when he says that this evil will at once betray its true nature, and that, in the event of Prussian victory, the very people who forged the chains will be the first to burst them. It would surely take many generations to clear the field of the weed. And he is less than fair to *Kultur*. It has its virtues—thoroughness, obedience, devotion, self-sacrifice, which are not only matters for amazement, but for imitation. And militarism, as such, may be barbarous and unchristian, but it hardly deserves the epithets 'foul' and 'abominable', which he casts at it. *Prussian* militarism is doubtless both, but that is because of the means, contrary to the laws of God and man, which one particular race has adopted for the accomplishment of its object.

Dr Rashdall sets out in Essay IV not to prove a purpose in the Universe, but, assuming it (he gives his reasons), to reconcile with it the existence of evil. He dismisses the theory that evil is not really evil, but just the foil which shews up the beauty of things. For unless conscience is playing us false, we must accept its judgement that sin and pain are real and are evil. He likewise rejects the hypothesis that evil only exists as one of the obstacles which it is God's greater glory to surmount, and may therefore be regarded as a kind of good, *quâ* means to good. The apparent struggle between the Divine Mind and difficulties is contrary to modern notions of law and nature, and the antagonism between mind and matter, which it involves, is not acceptable to modern physics. Dr Rashdall prefers the old explanation, that evil is due to the original self-limitation of God. He meets various objections—shews that the idea of unlimited power is meaningless; urges, against Dr McTaggart, that limitations to God's power do not in the least necessitate defeat of God's purpose. No evil can have been permitted by God without full consciousness of power sufficient to overcome it in the end, and a full intention to produce a balance of good. If His power is limited, His love is not. Thus Dr Rashdall explains *how* evil came to be. *Why*, he does not try to answer, though he notes the

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way in which good is, in common life, conditioned by evil, and the appeal to human love and effort which is made by a Creator who summons His creatures to work with Him in the achievement of good.

Dr Inge's Essay on 'Hope, temporal and eternal' shews him at his best and (he will forgive me) at his worst. It is not probable that the gifted satirist who calls himself Anatole France has often supplied a motto for a theological treatise. But here he is bracketed for the purpose with the Writer to the Hebrews. We should have been less surprised if Dante's *Lasciate ogni speranza* had been placed over the portal; for the avenues through which the Dean of St Paul's leads us to the light are dark in the extreme. The world is going out, the solar system will follow it, 'billions of years will elapse before life begins again to stir among the imperishable units of matter', we are parasites, barbarians, half-tamed barbarians. It is a picture which another Dean, he of Dublin, would have delighted to paint; and indeed Dr Inge has something of Swift's bitterness and wit. Of course it is all meant to turn us away from temporal things to things eternal, but Dr Inge's scathing and much needed protest against modern materialism would have carried more weight, if he had kept his pen within bounds and refrained from such lapses of dignity as those on pp. 106 and 107.

In Professor A. E. Taylor's Essay, 'The Belief in Immortality', we have the best thought and the best expression of the whole series. Like Dr Inge, he accepts the word of Science that the race is doomed to extinction, but his conclusions are of more immediate comfort. The sentence compels us to the venture of Faith, and the belief that individuals, if not the race, survive. Else Good, the spiritual values which spring from noble human lives and thoughts and actions, would be achieved only to be lost. Again, a man is always greater than his work (Professor Taylor might have quoted Heb. iii 3). No one puts the whole of himself into his work, and if only *that* survives, much good is inevitably lost. Even the extinction of the commonplace man would mean the loss of much that is precious. 'Unless our personality itself is in some way proof against death, there can be no preservation of more than the smallest fraction of the spiritual values of life.' And these must be preserved if the Universe is reasonable. Moreover the Universe, if reasonable, must also be just, and human actions must be valued elsewhere than at the bar of our gullible history. In the course of his essay Professor Taylor sweeps away many superstitions about the attempt to supply empirical evidence for human survival. Professor Kirsopp Lake, in his last book, says we ought to pay attention. Readers of Dr James Ward's Gifford lectures will remember remarks about the conservation of spiritual values

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contribution is worth very careful consideration and in itself warrants the publication of the volume before us.[1]

Mr E. A. Burroughs takes as his theme, 'Faith and Reality.' Reality in its full sense belongs only to spiritual and eternal substances. Faith makes these real to him who exercises it. The spiritual and eternal only exists in relation to a mind which can apprehend, and a will which can act upon the apprehension. Now, what depends for its realization on consciousness and will must proceed from consciousness and will. Deep answers to deep, and only Personality can appeal to Personality. The truly Real indicates itself in proportion as it is truly believed, i.e. it needs Faith, and Faith can pierce beneath the externals in which Reality is wrapt, down to the Reality itself. The externals of the present situation do not amaze Faith. The reality of the world-order, of God, of sin, has not been shaken thereby, but rather confirmed.

The whole essay is impressive and lofty in tone, though it does not make easy reading.

Mr Emmet discusses 'War and the Ethics of the New Testament'. Our Lord recognized war as an evil, but not necessarily as sinful[2]; and He plainly sanctioned the use of force and compulsion. The writer successfully explains by the historical circumstances the comparative silence of the New Testament on the subject of national feeling, but he affirms, in a telling passage, the essential patriotism of our Lord and St Paul. He proceeds to justify war as a punitive or protective measure, and therewith the right of Christians to bear arms, though their duty is to work for the elimination of war in the future. The best means to secure this is through an international court of arbitration. There are obvious advantages in such a tribunal, but no less obvious difficulties, as Mozley pointed out in his famous sermon on war, to which, strangely enough, no reference is made by any writer in this volume.

At this point an examination of the scholastic attitude towards war would have been appropriate. But one cannot complain of what Dr Glazebrook gives us instead, a very thoughtful and original discussion of the question, 'What is a Christian Nation?' The Canon's business is to expose fallacies, and he makes his first point with great

[1] Professor Taylor also contributes a suggestive separate note on the word *omnipotens*, in the course of which he asks, 'Is it *de fide* that Satan is always bad?' The answer is, certainly not. Cf. 'In quantum angelus est, non est malus, sed in quantum peruersus est propria uoluntate' Aug. *de uera relig.* 26; cf. *de ciu. Dei* xix 3, and 'Hinc et diabolus bonus dicitur essentialiter, non tamen iustus est in opere' Remig. Autissiod. *Comment. in Boethium* (see *J. T. S.* vol. xvii, no. 65, p. 29).

[2] The fact that His teaching is largely illustrated by military images must not be pressed. The parables are full of *argumenta ad hominem*.

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effect, convicting Mr Blatchford on the one hand, and Dr Edward Lyttelton on the other, of the fallacy of personification.[1] He argues that the personification of a nation is allowable, provided that for the poetic image you can substitute the prosaic fact of the individuals composing the nation without outraging common sense and human nature. But to say that England, i. e. all Englishmen, must not resist evil, is nonsense and unnatural; for the evil to which resistance is not offered may fall on other heads than that of the individual who declines it.

The second fallacy disclosed is that of excluding patriotism from the Christian scheme. Dr Glazebrook shews that, from the nature of the case, appeals to patriotism were impossible when Christianity was first preached. The Jews were not a nation but a church; there were indeed no nations then, but only provinces of the empire. The same point is made by Mr Emmet, but it is important enough to warrant repetition.

The constructive part of the essay consists in a definition of the Christian's duty in securing order within the state and good relations with other states outside.

Finally, the Dean of Durham estimates the effect of the War upon organized Christianity in general and the Church of England in particular. It may be doubted whether he is right in saying that no sectarian capital can be made out of the present conflict (charges of disloyalty have already been levelled against denominations), or that the clash of class interests will be hushed in the task of social reconstruction, or that 'the name of England will emerge from the world-conflict with fresh titles to human veneration', and that the Church of England will catch reflexions of the new glory. It is doubtless true that war, which makes such strange bedfellows, may succeed in breaking down prejudice, and that the satisfaction of national aspirations may bring about salutary changes in ecclesiastical opinion. We hope it may be so, and that the destiny foretold for us by the Dean, and long ago by Joseph de Maistre, may be fully realized. Meanwhile, nearer and more certain than Dr Henson's dreams is one fact that the book as a whole makes clear. English readers of the last two or three generations have been inclined to draw their theology from German sources. These essays are a useful reminder that in moral theology at least we possess a sound, independent tradition; and they encourage the belief that, if in other departments of religious thought we must learn for a time to stand alone, we need have no qualms about the strength of our foundations.

[1] He might have added Dr Inge, who, on p. 117, puts at least one foot into the trap.

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The Holy Catholic Church: the Communion of Saints. A Study in the Apostles' Creed, by H. B. SWETE, late Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. (Macmillan & Co., 1915.)

THIS little book is, in a sense, Dr Swete's legacy to the University where he laboured with such rich results for a quarter of a century. It is not, we hope and trust, his last gift to the Church which he has faithfully served for fifty-seven years. Fortunate were the students who heard these lectures, and only less fortunate, for the loss of the living voice, are those who will read them; may they be many! Books without number have been written about the Church; but it is difficult to think of one which tells her story and reflects her spirit with greater charm and truth. There are few divines more learned than the late Regius Professor; there is surely none who bears his learning more lightly. His style is lucidity itself[1]; but just as a great painter's economy of line, or a great virtuoso's facility of execution, conceal the long practice that makes perfect, so behind Dr Swete's easy sentences and faultless order lies the labour of a long life and the training of an accomplished dogmatic theologian.

The book falls into two parts. The first treats of the character, work, and functions of the Church; the second, and more distinctly original, part deals with the Communion of Saints. Controversial matter, of which there is no lack, is handled with tenderness and discretion, but with no slackening of principles, and even those who do not agree with the writer's sturdy Anglicanism must allow his perfect loyalty alike to historical evidence and his own convictions. Equally secure against superstition and incredulity, he has read all the newest books, but is not caught by the newest fancy; and if his attitude is conservative, it is not for want of weighing evidence. He has proved all things, and he holds fast that which is good.

As a teacher of those who will have to teach, his erudition is relieved by a real religious fervour and by many practical hints on church organization, on the conduct of public worship, on patience in research, on the proper use of words which tend to become tests.

[1] There are but two words in the whole book that one would wish away. The statement (p. 97) that 'the Middle Age was *obsessed* by questions of dogmatic theology' conveys the impression that the writer undervalues both the period and the study; and no one will believe that. And in such a writer of pure English as Dr Swete one is surprised to find the expression 'a *send off*' (p. 207), even in a footnote and in inverted commas.

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Part II opens many new tracks of thought. He first takes the phrase *sanctorum communio*, unravelling the tangle with great skill,[1] and then passes to its spiritual content as an article in the creed. His theology is no less convincing than his history. The chapters on the Saints in Communion with God and with man are a model of sober piety. His careful words on the question of prayers for the dead will be welcomed by all who naturally desire to commend their beloved to God's mercy, but are uncertain as to the mind of our Church; while his judgement on the uncatholic and un-English practice of direct Invocation are in favourable contrast with recent recommendations to revive it. Dr Swete admits freely that the Saints in Paradise pray for us, but 'the Invocation of departed Saints is a practice based upon this truth, which is neither primitive nor universal, and which has been found to be dangerous. It is earnestly to be hoped that no false sentiment may lead members of the English Church who realize the need of closer communion with the holy dead to fall back upon so precarious a way of attaining it.'

William de Colchester, Abbot of Westminster, by E. H. PEARCE, Canon of Westminster. (*S.P.C.K.*, 1915.)

THE true antiquary is a man in whom knowledge is quickened by imagination, but who controls his imagination by his knowledge. Mr Pearce has long ago established his right to the title, and this little book confirms it. He knows how to read a muniment, interpreting its meaning and the mind of those who wrote and handled it. He makes of it a really human document and a means of knowing how men lived and thought and acted five hundred years ago.

Into these few pages, which are an expansion of a Royal Institution lecture, is packed a world of information on the habits and conduct, secular and religious, of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. We learn, or are reminded, of the medieval origin of many current terms—of Covent Garden, of the Westminster 'greese', of St Stephen's, as applied to Parliament, of 'gaudies', of 'sitting by the bell'. We have a clear picture of an archdeacon's and an abbot's activities at home and in circuit. We can share the discomforts of journeys abroad in those days, for William de Colchester, the subject of the lecture went twice at least to Rome, and was an English representative at the Council of Constance. We can watch and admire the superior's care for the spiritual and temporal welfare of his monks—how he encourages

[1] Dr Swete seems inclined to accept Dom Morin's account of the phrase as being originally a product of the Novatian controversy, though he does not altogether surrender his own earlier suggestion that it was an anti-Donatist watchword.

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them in their prayers and in the proper celebration of divine worship; how scrupulously he keeps the accounts of his house, recording the market value of its gifts in kind; how prudently he buys his convent off from personal service in the field when the king requires the clergy to arm for the defence of the realm.

Touches of pleasant personal character are skilfully drawn out from account-books, deeds, and letters. Nor is political history neglected; but Mr Pearce will not let himself be diverted from his domestic documents. And these throw no light upon the most important passage in the abbot's public life and the vexed question of his loyalty. Indeed, their silence enables the author to suggest that Shakespeare was wrong in calling him 'the grand conspirator'. The part played by Colchester in the plot of December, 1399, remains obscure. But it is clear that the plot was hatched in the Abbey; and that the two chief clerical conspirators, the abbot and the Bishop of Carlisle, got off very cheaply. The rest, excepting Rutland, who turned traitor, were all put to death. These two were pardoned and honoured. Mr Pearce's summary of his hero's relations to the unhappy Richard and the usurper Bolingbroke offer no comment on the fact that he conspired to murder the new king whom he helped to crown the day after he had housed him at Westminster. If Mr Pearce or some other antiquary of equal zeal and competence should some day tell the story of Thomas Merke, Bishop of Carlisle, and afterwards of Samothrace, Colchester's protégé, fellow-conspirator, and eulogist, he may perhaps succeed in elucidating a disquieting incident in the story of a man who ruled the Benedictines of Westminster longer than any other abbot, and ruled them wisely and well.

H. F. STEWART.

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Theism and Humanism: being *The Gifford Lectures* delivered at the University of Glasgow, 1914. By the Rt. Hon. ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR, M.A., F.R.S., LL.D., D.C.L. (Hon. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge). (Hodder & Stoughton, London, New York, and Toronto, 1915.)

THE argument of Mr Balfour's Lectures sets out from the recognition of a class of beliefs to which he gives the name of 'inevitable'. 'An inevitable belief need not be self-evident, nor even, in the last analysis, self-consistent. It is enough that those who deem it in need of proof yet cannot prove it, and those who think it lacks coherence yet cannot harmonize it, believe it all the same' (p. 14). Incapable of proof, yet used in proving, these inevitable beliefs possess the maximum of 'intuitive'—as distinct from calculable—'probability'.

The beliefs of the inevitable kind which are concerned in these Lectures are (1) aesthetic beliefs, which are defined as relating to objects of contemplative interest; (2) moral beliefs, relating to ends of action; (3) the belief in the existence of a real external world, in space and time, in which there reigns, to some extent at least, stability and repetition, such as suggests anticipations and sometimes justifies them.

These beliefs being accepted at their face values, it is enquired What does their acceptance imply, and How are their values to be maintained? The later stages of the developement of these beliefs, it is contended, cannot be regarded as merely naturalistic process without their credit being destroyed, their maintenance being doomed. But if theism be the only alternative to naturalism, 'as from the common-sense standpoint it certainly is' (p. 18), then the inevitable belief implies theistic belief; and belief in God, of some kind, is linked up with the enduring retention of all that seems most assured in knowledge, most beautiful in art or nature, most noble in morality.

The argument thus outlined does not present theism as an inevitable belief, but as essential to our retention of the inevitable beliefs just specified. Nor is it a teleological argument—an argument from adaptation to purpose—but rather an argument *to* contrivance: the value of certain beliefs and associated emotions is lost, if their developement be not the outcome of design.

Before passing to detail, it may be observed that one premiss in this argument obviously cannot be granted: viz. the assumption that if naturalism be false, the only alternative is theism. The naturalism

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described by Mr Balfour is not merely determinism, but materialism; whereas, of course, there are spiritualists, such e.g. as Dr McTaggart, who are far from being theists. Perhaps the pluralist who rejects belief in God will be encountered in a later series of Gifford Lectures by Mr Balfour; but meanwhile his rejection of naturalism will not suffice to establish theism: conservation of values might be secured by atheistic spiritualism.

The first strand of the threefold argument which is constructed in this volume is to the effect that the emotional values associated with, and required by, our beliefs about the beautiful, must have some more congruous source than that which naturalism assigns them in motion of matter. Naturalism is said to account for the existence of only such emotions and judgements as possess survival value; our aesthetic sensibilities are mostly devoid of survival value, so that natural selection cannot explain them: therefore our highest aesthetic interests, at least, must be due to a higher cause, in fact to divine agency. Such is the first step of the argument. But one can imagine that a biologist would urge against the necessity of this theistic conclusion, that the human mind, having attained to a certain degree of complexity in the course of the evolutionary process, may thenceforward, especially when aided by social intercourse, be capable of spontaneous further developement, controlled not by mechanical selection but by its own interests and intrinsic powers: mind being mind and not matter, active and not inert, may, once having reached intelligence and emotional sensibility such as are of survival value, proceed of itself to higher and higher intelligence, to appreciation of higher aesthetic, and of moral, values. This seems to me a reasonable, and indeed a tenable, view; and though it may not be compatible with materialistic naturalism, neither is it necessarily of theistic implication.

The same issue is presented in another aspect when the question is raised as to whether the valuable can be believed to be due to chance, as naturalism requires it to be. Here we are confronted with a particular case of an important general principle to which Mr Balfour commits himself, and which seems to me disputable, and indeed unsound. This principle is that value and validity are conditioned by genesis: that the validity of beliefs is dependent on their causal origin, the value of aesthetic and moral sentiments upon their source and history. Of course, on the materialistic theory there is no psychical causation; and determination of material change according to mechanical laws cannot, except by incredible good luck, produce in the psychical epiphenomena (thoughts and reasonings) a determination according to laws of logical connexion and sequence. This may be a serious consequence for materialism, and should make a sceptic of the

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upholder of that philosophical system. But if there be a mind in us, as distinguished from a series of disconnected mental happenings, a mind which is self-determining, however conditioned by matter, there can then be logical sequence of ideas and recognition of logical implications. All beliefs are caused, though some beliefs must be considered to be true. And as Professor H. Sidgwick observed[1]: 'those who dispute the validity of moral or other intuitions on the ground of their derivation must be required to shew, not merely that they are the effects of causes, but that these causes are of a kind that tend to produce invalid beliefs.' Indeed, how beliefs are caused seems to me quite irrelevant to the question whether they be true or false. True beliefs may even be caused by fallacious inference; but they are none the less true. Even if unthinking matter have produced thinking mind, mind is none the less a thinking thing; and it is the intrinsic qualities of mind, not those of its antecedents, that alone are concerned in the creation and testing of beliefs. Were the conclusions of minds conditioned by the genesis and developement of mind, should we not have to doubt, e.g., all Darwin's reasoning, on the ground that he was once an infant, and indeed a unicellular germ? Curiously enough, Darwin himself entertained such doubt as to man's rational faculties,[2] and T. H. Green, if I may trust my memory, shared it; but for the reasons given above I cannot but regard the doubt as misplaced, and Mr Balfour's contention, that it is destructive of rational values to root them in unreason, as untenable.

I observe that it is only in the case of the highest aesthetic values that Mr Balfour disbelieves that what is attributed to chance can retain its value. He has in mind, I suppose, not the aesthetic value of such pictures as Rembrandt's 'Entrails of an ox' or Chardin's 'Hare', or even the Mona Lisa, much as these excite the enthusiastic admiration of artists; but the aesthetic value of works like the Sistine Madonna or the Last Supper at Milan: works, that is to say, which are of the most impressive and soul-stirring character. Such products of art, he would say, could not be enjoyed to the full if we were not conscious, in enjoying them, of their revealing significance, their expressiveness of an artist's meaning. Similarly, the highest appreciation of natural beauty is said to be dependent upon the spiritualistic setting in which we contemplate it, and upon belief that it is a revelation of spirit to spirit.

This may be so; though aesthetic sentiment has in these cases taken to itself a theological or religious adjunct. And it may be doubted whether the cosmic emotion aroused in the breast of an atheist, when

[1] *The Methods of Ethics*, 5th ed. p. 213.

[2] *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, 1888, vol. i p. 313.

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he looks upon ice-clad mountain peaks in the moonlight, be aesthetically of lower order, though it be of religiously different kind from the emotion of the theist who, in contemplating the same scene, is thrilled with the consciousness of Nature's upholding Strength and Stay. Once more, the aesthetic interest of human history, the extinction of which is threatened by naturalism, is rather religious than aesthetic in the narrower and stricter sense. Aesthetic interest in human history is evidently possible to the author of *The Dynasts* in the highest degree; though from the preface to that poem we gather that Mr Hardy finds it possible to believe in, and be content with believing in, an 'unconscious will', and, as I think Mr G. K. Chesterton has remarked, only invents a quasi-God in order to give Him a piece of his mind.

It is then the religious setting of our higher aesthetic values, not aesthetic values pure and simple, which naturalism threatens to extinguish; the maintenance of our spiritual beliefs and of our religious interest in Nature and man. But until theism be proved, there would seem to be no reason for expecting that our aspirations should be maintained. The naturalist regards man's appearance in the world as an accident, and his stay but a temporary episode. That kind of philosopher is not to be refuted by being told that we cannot retain our higher interests if we adopt his creed, but only by being shown that the universe is so constituted as to guarantee the fulfilment of our aspirations. This having been established, we might perhaps argue to theism; or having otherwise proved theism, we might then infer the fulfilment of our aspirations and the maintenance of our values; though we should have to reckon with atheistic idealism. There is no reasoning, as it seems to me, from value to existence without a major premiss which combines both ideas.[1]

Mr Balfour's argument, however, is not intended to be of this demonstrative nature. His point is that we cannot *retain* our beliefs unless we add the theistic belief to them. It would seem, then, that it is the subjective believing, not the objective truth of what is believed, that he is concerned with. These are of course quite distinct; the one is not involved in the other. The objective truth, or validity, of a belief is unaffected by the fact that no one may hold the belief; conviction that a belief is true is compatible with the belief being false.

This distinction needs especially to be borne in mind when we come to consider the next line of argument developed in these Lectures—the moral argument. For the value of belief as a motive consists not in the belief being true, but in its being believed to be true. And it is

[1] Such, e.g., as that 'the world is a perfectly harmonious whole, with which frustration of human aspiration is incompatible'.

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with the value of belief as motive that Mr Balfour is chiefly concerned. There is no doubt that if the religious background of our moral beliefs be removed, a strong motive to obedience to the higher moral demands is cancelled. Purely moral values, however, would be unaffected. The naturalist, surely, would agree with the theist, that self-sacrifice is nobler than self-indulgence, truthfulness ethically superior to lying; nor should we hesitate to regard 'let us eat and drink' as a despicable rule for the ordering of life, even if we believed firmly that 'to-morrow we die'. Instead of shewing, then, that moral values cannot be maintained, if morals be thought to have a purely naturalistic origin, Mr Balfour only seems to shew that, in such a case, the higher and stronger motives to obedience to the moral law, by which many men are influenced, would no longer be operative.

In Part III of *Theism and Humanism* Mr Balfour again builds on the principle that value and validity are conditioned by genesis. Can our science be valid if our reasoning be ultimately traceable to non-rational causes, is the question which is now propounded. Personally, as I have said before, I should reply in the affirmative, relying on the fact that mind is mind, whatever be the correlation of mind and matter. But in the contention that if the logical connexion of thought be ultimately determined by matter and its motion, the validity of our thought must be the result of incredible good-luck, I thoroughly acquiesce. The correspondence between thought and fact which is, not wholly but nevertheless fundamentally, conditioned otherwise than by our thought, furnishes ground, as it seems to me, for the most general, and also the most secure, form which teleological and theistic argument can take. And not only does this part of Mr Balfour's book seem to contain a more valid ground for theistic belief than the preceding portions; it contains also much more or less incidental matter which is valuable. His scathing criticism of empirical agnosticism, as represented by Mr Leslie Stephen, is as just as it is forcible; his remarks on 'intuitive probability' and on what he calls the principle of 'negligibility', as well as their application, are interesting and fresh; the lecture on uniformity and causation is excellent; his exposure of the non-rational element, the element of caused belief as contrasted with demonstrable knowledge, in science, is destructive of the hard distinction once wont to be drawn between scientific knowledge and religious belief. The author expresses a fear that this concluding portion of his complex argument will meet with less acceptance than the others; but to me it seems the most convincing. Moreover, if it have attained its end, and have shown that if God 'be excluded from the causal series which produces beliefs, the cognitive series which justifies them is corrupted at the root', or, as I would prefer to put the last sentence, 'the cognitive

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series which attempts to justify them must ever fail'; then the ground which seems to want establishing before the arguments of the earlier lectures can gain cogency, is supplied. One can then go further than merely reflect that 'it is only in a theistic setting that beauty can retain its deepest meaning, and love its highest lustre', or bewail that ethical and aesthetic values, isolated from religious conviction, lose for many persons the power to evoke the highest possible sentiments: 'we must hold that reason and the works of reason have their source in God; that from Him they draw their inspiration; and that if they repudiate their origin, by this very act they proclaim their own insufficiency' (p. 274).

The literary style of Mr Balfour's Gifford Lectures is of so high an order of excellence that many of his readers who are also writers will be moved to envy him his remarkable gift of eloquent expression. His humour and good-natured sarcasm, his wealth of illustration, his forcibleness and lucidity in dealing with difficult and technical problems, make his book one of the most pleasantly readable in the library of philosophy. It is true that the sequence of his thought from page to page can often be followed only by careful reading; but this is due partly to the intricacy of his argument in its completeness, and partly to the fact that what turns out to be his meaning is frequently something less obvious than the reader has at first been led to expect. But each separate page is a model of lucidity and simplicity.

In conclusion, a word needs to be said with regard to the publishers' part in the production of this work. The book contains but some 270 pages. It might easily have been produced as a three-and-sixpenny volume. But by use of very thick paper, very large type, very broad and deep margins, and perhaps other devices, it has been made to command the somewhat exclusive price of half a guinea.

If the class of readers to whom books of certain kinds are indispensable are to avoid throwing away seventy per cent. of their outlay on what they neither need nor care for, it would seem that they may be compelled to form themselves into another of the various unions which exist for the purpose of organizing strikes.

God and Freedom in Human Experience. By CHARLES F. D'ARCY, D.D., Bishop of Down. (Edward Arnold, London, 1915.)

THIS volume contains the Donnellan Lectures for the year 1913–1914, delivered by the Bishop of Down before the University of Dublin. It discusses some of the main problems of philosophy of religion from the point of view of an idealism essentially identical with that of Berkeley, and contains suggestions concerning minor questions that are of interest

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to theological students generally. In respect of its Berkeleyan point of view, Dr D'Arcy's religious philosophy resembles Dr Rashdall's; but in their respective expositions of theism these two writers diverge from one another, the former identifying, while the latter distinguishes between, God and the Absolute.

Dr D'Arcy's views upon some of the questions dealt with in the later parts of his book are not necessarily dependent upon the particular form of idealism which he embraces, if indeed upon any form; but the solutions which he offers of problems dealt with in the earlier of his lectures presuppose the security of Berkeleyan metaphysic: of the doctrine, that is to say, that the only existents are the divine mind and human minds, their activities and processes. Upon the demonstrability of this metaphysical tenet (mentalism) the argumentation of the work as a whole hangs so completely that it is regrettable that no notice is taken by the author, in his in some respects admirable first chapter (on Experience) or elsewhere, of the most telling criticism to which this tenet has been subjected.[1] Dr D'Arcy's own defence of mentalism seems to me to be plainly liable to the criticism, which is to the effect that the Berkeleyan has always neglected the distinction between the act or process of apprehension and that which is apprehended in such an act or process. The former entity is admittedly mental, or 'in' the mind—in the strict sense: the latter is not necessarily 'in' the mind, in the sense in which thinking or wishing is; it may be only 'before' the mind, for all that introspection or psychological analysis can tell us, and *may* exist quite independently of being experienced, or of coming into that relation with a mind which we call the cognitional relation. Our terms 'experience', 'sensation', &c., are unfortunately ambiguous; and from their ambiguity the plausibility of the Berkeleyan arguments seems to have been derived. Thus in the work before us (p. 34), 'sensation' is used to denote something 'in' the mind, or entering into the constitution of a conscious process, though it is intended to refer to the *sensum*, not the *sensatio*; and accordingly the objective world is declared to be reducible to subjective elements. This plainly assumes that the *sensatio* and the *sensum* are necessarily one entity, not two. Again, 'experience' is used on p. 1 in its passive, its objective, sense, denoting 'the sum total of all that human beings have apprehended'; from p. 12 onwards, however, it denotes the mental life, i.e. the experiencing,

[1] Prof. Alexander's realism is indeed replied to at some length in chapter iii; but while the questionable forms which this philosopher's particular argument for realism takes are perhaps adequately disposed of, I do not find that the essential point in current criticism of Berkeleyan idealism, to be found at its best in the writings of Dr Moore and Mr Russell, is answered, or indeed appreciated, by the Bishop of Down.

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or apprehending, of that which is apprehended, and becomes a synonym for 'conscious experience' and 'the psychical continuum'. On p. 19 the usage of 'experience' is based on the assumption that what is apprehended is 'in' the mind in the same sense as is the act of apprehension; and the assumption is veiled by application of the equivocal term 'contents' (of the mind) to objects apprehended. Thus the 'unanswerable arguments of Berkeleyan idealism' (p. 34), as they are presented in this book, seem to me to depend on a confusion arising from shortcomings of the English language.

The second chapter treats of 'degrees of reality', a conception which is employed largely in later portions of the book. The connotation of 'reality' is not defined, and the word seems to be a superfluity. For the 'degrees of reality' are degrees of concreteness; and though 'concreteness', again, is not defined, one gathers that the ideal of concreteness is the sum of subject, totality of objects apprehended, and cognitional relation between the two. That these three entities can in any sense be regarded as metaphysically one entity to which concreteness can be ascribed, presupposes, of course, the mentalism already pronounced here to be illogically grounded. If physical objects contain but a core of existence, material or spiritual, independent of the mental functions exercised in our perception of them, this conception of concreteness loses its value; and what Dr D'Arcy calls an abstraction will often prove to be rather a part, equally concrete as the whole to which it belongs. But 'concrete' is applied sometimes otherwise than to the threefold entity—if entity it be—mentioned above—e. g. to life and to a being; and apart from the identification of knowing with being, which is everywhere presupposed in the application of the distinction between 'concrete' and 'abstract', it is not always easy to ascertain the precise meaning of these terms.

In the third chapter the Berkeleyan theory of the external world is expounded. Here again there are several points which seem to call for criticism. I think, e. g., that Dr D'Arcy has an exaggerated estimate of the relevance to mentalistic arguments of the fact of what psychologists call 'inadequate stimulus' (see p. 59); while the assumption that relations only subsist when we think them (p. 62) seems the more audacious when made in these days of neo-realism. But I must not linger over technical details of psychology and theory of knowledge, except to add that whenever the mentalistic presuppositions of the author are not directly in evidence, his treatment of the psychology of experience is lucid and trustworthy.

Passing to the main subject of the third chapter, the External World, we find Dr D'Arcy following Berkeley in attributing the external control which conditions our sense-perception solely and directly to God.

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Rejecting Berkeley's conception of the human mind 'as a kind of screen upon which a divine operator throws a succession of images', he inclines rather to the theory of Malebranche. But he does not explain how, without Berkeley's conception, we finite souls can see all things 'in God'. One is not helped, further, to understand how the Berkeleyan can talk, except in a thoroughly Pickwickian sense, of the past evolution of our universe and its gradual preparation to be the suitable theatre of man's social and moral life, since the world before human beings appeared is conceived by him as having had no other existence than as ideas or thought-processes in the divine mind; nor, yet again, is it made clear how organisms lower than man can be supposed by the mentalist to exist 'for themselves', as Dr D'Arcy seems to allow that they do, without admitting the thin end of the pluralistic wedge, and in some measure abandoning mentalism for spiritualism or dualism.

The difficulties of Berkeleyan idealism increase when it is pressed to give an account of the relation of man to God, especially when God is conceived as absolute. The author of these lectures holds that the world is the same for all percipients—which indeed it is not, in so far as their immediate concrete experience is concerned—and interprets this to imply that 'the Universal Spirit which gives being to this great world of things in time and space is, in some way, or in some sense, for us an all-embracing life, a supreme, all-inclusive experience in whom all we lesser beings live and move and have our experience' (p. 98). Inasmuch as God's ideas are the archetypes of ours, and the world we know is part of His world, we who know it must in some sense share His life (p. 97). This implies Absolutism; and as against Dr Rashdall and others the Bishop of Down contends for the compatibility of absoluteness with personality. But since personality, as we know it, cannot 'include within its experience a multitude of persons as they are for themselves' (p. 104), the ultimate reality, it is argued, must be characterized by some higher principle than that of personality: God is super-personal.

To theism of the absolute type the chief obstacle is presented by human freedom and the existence of evil; and these difficulties are courageously faced in chapters v–ix. The discussion of freedom as against forms of determinism in chapter v is excellent, and Dr D'Arcy writes much that is of great value on this 'well-worn theme'. The relation of human freedom to absolute theism is treated in the subsequent chapter on 'Evil'; and here once more the theological shortcomings of Berkeleyism, as well as those of Absolutism, seem to me to be revealed. Where definiteness and precision of terms is urgently called for, resort is made to figurative and vague language, the exact meaning of which I have been unable with certainty to extract. I do

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not know what is meant, e.g., when it is stated that in the Highest Reality 'the contradictions which belong to the relationships of finite spirits disappear' (p. 189); but one is moved to suspect Spinozism. If evil be evil only at our level of experience and reality, we cannot forget that is our level of experience which is concerned in the problem of theodicy. If evil be illusion, the illusion—for us—is evil; with evil as viewed *sub specie aeternitatis* theodicy is not primarily concerned. This is not the particular problem, indeed, with which Dr D'Arcy is confronted in the context from which the words just cited are taken; his question there rather is whether we are justified in believing that evil, real as it is for us, will finally be overcome. But the supposition that in the experience of the Absolute the oppositions of finite experiences vanish, or that evil 'is revealed as an element which must, for the Highest Reality, be altogether subordinate', even if we grant its truth, seems irrelevant to that question. For in this sense our evil *has* vanished; rather, it has never existed: it is eternally unreal to God. Of the actual problem of theodicy, the compatibility with the divine goodness of evil which is real to us, we could hardly expect a solution from a theism which regards God as the all-inclusive Absolute, or from a metaphysic which regards all existents save human minds as having being only in the mind of God; and we are not surprised to find Dr D'Arcy concluding that no theodicy can be found. The outcome of his discussion seems to be that Butler's agnostic attitude to this question is proper; only he would redeem this attitude from apparent arbitrariness by finding a logical justification of it through the application of his own conception of degrees of reality, or levels of concreteness of experience.

Of the remaining chapters of this volume the most interesting perhaps is that entitled 'Mysticism'. As the author points out, this word has sometimes been interpreted so widely as to include the whole connotation of 'religion', while on the other hand it has been restricted to reference to the 'divine spark' or 'inner light'. Dr D'Arcy assigns to the mystical element its due place in religious apprehension as a whole; he assigns to the 'subconscious', apparently, no place at all; and he emphasizes the importance, for the attainment of knowledge of God, of sympathy, of moral decision based on moral convictions, and of faith akin to imaginative reason. Figurative and vague language, difficult to interpret, reappears in this chapter; but there are also many valuable truths clearly and finely expressed. This last remark indeed applies to the book as a whole, which is one from which theological students in general may derive suggestion and stimulus. I have dwelt little on its excellences, and not at all on the many minor issues on which I am at one with its author, in order the better to attempt such service as conceivably a reviewer may render.

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Belief and Practice. By WILL SPENS, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. (Longmans, Green, & Co., 1915.)

MR SPENS'S theological position is that of traditional Christianity rather than that of advanced liberal theology or of modernism; but he contends for a view as to the nature and authority of theological dogma which is far removed from t e traditional. Considerably the larger portion of his book is concerned with particular doctrines. One of its sections is devoted to the discussion of the doctrine of the Incarnation and the attitude of liberal theology and modernism towards it; another, to 'two illustrative controversies', viz. those concerning questions as to the communion of the saints and the Eucharist; the last treats of the Institutional Church. Perhaps these sections will be the most interesting to some readers; but the first, which is entitled 'The place of Theology', will generally be regarded as the most important, partly on account of the fundamental nature of the main subject with which it deals, and partly because in it is to be found the author's chief contribution to theological thought. It is with the first five of Mr Spens's lectures, which constitute this basal portion of his work, that the present review will be exclusively concerned.

In these opening lectures Mr Spens developes a view as to authority in theology which, in germ, has been presented by other recent writers. He maintains that dogma possesses authority in so far as it successfully relates and accounts for wide and diverse religious experience in terms of conceptions to which it is guided by reliance on 'instinct' educated in the sphere of religious experience, justifying by this success the fundamental assumptions on which theology rests; and when, further, it 'mediates' such experience. Authority of this 'rational' kind is contrasted with charismatic or oracular authority. Thus the authority of dogma is not that of the infallible proposition, infallibly interpreted; it is the value of dogma for relating and mediating religious experience, and it must therefore be based on wide voluntary consensus, not on enforced unity of belief.

This conception of authority not only differs from that which is characteristic of traditional Christianity and, more especially, from that current in the Church of Rome; it differs also, though called 'rational', from the idea of logical validity—the validity which we ascribe to a conclusion deduced from *a priori*, self-evident, or demonstrated propositions; and it differs yet again from the authority of the scientific generalization or law. But Mr Spens contends that the authority and the rôle of dogma are essentially analogous to those of scientific theory.

There is more than one type of theory or hypothesis in use in the natural sciences. In some theories the hypothetical elements, the

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element interpolated by the mind for the explanation of the data, is homogeneous with the observed data themselves, as in the case of the theory of the descent of man; in others these interpolated elements are not objects of possible experience and may be purely conceptual, as in the case of the electronic theory of matter. It seems to be the latter type of theory that Mr Spens has in mind; and to establish a relation between theological dogma and this kind of scientific theory, such that the authority of the one may be the paradigm of the authority of the other, may be said to be the primary purpose of the first section of this book. If this purpose be achieved, and the consequences and developements indicated by Mr Spens be also established, he will be considered, by many theologians at least, to have rendered both important and timely service to theological reconstruction, need of which is just now so keenly felt.

It is of the essence of the author's view that the data of theology are to be sought, not in dogmatic propositions, but in religious experience. Inasmuch as traditional theology regards its fundamental dogmatic propositions to be, or to be inferences from, formulations of apostolic experience, there will be no divergence in principle from traditional theology so long as this 'classical and normative' experience of the first Christian age is assigned a position of paramount and unique importance as the basis of dogma. Mr Spens expressly emphasizes the importance of this past experience for Christian doctrine; but in the argument of his opening lectures it assumes an almost negligible place; and 'religious experience' seems generally to include only such forms of experience as past generations and we ourselves have shared in common. When, however, we apply one and the same word to the experience of the eye-witnesses and hearers of our Lord and to the experience of all subsequent generations of Christians, we must be careful to remember that the really important and unique part of the apostles' experience was wholly different from any experience accessible to us. It is because they were able to speak of what they had heard and seen and handled, and for that reason alone, that their experience constitutes a basis for doctrine which our experience can never supply. Sense-perception (unless in visions) never enters into our religious experience; and the religious elements in our religious experience are only there at all, it seems to me, because we have accepted theological beliefs ultimately derived from the sense-experience and interpretative thought of the first Christian age. Thus if we desire to base our theology on experience, there are still two essentially different kinds of data from which to proceed: not one only, though we may include both kinds of data under the one term 'experience'. Apostolic experience can only be known to us through tradition, and such know-

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ledge is liable to criticism of various kinds; hence there has been a growing tendency to seek the grounds of Christian belief in the religious experience of Christians generally; and this tendency finds a new and original expression in the portion of Mr Spens's work which is here to be reviewed.

What precisely the phrase 'religious experience' is intended to denote, we are not fully or clearly told. But it seems to me that, in the case of a Christian, religious experience—whether emotional, volitional, moral, or cognitive—must be experience the characteristically religious quality of which is bestowed upon it, proximately, by the subject's prior possession of theological beliefs—beliefs which condition or mediate the experience; and that in the absence of such beliefs, though there could be moral and aesthetic, there could not be distinctly religious, i.e. Christian, experience.

Now Mr Spens often speaks of religious experience as if it were not conditioned, as to its existence, by the antecedent possession of theological convictions; and it seems to me that this supposition is necessary to his argument. Catholic doctrine is stated to be a reliable guide to religious experience; doctrines are said (p. 59) to be evolved in relation to a field of religious experience—as if they were the outcome of religious experience, and not religious experience the outcome of belief in the doctrines; 'the authoritative element in Christian doctrine is precisely the value of these conceptions [of an Incarnation and an Atonement] for religious experience' (pp. 87–88); the conceptions just named are said to be those which Christians 'have found to be most closely related to their religious experience' (p. 86); and it is remarked (p. 97) that the doctrine of the Incarnation covers 'an important range of experience'. There could be no point in saying that a certain doctrine covered, or was related to, a range of religious experience, if that range of experience owed its very existence to belief in the doctrine; and as it seems to me that such statements would in that case be valueless for the argument which Mr Spens is elaborating, I am inclined to conjecture that, in such passages as those to which I just now referred, he has lost sight of the fact, which he elsewhere asserts, that the experience is conditioned by the belief. In any case he writes, in the passages just instanced, as if he held that particular religious experiences existed independently of personal conviction as to the truth of the particular dogmas related to them, and that dogmatic conceptions gained their authority by successfully co-ordinating and accounting for the experiences: just as scientific hypotheses gain credence and authority because the element in them which is not datum, but supposition, enables us to relate and account for the data to which the hypotheses are applied.

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There are, however, as I have already implied, other passages in the book which show that the opposite view as to the relations between belief and 'experience' is entertained.[1] Thus, after questioning the power of the modernist theory to explain the whole type of experience which is associated with the doctrines of Atonement and Redemption (p. 97), he adds: 'This experience appears to be very directly dependent on the conception of an Incarnation in the person of Jesus. . . .' Further, he regards the authority of dogma as partly consisting in its power to mediate, i. e. cause, religious experience. It would appear then that Mr Spens considers that the analogy between the authority of dogma and the authority of scientific theory is not vitiated by the fact that belief in dogma at the same time mediates, and also relates or explains, religious experiences. I do not think, however, that we can thus 'have it both ways'. On the contrary, the fact that belief in a doctrine evokes the experiences which that doctrine expresses or relates, appears to me to destroy the validity of the contention that dogma resembles scientific theory and gains authority by successfully relating or accounting for religious experiences. Of course, it must account for them if belief in it cause them. But a scientific theory is regarded as valid just because the sense-data which it relates and explains are not caused by belief in it, or by belief of any kind. Therefore if a person's religious experience be dependent on his believing a dogma, as I have maintained, Mr Spens's argument seems to lose its force; if the experience be supposed to be independent of the belief, as seems to be required by the argument, I find myself unable to accept the premiss.

If the former of the foregoing alternatives be adopted, there becomes obvious at once a very important difference between the data of theology and those of science. Scientific theory, however far it advance beyond observed fact, always sets out from sense-perceptions, and proceeds under constraint imposed from without the theorist's mind. In these perceptions we must believe, even if we hold that there is no colour without sight, and so on, that there is cognition of an element which is in no way dependent for its existence upon the activities of our minds, their expectations and beliefs, but which by its willy-nilly character immediately, or at least inevitably, evinces external existence

[1] Perhaps while I have been using 'belief' in the sense of 'mental state of convincedness', Mr Spens has rather in view the passive meaning—'what is believed'. In this case the *proposition* believed in would relate or co-ordinate the experiences, while the cause of them would be not the proposition, but the *actuality* (such as God, or divine grace) as to which the proposition makes some assertion. I will deal presently with the possibility of transition from subjective believing to the objective validity of the proposition believed, and so endeavour to make good the loss of relevancy that the above criticism may seem hitherto to have incurred.

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r control of some kind or other. On the other hand, religious experience seems to be conditioned, both as to its existence and as to its qualitative character, by antecedent belief in a doctrine which may or may not be valid; and the external reality—God or the spiritual world—which is asserted when we speak, e. g., of the experience of communion with God or of answered prayer, is not known immediately or inevitably: it is matter of inference from no datum immediately evoking recognition of control exerted externally, or non-mentally. Mr. Spens recognizes this important difference, and observes (p. 34) that it has been the basis of the charge that religious experience is merely the outcome of self-suggestion, or expectation. This charge, in my opinion, he effectually refutes. He also dismisses the materialistic explanation of religious experience. But there is another alternative to be disposed of before we can assert with security the 'objective' determination of religious experience. It may be alleged that belief in the subjective sense, i. e., the convincedness of the believer as to the truth of the belief which he cherishes, is the essential and the sufficient cause of the religious experiences which that dogmatic belief explains; and it certainly may be affirmed that in some cases this is so. This alternative may have been before the mind of Mr Spens when, arguing against the self-suggestion theory, he observes that if belief [i. e. believing] alone were the cause of religious experience, the character of the belief [that which is believed] would be immaterial: whereas we know it is not; for only certain beliefs or conceptions widely correlate and successfully account for religious experience, and so survive. But if this observation be intended as a refutation of the alleged explanation now before us, I doubt if it be relevant. There can of course be no believing without something in particular being believed. But the point is whether the believing of a particular doctrine, which in itself may be true or false, is also the cause of particular experiences; not whether some doctrines or conceptions are more generally cherished than others, because the experiences which they explain (and evoke?) are more common or more important. Widespread and persistent beliefs, indeed, may be invalid, or have no 'objective' reference.

Thus it does not seem to me to be proved, in the opening lectures of this work, that the belief underlying religious experience necessarily 'has a special relation to reality', so long as 'experience' denotes such experience as we now have, as distinguished from that, previously alluded to, available only in the apostolic age. And indeed the validity of religious experience[1] is ultimately assigned by Mr Spens

[1] This phrase, perhaps taken over from Mr Rawlinson's *Foundations*, [illegible] me unhappy and dangerous. The only kind of experience to which the [illegible] be applied is the cognitive; and it would prevent possible confusion if we [illegible] spoke only of the validity or the value in [illegible] religious experience.

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the position of a fundamental, if not the fundamental, *assumption* of theology.

This postulate, then, needs such justification as a postulate can hope for. How is its justification to be obtained from experience? Again Mr Spens resorts to the analogy which he draws between theology and science. Science certainly has its postulates or indemonstrable assumptions. These are adopted because they are inevitable, and are justified by their results. The fundamental postulates of theology are not inevitable, it is admitted; and as for justification by results, it would seem that the same two fundamental differences between the data and theories of science and the data and dogmas of experience-theology, which have already been indicated, preclude relevant analogy. However wide and diverse be the experience which theological doctrines successfully co-ordinate, it must be remembered that whereas extra-mental control, which common sense and science interpret as an external world, is given with the data of science along with the qualities of the sense-data themselves, in the case of religious experience it is not so given; it has to be postulated. Hence postulation begins a stage further back than in science. The postulate of uniformity can be checked by appeal to sense; and if Nature did not shew herself to be in some degree uniform, there could be no continuance of our postulation. The postulate of the validity of our fundamental religious beliefs, on the other hand, cannot thus be checked or confirmed; there is no exit from our subjectivity, so long as we look to religious experience alone for the grounds of our postulate. In the second place, belief in scientific theory does not condition or evoke, in their entirety, the experiences which the theory has been devised to explain and predict; whereas in the case of religious experience, for all that itself tells us, belief of doctrine first evokes the experiences, and then the doctrine believed is invoked to co-ordinate and express them. As the fundamental postulate of science (the principle of uniformity) is essential to the existence of particular theories, and theories are essential to knowledge of external reality, it may reasonably be argued that uniformity is probably an inherent characteristic of external reality—of some parts or some aspects of it; but the postulate that the fundamental belief underlying religious experience—the belief that our experience is due to the existence of God and his active relations with us—is valid, though it may co-ordinate particular doctrines, which in turn co-ordinate manifold experiences, is not necessitated in the last resort by anything over the existence of which we know that we have no control, and which for that reason is called extra-mental, or real. For these reasons I am unable to see that the analogy between the fundamental postulates, as that between the theories and the dogmas, of science and experience-theology

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respectively, really holds. If only we could establish the 'objective determination' which experience-theology requires to postulate for religious experience mediated by dogmatic belief, but which science does not need to postulate (though requiring to postulate about it), the interesting analogies which Mr Spens suggests would appear to be sound, important, and fruitful.

I have not found it easy to extricate, from so much with which I agree, the precise issues as to which my judgement is opposed to what I take Mr Spens's to be; and if I have failed faithfully to reproduce his real views on important questions, which I fear is not impossible, I would make sincere apology. I shrink the more from the possibility of unconscious misrepresentation or unsympathetic criticism because fairness is so conspicuous a feature of Mr Spens's thinking and writing.

F. R. TENNANT.

Dogma, Fact and Experience. By A. E. J. RAWLINSON. (Macmillans, 1915.)

Two reprinted articles, an essay which was to have been included in a once-contemplated enlarged edition of *Foundations*, two added papers on 'topics of immediate theological or ecclesiastical importance' —such are the somewhat varied contents of a little book which, if it scarcely fulfils the promise of its title, will doubtless be welcomed and assuredly be read with interest. Mr Rawlinson knows what he wants to say, and he has it in his power to say it well; a happy admixture of caution and reserve, of fearlessness and independence is, so it seems to me, a characteristic feature of his pages; as might be expected, no last words are met with, but there is much which, to say the least, is both valuable and suggestive. An illustration (p. 27) gives me momentary pause; I further look askance at 'a mediating view which should combine the doctrine, upon the one hand, of *a miraculous annihilation of our Lord's body in so far forth as it was a body of flesh and blood* (the italics are Mr Rawlinson's) with the assertion, upon the other, of such a series of self-manifestations of the risen Lord to the disciples as Canon Streeter and those who think with him affirm' (p. 108); I would then say that, taken as a whole, the book is quite good and deserves to reach a wide circle. The circumstances being what they are, the author has done well to add considered thoughts on the *quaestio vexata* of 'Clerical Veracity', and, if his paper is occasionally reminiscent of pleas raised but lately in other quarters, there is real gain in his advancing and urging such very reasonable and pointed suggestions as those with which he ends his book.

H. LATIMER JACKSON.

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The Teaching of Christ: an attempt to appreciate the main lineaments of the teaching of Christ in their historical proportion (The Layman's Library). By the Rev. EDWARD GORDON SELWYN, M.A. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1915).

MR E. G. SELWYN'S book is a very attractive attempt to recognize the primary significance of eschatology for the interpretation of the teaching of Christ and yet to avoid the *impasse* in which he thinks Father Tyrrell's statement of the case resulted. This is an altogether praiseworthy aim, and Mr Selwyn pursues it with so much learning and insight and with so obviously sincere a desire to use the evidence of the Gospels fairly, that I cannot doubt that he will have the reward of helping many readers in the quest of 'the truth about our Lord' to which he invites them. He shews us in his book the Catholic temperament and reverence happily blended with the recognition of novel points of view and the power of giving them pleasing expression. As a fellow-student of the same problems for at least as many years as Mr Selwyn says they have engaged his attention, I would not only offer him congratulations but also call attention to some questions which his book suggests. With him I am content to leave the specifically 'liberal Protestant' conception of the facts to its fate in the hands of its champions: our common object is an *eirenicon* between the Catholic and the eschatologist positions. Some of Mr Selwyn's sayings furnish me with texts for criticism, because as they stand they seem to indicate a point of view from which the desired reconciliation can never be attained; but I would prefer to regard them as *obiter dicta* which reveal a temperament rather than a thought-out intellectual position with regard to the actual facts as to our Lord's consciousness in His life on earth and the course of the historical developement of the Church in the world.

On the first point Mr Selwyn formally renounces, for the purpose of his investigation, the evidence of the Fourth Gospel. But he adds that 'it never ceases to affect the reckoning'. And as a matter of fact he is not true to his formal renunciation. Again and again he lets the Johannine conception control his presentation of the Synoptic evidence and his interpretation of our Lord's mind and intention in act and saying recorded by the Synoptists. I must content myself with one example.

Mr Selwyn writes 'When, for instance, [Jesus] says that "whosoever receiveth me, receiveth not me, but him that sent me", He must surely imply that God is immanent in Him in the Johannine sense'. On the contrary, no more is 'surely' implied in the saying than the consciousness of the Prophet, the spokesman, the representative, who must be

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'received' because of the Potentate on whose mission he has come and in whose Name he speaks. The idea that 'God was immanent in Him' belongs to an entirely different plane of thought from that on which the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels lived. Strictly speaking I do not think it is really 'Johannine': but in any case the eschatologist will remain irreconcileably opposed to Mr Selwyn's inference from such a saying as regards our Lord's own consciousness at the moment, while he may be quite ready to accept the full Catholic doctrine as the statement of his own belief about the personality and real significance of our Lord. I would heartily endorse Mr Selwyn's conviction that 'we shall never know the truth about our Lord until we have learned to give to St John's Gospel its proper worth as an historical document'. But the phrase 'the truth about our Lord' is ambiguous. Mr Selwyn believes, as I do, in 'the importance of Time', and his temperament is Catholic. It is not un-Catholic to recognize at least three stages in what we may call the Life of our Lord in the past, the first before He became incarnate, the second from the moment of His conception to the time of His ascension, and the third since the Ascension to the present day. It is not un-Catholic to believe that, while during these three stages He has been continuously active in the world, yet the modes of His consciousness and of His activity have been different. The whole 'truth about our Lord' would include knowledge of the modes of His life and consciousness during all these stages. To treat, not indeed all, but a large part of the Fourth Gospel as helping us to this knowledge as regards the first and the third stages rather than as regards the second: as shewing us, that is to say, what He is in His essential relations to God and the World and to a beloved disciple of all times rather than what He seemed to Himself and to others to be during His life in the world at a particular time as man among men:— this, I would submit, is a way of regarding the evidence of the Fourth Gospel which offends against no Catholic conviction and yet opens out a path to the goal which Mr Selwyn has in view. And if we follow this path we shall not be able to speak of our Lord as having '*resolved* to die' (p. 155), or to say that 'He probably *vouchsafed* to [His miracles] an indirect bearing upon [His own Messiahship]' (not, in any case, a very happy phrase); or, indeed, to think of the consciousness of the Incarnate Person under any of the 'Johannine' categories as commonly understood. We shall recognize the stage of the life on earth as one in which He really lived as Man, and in our interpretation of acts and sayings recorded by the Synoptists we shall not find it necessary to attribute to Him in that stage of His life the kind of consciousness the Church has inferred from the Johannine 'history'.

We shall interpret them all, as historical happenings in time, in

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relation to all that we know of their historical environment, not in the sense which now seems 'natural' to us—natural, that is, for those of us who are prejudiced in favour of orthodox formulae—but in the sense which as far as we can ascertain would have been 'natural' at the time. The 'eschatologist' is concerned, like every 'critical' student of the Gospels, with the actual facts of the moment; and with regard to these the Epistle to the Hebrews supplements the Synoptic Gospels better than any other book of the New Testament. He is not precluded from taking full account of later experience, our Lord's as well as that of His disciples, down to the present day, in his statement of the whole 'truth about our Lord'; and for this purpose the Fourth Gospel is invaluable. I think that Mr Selwyn could reach his goal along these lines.

Again, with regard to the historical developement of the Church and its institutions in the world, Mr Selwyn seems to me not to have found firm footing. When, indeed, with reference to the Eucharist, he lets himself write that, if our Lord did not at the Last Supper give the verbal command to repeat it, the practice of the primitive Church is sufficient evidence of His intention (p. 118), I might attribute the sentence to a *lapsus styli*, were it not that the same idea seems to control Mr Selwyn's 'appreciation' of other institutions. Yet he can hardly have meant to enunciate a principle which would make havoc of all historical investigation. For my own part I have no doubt that the practice of the Church as regards the Lord's Supper rests on at least as good 'authority' as its practice in the matter of Baptism. But why must we attribute a definite 'intention' of this kind to our Lord at the time of the Last Supper, when there is so much reason to suppose that His intention at the moment had a quite other direction? One of Schweitzer's most brilliant and at the same time sanest epigrams was to the effect that Jesus 'instituted' no sacraments but 'created' them. He meant, I suppose, much more than that He produced the conditions in which sacraments could come into being. And our defence of the Church and its institutions, our whole ecclesiastical aetiology, need not be forced and strained, as it has been, to rest on unproveable 'intentions' or 'institutions' of our Lord in His life on earth. We can take our stand securely on the fact that His Personality was such that, working on the materials which were to hand, it fashioned them into fresh forms adapted to the new experiences of His disciples and the new consciousness which He and those experiences produced. For the origin of the practice of the primitive Church in this and other matters we need claim no more specific intention of our Lord than for all the later developements of the practice of the Church in this and other matters ever since. Here again Mr Selwyn's recognition of 'the importance of

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Time', which implies the importance of the march of events, gives him the principle he needs to apply more thoroughly to his historical study of the origins and developement of Christianity, if he is to succeed in the task of the εἰρηνοποιός for which he has high qualifications.

Christ and the Church: a restatement of belief, by ARTHUR W. ROBINSON, D.D. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1915).

THE later chapters of this little book, on 'the neglected ideal' and 'corporate living', rich as they are in quotations from writings of Dr Westcott and others, and pointing to most useful lines of activity for churchmen at the moment, are sure of welcome. And as a whole the book will no doubt be found edifying by those who have learnt to look to its author for guidance. His references to the work which criticism of the Gospels has done will have a tranquillizing effect on readers who cannot themselves be students of the writings of the 'critics'.

Yet if they accept Dr Robinson's estimate of the real amount of change in the traditional reading of the facts of our Lord's life in the world that the 'results' of 'criticism' entail, they will, in my judgement, be seriously misled. No doubt the 'critics' must withdraw from some positions which they have taken up, but the 'traditionalists' still occupy many more that are untenable and must be evacuated before peace can be restored. Dr Robinson calls his book 'a restatement of belief'. What the results of criticism require is a restatement of the bases of belief, and of that Dr Robinson gives us nothing. His illustration of the collection of old pictures that have been rehung is strangely inadequate as a description of what has really happened, even according to his own account of it; and his suggestion that (following the method of the Prayer Book) we can only rightly approach our study of the Gospels *via* the Epistles takes us back to the second century and Tertullian's famous claim. It is the method which the Church has followed all the ages since, though it has added to the Epistles the Athanasian Creed. For some purposes no doubt it is an excellent method, but surely it is too late in the day to recommend it to students of the origins and developements of a historical religion.

J. F. B-B.

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THE PSALTER AND MARTYROLOGY OF RICEMARCH.

The Psalter and Martyrology of Ricemarch (1914), edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society by Dr H. J. Lawlor, reproduces, in seventy-eight collotype plates, the Hieronymian Martyrology and nine tables relating to Kalendar (pl. ii–lviii), selected pages of St Jerome's Latin Psalter *secundum Hebraicam veritatem* (pl. lix–lxxv), and the verses of Ricemarch on the Psalter (pl. lxxvi), all contained in the Trinity Coll. Dublin MS A 4. 20; and parts of two pages of the C. C. C. C. copy of St Augustine *De Trinitate* (pl. lxxiii sq.), a product of the same school. The Trin. Coll. MS has been noticed and partially reproduced more than once before; and most notably it was described by Henry Bradshaw in his *Collected Papers*; P. Delehaye printed the text of the Martyrology in *Analecta Bollandiana* xxxii (November 1913) while the present volumes were in the press; and Dr Lindsay treated of the palaeography of the MS in *Early Welsh Script* (1912). The plates occupy vol. ii: vol. i contains Dr Lawlor's Introduction; a reprint of the Martyrology and of the verses; a collation of the Psalter with Vallarsi's text, with reference also to Lagarde's text, and to other Latin Psalters; notes on the Martyrology, chiefly in the way of collation with the texts of the principal MSS, on the nine tables, and on the verses of Ricemarch; and lastly, an appendix containing 'The Lament of Ricemarch', ninety pathetic verses bewailing the 'frightfulness' of the Norman conquerors of south-west Wales in 1094, from the Brit. Mus. MS Cotton, Faustina C. 1. The Dublin and Cambridge MSS are products of the 'School of St Davids'. Sulien the Wise was born in Cardiganshire *c.* 1014, and went to Ireland *c.* 1058 to perfect his studies in the Irish schools, which, reviving with the slackening of the Danish invasions, had, just at this period, reached the zenith of their renewed life and of their new organization. Thirteen years later he returned to Wales and founded a school, probably at Llanbadarn Fawr; but, Sulien having become bishop of St Davids in 1072, it is commonly called the 'School of St Davids'. Sulien's principal disciples were his four sons, of whom Ricemarch was one; and according to the chronicler, 'after Ricemarch instruction for scholars ceased at Menevia', apparently as a result of the Norman conquest. The studies and aptitudes of the school included patristic literature, hagiology, the writing of Latin verses, and calligraphy and illumination. All these are illustrated by the

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Dublin MS, which was written for Ricemarch by one Ithael, while John, Ricemarch's brother, added the illuminated capitals, and apparently Ricemarch himself wrote his curious verses on David and the Psalter. This is, put shortly, the story told by Dr Lawlor in the Introduction, where he has also some interesting pages on the Irish scholars and schools from the seventh century to the eleventh, and points out the signs of Irish influence on the school of St Davids both in the Martyrology and in Ricemarch's *Life of St David* (perhaps the first biography of David to be written, and certainly the source of all the later lives). In the Introduction Dr Lawlor also describes the MS and discusses its date and history: it was written approximately in 1079; and in the seventeenth century it belonged to William Bedell, Provost of Trinity Coll. and later Bishop of Kilmore, who bequeathed it to James Ussher, among whose books it passed to Trinity College in about 1665. I do not know anything about the criticism of the Hieronymian Martyrology and can therefore form no judgement of Dr Lawlor's discussion of Ricemarch's text; but he seems to succeed in shewing by means of Ricemarch that the Epternach text, for the superiority of the text of which Mgr Duchesne contends in his edition of the Martyrology (*Acta SS.* Nov. ii), is composite and not of equal authority throughout; and consequently that Mgr Duchesne's argument needs revision. As to the Psalter, Dr Lawlor points out that it supports Lagarde's text as against Vallarsi's, and is closely related to Lagarde's Reichenau and Bamberg MSS, both of the tenth century. I wonder why Dr Lawlor did not print the whole of the introduction to the Psalter, instead of only the selection on pp. xviii sq. With reference to the final note on p. 120, is not the allusion, in the last line of Ricemarch's verses, to Ex. xxvi 1; and the meaning of the last two lines, 'may Ithael (*ille*), the scribe, have his name inscribed on the gems of the High-priest's breastplate; and the cherubim depicted on the curtains of the shrine take John (*hunc*), the painter, under the shelter of their wings', *hirubin* being in the genitive?

F. E. BRIGHTMAN.

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RECENT ASSYRIOLOGY.

Babylonian Letters of the Hammurapi Period. A. UNGNAD. (Vol. vii of the University Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University of Pennsylvania. University Museum, Philadelphia, 1915.)

THE indefatigable Ungnad has once more presented us with a first-rate monograph, containing 133 texts from the Museum of the Pennsylvania University in Philadelphia. Exquisitely copied with faultless accuracy, they are a pleasure to read. The plan of the series allows of only a few texts being transliterated and translated, but these are of interest and most competently handled. Only twenty-nine of the letters belong to excavations of the University at Nippur, contemporary with the contracts just published by Dr Chiera. The letters purchased came from Sippar and belong with the contracts already published by Ranke and Poebel.

The letters, like those of later times, are very difficult to understand; largely because they are for the most part without any clue to the circumstances of the writer and recipient, and we are ignorant of their relations. Some indeed are simple enough, but usually the letter naturally deals with some business within the knowledge of the correspondents alone and implies much that we cannot even guess. They can often be dated with fair accuracy by the style of writing, but towards the end of the first dynasty period this is a very uncertain characteristic. Fortunately one or two name the king and a few are actually dated.

Beside the incidental light thrown upon manners and customs, the language is full of interest for grammar and philology. This will be fully available, as Dr Ungnad will shortly give us complete transcriptions and renderings in his *Babylonische Briefe*, the first part of which has already appeared in the *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1914).

A new inscription of Hammurapi's follows the letters. It relates to the building of the walls of Sippar in the earlier part of the reign, twenty-third to twenty-fifth year, and was probably found at Sippar. A useful index of proper names of persons, places, gods, is followed by a list of the tablets, shewing their class-marks.

Sumerian Epic of Paradise, The Flood and the Fall of Man. S. LANGDON. (Vol. x no. 1 of the University Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University of Pennsylvania. University Museum, Philadelphia, 1915.)

IN the June number of the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical

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Archaeology, 1913, Dr Langdon published a fragment of a tablet among those found by the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. The account then given of it, as might have been expected from its fragmentary condition, has not been entirely corroborated by the remains which have since been found and joined to it. The whole now forms a very large tablet, almost complete, which well deserves the first edition and discussion now devoted to it in this important volume.

The surprise lies in the discovery of a Sumerian version of the Fall and the Flood. It has been called an Epic and is part of a hymn of praise. According to this very ancient view of the earlier history of the world, the gods ruled over men in a Golden Age in an earthly Paradise. Its situation, not entirely inconsistent with that of the Garden of Eden, lay in Dilmun, an island or peninsula far down the Persian Gulf. What led the gods to determine upon the destruction of man does not appear, but the gods decided to destroy him by a Deluge. This lasted nine months, but the mother-goddess contrived to save the king and certain pious men, in a boat. After the flood the hero of the Deluge was deified. He resumed his earthly life as a gardener, and was instructed by the gods in the secrets of horticulture. He was forbidden to eat of the fruit of a certain plant which Dr Langdon thinks was the cassia. He, however, disobeyed and lost his power of long life, if not of immortality. Much of Dr Langdon's work is occupied in learned comparison with the Biblical and other Babylonian stories.

This is no small undertaking, extremely well done, but naturally the new as well as the old material will need much study before all its purport can be estimated at its true worth. Meantime, students will long turn to this work as a summary of all that is yet known of the old Babylonian doctrines of Paradise, Fall, and Flood.

The reading *kasgid* is now to be abandoned for *biru*, p. 9, since Landsberger shewed this to be its value in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1911. We are grateful for a full and excellent Index.

Legal and Administrative Documents from Nippur, chiefly from the Dynasties of Isin and Larsa, by EDWARD CHIERA, Ph.D. Harrison Research Fellow in Semitics. (Vol. viii no. 1 of the University Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1914.)

THIS is an excellent piece of work, admirably sustaining the high standard set by the previous volumes (see *J. T. S.* vol. xvi, p. 440). Over a hundred texts are admirably copied and reproduced, a number of half-tone photographic reproductions shew what the tablets are like and serve to check the copies. A list of personal names, a list of official

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titles, a description of the tablets, an index of catalogue numbers, a valuable key to the method of transcription, and a bibliography render the work complete and facilitate its use by the layman as well as the student. We may ungrudgingly bestow high praise on Dr Chiera's skill and accuracy and premise that our criticisms in no way detract from this, but are intended merely to supplement and improve the treatment.

In the introduction, in the section on the Place of Origin, we should note that Nippur tablets denote those found at Nippur, but Isin tablets and Larsa tablets denote tablets, wherever found, of the time of the dynasties of Isin and Larsa. It is an uncorrected error to print Sheil for Scheil. The section on the characteristics of these tablets is most interesting and informing, the discussion of the seals and the personal names is a model. There is an excellent chapter on Rîm-Sin and the Fall of Isin. The city of Isin, seat of a dynasty which immediately succeeded that of Ur, was taken by Sin-muballit in his seventeenth year, again ten years later by Hammurabi and also by Rîm-Sin who dated for thirty years after this capture. But he did not long survive the tenth year of Samsu-iluna, which fell forty-six years after Hammurabi's capture. Even if we allow him six years of reign before or after the thirty years dated from the fall of Isin, it is clear that his capture of that city was at least ten years later than Hammurabi's, and gives him a reign of at least forty-six years. But in his thirty-first year Hammurabi decisively defeated Rîm-Sin, and from that time ruled over Nippur, presumably also over Isin and Larsa. His son Samsu-iluna reigned over Nippur up to his twenty-ninth year, at least. Now if Rîm-Sin was so badly defeated in the thirty-first year of Hammurabi, and yet had held Isin thirty years, he must have taken Isin at least as early as Hammurabi's first year. There are about six years of his reign beside. They can hardly be put before Hammurabi came to the throne, for Sin-muballit took Isin three years earlier, Ur and Larsa a year before. It is thus possible that after these captures, on the death of Sin-muballit, Rîm-Sin took back both Larsa and Isin. But the whole subject remains obscure. Dr Chiera rejects all the suggestions so far made and considers that Rîm-Sin's capture of Isin could not have preceded the commencement of Hammurabi's reign, and adduces reasons for placing it between his twentieth and twenty-fifth years. This is due to the new evidence offered by the texts he publishes.

The importance of the question lies in the fact that the final fall of Isin must determine the close of its dynasty, and as we know the duration of that dynasty which succeeded the dynasty of Ur, we can date back from the first dynasty of Babylon to the beginning of the dynasty of Ur. It is too long a task to undertake here to examine all

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the alternatives, but Dr Chiera has not quite allowed for all considerations, and the questions are still unanswered.

Some score of the new texts are transcribed and translated as specimens. This part of the work is well done, and the notes will be specially helpful to those struggling with the difficulties of Sumerian grammar. There follows a long section on the date formulae of the different kings of the dynasties of Isin and Larsa. As the new material brings fresh evidence, this is a very valuable discussion. These year-names form a sort of chronicle of the events in each reign. We cannot yet place these events in chronological order, but the order of the reigns and their total duration is almost completely fixed. Most of the events are peaceful, building of walls or temples, cutting canals, dedicating temple furniture, &c., rarely warlike operations. The city Dunum, mentioned in year (e) of Rîm-Sin may be the same as the problematical *nudum* of the tenth year of Sumula-ilu. It is to be noted that the dates of Rîm-Sin now give year-names for at least fourteen years beside the thirty years dated from the capture of Isin. It may be that some of these forty-four years overlap. This would seriously affect the arguments hitherto advanced. Forty-four years before the tenth of Samsu-iluna would carry us back to the ninth year of Hammurabi, and if the fourteen are concurrent with fourteen out of the thirty we should be at the twenty-third year of that king, which would confirm Dr Chiera's date, 'between twentieth and twenty-fifth'. On p. 67 we may perhaps find a reconciliation of the variants in the date of the twenty-eighth year of Samsu-iluna, by noting that *ḫuršana* may be taken as Sumerian for *šadu*, and the hostile king may be really Mutu-šadim, 'Man of the mountain'. It may be noted also, that in the thirty-seventh year of Ammiditana, that king destroyed the wall of Isin which the men of Damki-ilišu had built. Was this a centenary? It is exactly one hundred years later than Hammurabi's capture of Isin in his seventh year.

Sumerian business and administrative documents from the earliest times to the dynasty of Agade. G. A. BARTON. (Vol. ix no. 1 of the University Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section, University of Pennsylvania. University Museum, Philadelphia, 1915.)

DR BARTON, who has distinguished himself by the publication of a large number of similar business and administrative documents from Telloh, of the so-called second dynasty of Ur, preserved in the Haverford Museum, now gives us a very important selection of the earlier tablets of Philadelphia Museum. Two of these are very early,

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one is almost pictographic. Both are of extreme importance for the study of the developement of the signs.

A number of the texts are transliterated and translated. The first Dr Barton takes to be a record of the means adopted to rid some district of a plague of locusts and caterpillars. After these few illustrations of the class of document we get a valuable index of persons, gods, places, and month-names, a list of tablets and their class-marks.

The autographic reproductions of the author's copies of his texts, 132 in number, are invaluable for the early forms, and will be a mine of material for study in the future. Much of their meaning is still very obscure, but it is only by multiplication of texts that comparison becomes available, and these will doubtless yield their secrets to the same methods which have proved so successful in the past. Assyriologists owe a deep debt of gratitude to Dr Barton for the careful toil and conscientious labour which he has bestowed on his difficult task. We hope that the second part will ere long follow to tell us what he has been able to make of them.

Historical and religious texts from the Temple Library of Nippur, by STEPHEN LANGDON. (Vol. xxxi. The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. München. Rudolf Merkel, Erlangen, 1914.)

Now that Professor H. V. Hilprecht has left Philadelphia, the series of *Publications of the Babylonian Expedition, Series A, Cuneiform Texts*, appears to be carried on by the Professor in Europe, while a new series (see pp. 216 ff *supra*) has been started by the University Museum. Whether this European continuation is a private venture of the Professor's, or of the German publishers, does not appear. But one is struck with certain changes. The title-page allows us to suppose that we have here more Philadelphia Museum texts, and the same note that 'the Editor determines the material to constitute a volume', encourages us to suppose that we have yet another volume of texts from the same source. In external appearance, too, this volume goes with the Philadelphia 'Series A', and its general plan is identical. It is, however, entirely produced in Germany, at Leipzig. Of its sixty texts none come from the Philadelphia Museum, most are from Constantinople, some from the British Museum, and one or two from the Ashmolean Museum, or the Bodleian Library, at Oxford. It is eminently desirable that the Constantinople treasures should find an editor, all the more so that Dr Langdon points out how fast they are perishing. It has always been a matter for regret that such perishable antiquities should be left to the care of Turkish officials, but ignorance

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and indifference are not the monopoly of Orientals. Till lately the New World was little better.

It is difficult to know who was responsible for calling any of these texts 'historical', presumably the compiler of the Constantinople catalogue. It is true that Naram-Sin is named in no. 1, but no event of his reign is recorded, and the nearest approach to a historical statement is that 'Divine Naram-Sin in the seventh year wast thou named, a king for seven years conducting the chieftainship'. This looks more like an address to a king. We may perhaps conclude that Naram-Sin ruled seven years without disaster, and that then he lost the divine favour. But it is slight evidence to build history upon. So; a lamentation over the ruin of Kesh and Nippur at the hands of the people of Gutium, merely suggests that these two cities were severely injured in the conquest, which may well be historically true, but scarcely makes the lamentation a historical text. So far as titles go, no other historical text is contained in the collection. The hymns, litanies, as well as the lamentations, may claim to be religious, but the fragment of the Code of Hammurabi and the medical texts can hardly be classed as either historical or religious.

Nevertheless, the texts themselves are valuable both for their contributions to our knowledge of Sumerian and for the valuable notes added by Dr Langdon. The copies of the texts are clearly written and present a neat, clean appearance, easy to read and study. Full transcriptions and translations of some score of the most important are given, in accordance with the plan of Series A. We may be allowed to hope that Dr Langdon will see his way soon to give us full translations of them all. It seems evident that so far as his part of the work goes it is very well done, even if, as is natural to expect, the progress of science and the acumen of other scholars may bring about better renderings and overlooked facts.

There are, as usual in the American Assyriological works, many printer's errors, some of them not such as the reader would be likely to correct. Whether this can be due to the author's impatience of the trouble of proof-corrections, or to the printer's fear of suggesting that a free worker could be in error, the result is not satisfactory. On p. 1 the author is made to state that *da-tuk* is suspiciously like *Da-ti-Enlil*. No reason appears for the statement. One surely cannot be supposed to understand that the mere fact that the two words, one meaning a conqueror (?), the other a proper name, begin with the same syllable, is suspicious. The ancients must have been in a poor way, if either word could be mistaken for the other. It would remind us of some recent conjectural textual emendations of the Old Testament. The two sons of Naram-Sin named are Bingalisharri and Shargalisharri; one,

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the latter, did succeed to the throne. Hence the remark, credited to Thureau-Dangin, that 'it is curious that neither of Naram-Sin's two sons succeeded to the throne', is itself curious, if not misleading. The real difficulty is that contemporary inscriptions do not sustain the tradition that Naram-Sin was the son of Sargon, but neither do they contradict it.

On p. 3 n. 3 we are apparently told that Umma is near Baghdad, which is unsubstantiated. On p. 5 Eriagu seems to be identified with Warad-Sin without further ado. It does not appear clear why Dungi, Gimil-Sin, and Ibi-Sin should be regarded on p. 6 as Sumerian, while Ishbi-Urra is looked on as Semite on p. 5. The evidence of the names by themselves points the other way. It is difficult to see why the poem should be called 'a hymn to Dungi' on p. 9. It seems rather to be to Ninlil, though it prays for Dungi, who is said by the editor to be 'not yet deified'. Like the poem on p. 14, it would better be called a 'hymn in honour of Dungi', though in this case Dungi is addressed in the second person. In n. 3 p. 17 Lagamal is said to be a goddess. The evidence for this is slight. There does not seem to be much reason for calling no. vi a hymn, because it contains two lines addressed to a god. The rest celebrates the deeds of a conqueror, whom the editor identifies with Dungi.

It is usual to indicate by 'transcription' a rendering into Roman type of the Sumerian or Semite text, and by 'translation' a rendering into English, or other modern language, of the meaning of the text. Dr Langdon speaks of the translation of various kings, which use may perhaps be supported by the common phrase 'translation of a Bishop', but the 'transcription of Scheil', if used in any analogous sense, is at least startling as applied to a modern Assyriologist.

In the interesting comments on the fragment of the Code of Hammurabi, the editor thinks that § 147 was 'a short section inserted into the standard text'. But it may equally well have been omitted from the standard text in error. The book is full of acute suggestions, and there can be no doubt that Dr Langdon has made many most valuable contributions to the understanding of the Sumerian language, but there are many strange spellings, which do not suggest either American or German standards. The colophon of this text does not contain a date, and the mention of Hammurabi in it only certifies that it is his Code, not that the copy was made in his reign. That conclusion may be deduced from the script, but this is not a very trustworthy criterion at any time.

Despite the many inaccuracies of the above kind, we must be very grateful to the author for the pains he has expended on the editing of these difficult but valuable and welcome texts.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, October 1915 (Vol. lxxxi, No. 161 : Spottiswoode & Co.). J. K. MOZLEY Tendencies in Christology—F. A. DIXEY Recent developements in Biology—W. J. S. SIMPSON Liberal Judaism and the Christian Faith—H. A. STRONG Slavonic Culture—J. A. ROBINSON Convocation of Canterbury : its early history—W. H. FRERE The palaeography of early mediaeval music—F. J. BADCOCK Dr Illingworth and the Gospel miracles—The issues of the War—A. C. HEADLAM Mr Pullan's doctrine of the Catholic Church—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, October 1915 (Vol. xiv, No. 1 : Williams & Norgate). THE EDITOR A theological holiday, and after—M. EPSTEIN Some recent German war literature—G. L. DICKINSON A German on the War—J. ROYCE An American thinker on the War—E. B. McGILVARY The warfare of moral ideals—J. BRYCE Facts and questions before us—C. F. THWING The effect of the European war on higher learning in America—C. R. ASHBEE The province of the arts and handicrafts in a mechanical society—P. T. FORSYTH Ibsen's treatment of guilt—J. W. GRAHAM The War : a Quaker apologia—H. WALKER Triumph and Tragedy—A. G. WIDGERY The idea of resurrection—J. A. HILL Fechner's theory of life after death—E. C. THWAYTES Mysticism and Mohammedanism—Discussions, Surveys, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, October 1915 (Eighth Series, No. 58 : Hodder & Stoughton). M. JONES The Epistles of the Captivity : where were they written?—A. E. GARVIE The synoptic echoes and second-hand reports in the Fourth Gospel—F. GRANGER The style of St Paul—P. T. FORSYTH Moral finality and certainty in the holiness of the Cross—H. E. HILL The mystical significance of apocalyptic numbers—J. MOFFATT Literary illustrations of the Book of Numbers.

November 1915 (Eighth Series, No. 59). H. A. A. KENNEDY The significance and range of the covenant conception in the New

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Testament—E. S. BUCHANAN The search for the original words of the Gospel—A. SOUTER Von Soden's text of the Greek New Testament, examined in select passages—P. T. FORSYTH In what sense did Jesus preach the Gospel?—A. E. GARVIE The Witness in the Fourth Gospel—J. A. FINDLAY The Great Supper in Luke xiv.

December 1915 (Eighth Series, No. 60). A. C. WELCH Jeremiah and Northern Israel: a study in spiritual religion—B. W. BACON The plaint of Wisdom in Matthew xxiii 34–39—J. M. THOMPSON The structure of the Fourth Gospel—J. M. E. Ross The revival of casuistry—J. MOFFATT An Irish Codex of the Latin Gospels—G. MARGOLIOUTH A test of strength and its sequels—A. S. CRICHTON The plague in the land of the Philistines—B. H. P. FISHER The parable of the Unjust Steward.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, October 1915 (Vol. xix, No. 4: Chicago University Press). K. LAKE The theology of the Acts of the Apostles—A. E. HARVEY Economic self-interest in the German anti-clericalism of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—J. R. BROWN The character of Jesus: a genetic interpretation—U. KAWAGUCHI The doctrine of evolution and the conception of God—A. MARMORSTEIN The doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead in Rabbinical theology—Recent theological literature—Brief mention—Books received.

The Princeton Theological Review, October 1915 (Vol. xiii, No. 4: Princeton University Press). B. B. WARFIELD Jesus' Mission, according to His own testimony—G. Vos Hebrews, the Epistle of the Diatheke—S. G. WILSON The Bayan of the Bab—Reviews of recent literature.

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The Journal of Theological Studies

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DOCUMENTS

AN ANCIENT HOMILIARY (OF ST MAXIMUS OF TURIN) PART III

XIII. SERMON FOR ALL MARTYRS' DAY

Item de natale martyrum

Hodie, fratres, iuvante Domino beatorum martyrum sollemnia celebramus. (fol. 69 *b*) isti sunt sancti qui pro nomine Domini non vincula non carceres non exilia non mortem ipsam non ulla tormenta timuerunt, quin immo omnia fortiter tolerantes regnorum caelestium meruerunt esse participes. aliquanti ignibus exusti, aliquanti gladiis percussi, aliquanti feris obiecti, pertulerunt cuncta supplicia; facta est omnibus poena sua victoria, inde extiterunt beati unde putabantur adflicti. MORTUI SUNT saeculo UT VIVERENT DEO: mortui sunt huic mundo ut regnarent cum Christo; felici transcensu per ARTAM ET ANGUSTAM VIAM currentes, et velut quibusdam gradibus ascendentes, de terrenis ad caelestia, de parvis ad magna, de temporalibus ad aeterna venerunt.

De istis dicit sermo divinus ET SI CORAM HOMINIBUS TORMENTA PASSI SUNT, SED SPES ILLORUM INMORTALITATE PLENA EST, ET IN PAUCIS VEXATI IN MULTIS BENE DISPONENTUR: QUONIAM DEUS TEMPTAVIT ILLOS ET INVENIT ILLOS DIGNOS SE. TAMQUAM (fol. 70 *a*) AURUM IN FORNACE *PROBAVIT ILLOS ET* SICUT HOSTIAM HOLOCAUSTI *ACCEPIT* ILLOS. et id plena *est*, testificatur David in psalmis dicens PRETIOSA IN CONSPECTU DOMINI MORS SANCTORUM *EIUS*. *pretiosa mo*rs quae praetioso sanguine inmortalitatem merc*ata est quia in saeculo* fides pretiosa*m red*dedit mortem. PRETIOSA IN CONSPECTU DOMINI MORS SANCTORUM EIUS: in conspectu hominum *in*fidelium vilis et contemptibilis videbatur, sed in conspectu Dei pretiosa erat, tantum pretiosa ut per istam mortem regna caelestia possiderent.

Utique et ipsi scientes pium et bonum esse mori pro Christo et per

XIII. 6. subplicia *cod* 15. dignos se: dignos *cod*^{a}: dignos se et *cod*^{a} 19. *lacunam supplevi e* XIV *ll.* 20–23 21. infidelium *scripsi*: fidelium *ut vid cod* 24. utique: *ante hanc vocem excidit ut videtur verbum*

XIII. 8. Gal. ii 19 9. Mt. vii 14 12. Wisd. iii 4–6 18. Ps. cxv 6 (cxvi 15)

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ipsam mortem ad inmortalitatem venire, ideoque dicebant cum beato apostolo Paulo, sicut hodie audivimus lectum, QUIS NOS SEPARABIT A CARITATE CHRISTI? TRIBULATIO AN ANGUSTIA AN PERSECUTIO AN FAMES AN NUDITAS AN PERICULUM AN GLADIUS? QUIA, SICUT SCRIBTUM EST, PROPTER TE MORTIFICABIMUR TOTA DIE AESTIMATI SUMUS OVES OCCISIONIS (fol. 70 *b*) SED IN HIS OMNIBUS SUPERVINCIMUS *PRO EO* QUI DILEXIT NOS. sive pro filio propter ad eos David loquebatur in psalmo dicens GAUDETE, IUSTI, IN DOMINO: RECTOS DECET COLLAUDATIO. isti sunt vere IUSTI qui Deum super omnia diligebant et *precepta eius* servabant, quos *oves ipse* salvator dicebat loquens eis *in sancto* aevangelio et dicens, sicut in presenti audivimus, ECCE EGO MITTO VOS SICUT OVES IN MEDIO LUPORUM: MITTO VOS, non ut decipiamini sed ut vincentes salvemini, MITTO VOS SICUT OVES [ad] humilitatem servantes, patientiam tenentes, tolerantiam custodientes. circumdabunt vos latrantium inimicorum voces sicut luporum, feritatis suae morsibus vos devorare quaerentes. estote cauti, estote mansueti, NON REDDENTES MALUM PRO MALO AUT MALEDICTUM PRO MALEDICTO. quantumcumque vos insequantur, penitus delere (fol. 71 *a*) non poterunt.

Ibant isti ut oves, non solum apostoli sed et omnes beati martyres inter persecutorum turbas velut luporum, nec perire poterant qui secum caelestem agnum habebant. PASTOR ille BONUS semper non deserit suos. amat videre pugnantes, amat adiuvare credentes, amat coronare confitentes, et pro nomine suo occisos cum beatis angelis in regnis caelestibus facit esse participes.

Ipsi Domino Christo semper gratias agamus, fratres, et per ipsum Deo patri laudes referamus, ADORANTES IN SPIRITU sancto ET VERITATE per omnia saecula saeculorum. amen.

XIV. ANOTHER SERMON FOR ALL MARTYRS' DAY

De natale omnium martyrum

Ecce iam fraglant et redolent de pratis sanctorum suavissimi flores, et eorum odor mentem nostram animosque conplevit. ergo de presenti sollemnitate omnium beatorum martyrum hodie iuvante Domino cum vestra, fratres, sanctitate tractamus. et vere, ut dicit beatus apostolus

26. separavit *cod* 29. propter te : propte *cod** : propter *ut vid cod²* mortificabimur : *ita cod* 30. pro eo (cf. XII *l.* 35 *supra*) : a dō *ut vid cod* 38. ad *cod* : *sed spurium videtur* 40. aestote . . . aestote *cod* 41. mansuaeti *cod²* 47. adiubare *cod*

XIV. 1. fraglant *cod*, *scilicet* fragrant reolent *ut vid cod* suabissimi *cod*

26. Rom. viii 35–37 32. Ps. xxxii (xxxiii) 1 36. Mt. x 16 41. 1 Pet. iii 9 46. Cf. Apoc. xiv 4 Cf. Jn. x 11 51. Jn. iv 23

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Paulus, DONAVIT (fol. 71 *b*) *pa*ter *ipsi* NOMEN QUOD EST SUPER OMNE NOMEN, et quia est hoc nomen Domini SUPER OMNE NOMEN, idcirco IN NOMINE IESU UNIVERSA GENU*A* FLECTANTUR CAELESTIUM ET TERRESTRIUM ET INFERNORUM, ET OMNIS LINGUA CONFITEATUR QUIA DOMINUS IESUS IN GLORIA EST DEI PATRIS.

In hoc nomine Domini exalta*v*it Deus pater et martyres suos u*t de* terrenis ad caelestia, de parvis ad magna, de temporalibus ad aeterna transirent. pro nomine Domini MORTUI SUNT in saeculo UT VIVERENT DEO: mortui sunt huic mundo ut regnarent cum Christo. QUANTA MALIGNATUS EST INIMICUS IN omnibus SANCTIS Dei! et quid profecit? quid illi profuit? ecce facta est ipsis sanctis poena eorum victoria, inde extiterunt beati unde putabantur adflicti, quia ETSI CORAM HOMINIBUS TORMENTA PASSI SUNT, SED SPES ILLORUM INMORTALITATE PLENA EST; ET IN PAUCIS VEXATI IN MULTIS BENE DISPONENTUR. QUONIAM DEUS TEMTAVIT ILLOS ET INVENIT ILLOS DIGNOS SE (fol. 72 *a*). et *iterum* PRAETIOSA IN CONSPECTU DOMINI MORS SANCTORUM EIUS: praetiosa quia in saeculo fides praetiosa*m red*dedit mortem. PRAETIOSA IN CONSPECTU DOMINI MORS SANCTORUM EIUS: praetiosa mors, quia praetio sui sanguinis inmortalitatem mercata est: praetiosa mors quae homines dimittit ad caelum, quae cruorem suum fudit in terris ut trihumfa*nt*es martyres efficerentur in caelis. vis scire adhuc quam PRAETIOSA sit MORS SANCTORUM IN CONSPECTU DOMINI? considera quantos qualesque trihumfos adquisierint in caelis, et tunc intelleges quam PRAETIOSA sit IN CONSPECTU DOMINI MORS SANCTORUM EIUS.

Isti pro nomine Domini fortiter dimicantes non vincula non carceres, ut dixi, non exilia non ulla tormenta timuerunt. inventi sunt ignibus fortiores, extiterunt lassis tortoribus robustiores, *b*estiarum eis colla subiecta sunt, pedibusque sanctorum beluarum feritas sese blanda inclinavit: gladius (fol. 72 *b*) tamen eis hominum non pepercit. aliquantis subiectae sunt *b*estiae, aliquantis †ipsas morsibus conatu prout Dominus ait et de†. ignes extimescunt sanctos, *f*erae honorem reddunt famulis Dei, et gladius non parcit humanus; ut maior poena maneat homines peccatores.

Considerate patientiam ipsorum sanctorum: non repugnant, non resistunt, sed magis dicunt cum apostolo Petro CHRISTUS PRO NOBIS PASSUS EST, RELINQUENS NOBIS EXEMPLUM UT SEQUAMUR VESTIGIA

7. genu *cod* flectuntur *cod*^{2} *ut vid* 10. exaltabit *cod* 14. sanctis: sc̄s *cod* 27. intellegis *cod* 30. ut dixi: cf. *Serm.* XIII *l.* 2 31. vestiarum *cod* 34. ipsas . . . et de *cod*: *sed emendatione opus est* 35. ferae *scripsi*: terrae *ut vid cod*

XIV. 5. Phil. ii 9–11 12. Gal. ii 19 13. Ps. lxxiii (lxxiv) 3 16. Wisd. iii 4, 5 20. Ps. cxv 6 (cxvi 15) 22. Cypr. *Ep.* x 2 (492. 2) 39. 1 Pet. ii 21, 22

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EIUS, QUI PECCATUM NON FECIT NEC DOLUS INVENTUS EST IN ORE EIUS, et qui SICUT OVIS AD OCCISIONEM DUCTUS EST, ET SICUT AGNUS CORAM TONDENTEM SE SINE VOCE SIC NON APERUIT OS SUUM IN HUMILITATE. ista dicentes prompti dabant iugulos gladiis, mortesque suas praetioso suo sanguine decorabant. aderat ibi chorus sanctorum omnium angelorum, susceptosque manibus suis salvatori omnium Christo in regnis (fol. 73 *a*) *caelestibus presen*tat dicit Spiritus sanctus in psal*mo de eis q*uos gloriosa caritas *inter se* coniuncxit QUAM BO*NUM AUT* QUAM IUCUNDUM HABI*TARE* FRATRES *IN* UNUM. *quar*e, ut diximus et sincerissimi fra*tres u*num habitant paradisum *ubi* unanimiter in Domino gloria*ntes et* sibi perpetuae caritatis nexibus cohaerentes SECUNTUR AGNUM QUOCUMQUE VADIT, AGNUM illum DEI caelestem QUI TULIT PECCATA MUNDI; qui sic VADIT per omnia ut tamen non deserat aliqua, sed totus in toto sit et omnia in sua contineat manu, quia PATER DILIGIT FILIUM ET OMNIA DEDIT IN MANU EIUS, IPSI GLORIA IN SAECULA. AMEN.

XV. A THIRD SERMON FOR ALL MARTYRS' DAY

Item alius

Hodie, fratres, iu*v*ante Domino de beatis martyribus locuturus impetramus quidquid fideliter postulamus. legimus quendam sanctorum dixisse in libris suis 'Gu*b*erna*t*or in tempestate dinosc*i*tur (fol. 73 *b*) mi[les in acie probatur, delicata] iactatio [est ubi periculum non est'.] audite *plura*: ['sicuti enim gubernator] eruditus inter marin[a discrimina] inter [minaces] fluctus, [fixus guber]naculo suo, intentis [oculis haeret ad] caelum et inpetu non [frangitur tem]pestatis sed gubern[ans in periculis] nauem propitiante Domino [perducit ad litus; et] sicuti miles [inter cruentos] gladios inter hosti[um feroces aspectus] intrepidus pro r[egi]s sui iura decertans, si mori illic contigerit, laudabiliter moritur, si vero vicerit trihumfis felicibus decoratur; ita et sancti

45. adherat *cod*

XV. 1. hodiae *cod* iubante *cod* locuturus (cf. IX *l.* 1) impetramus: *excidit fortasse aliquid* 2. quendam sanctorum: *scilicet S. Augustinum, si fides habeatur codici Vaticano lat.* 3835 (*saec.* vii–viii), *fol.* 313 *a*, *e quo edidit A. Mai* Nova Patrum Bibliotheca I 108, *serm.* lv: 'Item sermo sancti Augustini in natale beati Pauli apostoli. Fratres karissimi, gubernator' *etc.*: *quae in codice nostro mutilo perierunt, ex* Aug-*Mai supplevi* 3. guvernatur *cod* dinoscitur Aug-*Mai*: dinoscatur *cod* 10. iura *ut vid cod, et ita* Aug-*Mai* illic Aug-*Mai*: illi *cod* 11. trihumfis felicibus: palmis victricibus et honoribus Aug-*Mai* sancti martyres . . . dimicantes: beatissimi apostoli Petrus et Paulus Aug-*Mai*

42. Is. liii 7, 8 48. Ps. cxxxii (cxxxiii) 1 52. Apoc. xiv 4 Jn. i 29 54. Cf. Jn. x 28 55. Jn. iii 35; Rom. xi 36, &c.

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martyres pro amore et fide regis sui caelestis fortiter dimicantes velut gubernatores et milites contra adversarias potestates omni tolerantia perstiterunt, nec victi sunt sed potius vicerunt'.

Isti sunt qui semper audierant apostolum dicentem et adhortantem fidelissimos milites Christi sic NON EST VOBIS inquid CONLUCTATIO ADVERSUS CARNEM ET SANGUINEM (fol. 74 *a*) TANTUM, SED ADVERSUS PRINCIPATUS ET POTESTATES, ADVERSUS MUNDI HUIUS RECTORES TENEBRARUM HUIUS SAECULI, ADVERSUS SPIRITALIA NEQUIA IN CAELESTIBUS. IDEOque inquid SUMITE OMNIA ARMA DEI UT POSSITIS RESISTERE IN *DIE MALO* ET OMNIA PERFICIENTES STARE. *STATE* ERGO *ACCINCTI LUMBOS* MENTIS VESTRAE IN VERITATE ET *INDUTI LORICAM* IUSTITIAE *ET CALCIATI* PEDES *IN PRAEPARATIONE* AEVANGELII PACIS, *IN OMNIBUS* ADSUMENTES SCUTUM FIDEI IN QUO POSSITIS OMNIA IACULA MALIGNI IGNITA EXTINGUERE, ET GALEAM SALUTARIS ACCIPITE ET GLADIUM SPIRITUS QUOD EST VERBUM DEI, PER OMNEM ORATIONEM ET OBSECRATIONEM ORANTES IN OMNI TEMPORE IN SPIRITU, ET IN ILLO VIGILANTES.

Consideremus haec omnia spiritalia ARMA, fratres, quibus sanctos et omnes christianos armari, ut dixi, et muniri praecipit beatus apostolus Paulus; STATE inquid ACCINCTI LUMBOS MENTIS VESTRAE IN VERITATE; non discinctos in falsitate sed ACCINCTOS IN VERITATE in Christo. Christus VERITAS est, et qui in Christo cingitur (fol. 74 *b*) non solum in veritate cingitur sed et in castitate, et non solum in castitate sed et in sobriaetate et in patientia et bonitate, humilitate et mansuetudine, ceterisque virtutibus cingitur. in tali cingulo bene erigitur bene servatur baptismi vestimentum: non trahitur non scinditur neque polluitur, sed manet SINE MACULA et SINE RUGA.

ACCINCTI inquid LUMBOS MENTIS VESTRAE IN VERITATE ET INDUTI LORICAM IUSTITIAE. LORICA IUSTITIAE est caritas sibi conexa quibusdam vinculis vel circulis vel potius coronis aequitatis. haec est aequitas ut DILIGAS DOMINUM DEUM TUUM, diligas et PROXIMUM TUUM, et QUOD TIBI FIERI NON VIS ALIO NE FECERIS. sic bene munitur pectus LORICA IUSTITIAE contra IACULA inimici. sequitur CALCIATOS PEDES IN PRAEPARATIONE AEVANGELII PACIS, ut 'cum serpens calcari a nobis et obteri coeperit, mordere et subplantare non possit' aculeis suis. IN OMNIBUS ADSUMENTES SCUTUM FIDEI IN QUO (fol. 75 *a*) POSSITIS OMNIA IACULA MALIGNI IGNITA EXTINGUERE: ut ex omni parte contra iaculantem consistas inimicum et eius IACULA IGNITA confringas. et intellege quae sint IACULA eius; incredulitas infidelitas iacula sunt inimici, contra

13. guvernatores *cod* 14. *tr.* potius sed *cod* 15. adhortantem *scripsi*: adhorantem *ut vid cod* 28. sanctos: sc̄s *cod* 41. tuum: *bis in codice*

XV. 16. Eph. vi 12–18 32. Jn. xiv 6 37. Eph. v 27 41. Cf. 2 Tim. iv 8 Mt. xxii 37, &c. 42. Lk. vi 31; Act. xv 29 44. Cypr. *Ep.* lviii 9 (664. 20)

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quae tenendum mandatur SCUTUM FIDEI, ut fide et credulitate vincamus. sunt et alia IACULA inimici; superbia ira avaritia vana iactantia concupiscentia inpatientia luxuria temulentia vel cetera vitia IACULA sunt inimici, quae a populo Dei SCUTO FIDEI longe lateque pellenda sunt adque deicienda. hoc fecerunt beati martyres, qui pro nomine Domini, ut diximus, non catenas non tormenta neque mortes timuerunt, quin immo omnia fortiter tolerantes regnorum caelestium meruerunt esse participes. ET GALEAM inquid SALUTIS ADSUMITE: munimen est capitis, quod est signum Christi: ET GLADIUM SPIRITUS, ut gladium VERBI DEI, quo gladio peccatorum putredines (fol. 75 *b*) absciduntur adsidua ORATIONUM instantia.

Dicendum est nobis et nunc, sicuti in natale ipsius Domini salvatoris a beatis angelis dictum est GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO ET IN TERRA PAX HOMINIBUS BONAE VOLUNTATIS, quia tunc natus est Christus in terris ut martyres semper nascerentur in caelis. descendit Dominus ut ascenderent servi: factus est filius Dei filius hominis ut filios hominum faceret filios Dei, et servile corpus adsumsit ut servos ad libertatem adtraheret suos; sicut dicebat beatus apostolus Paulus IAM NON SUMUS inquid FILII ANCILLAE SED LIBERAE, QUA LIBERTATE CHRISTUS NOS LIBERAVIT. GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO ET IN TERRA PAX HOMINIBUS BONAE VOLUNTATIS. GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO; gloria patris Christus est Dominus: ET IN TERRA PAX HOMINIBUS BONAE VOLUNTATIS; ipse est salvator noster de quo dicit scribtura IPSE EST PAX NOSTRA, QUI FECIT UTRAQUE UNUM ET MEDIUM PARIETEM MACERIAE (fol. 76 *a*) SOLVENS INIMICITIAM IN CARNE SUA et cetera.

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO ET IN TERRA PAX HOMINIBUS BONAE VOLUNTATIS, quia 'bona voluntas quae *Deum* novit immutari non potest', sicut *ait* sanctus Cyprianus. in sanctis martyribus bona voluntas a Deo concessa mutari omnino non potuit et derelicto autore et domino mundi ad inania et vana figmenta converti. integra fides castis in pectoribus mansit, maluitque cruorem sanguinis sui effundere quam aeternae vitae Dominum abnegare. quantumcumque saeviat inimicus, quantumcumque superbis cervicibus extollatur, stabilitatem firmissimam fidei nullo modo in sanctis conturbare valebit: 'maior est enim Dominus ad protegendum quam diabolus ad inpugnandum'. ARBOR BONA BONOS FRUCTUS FACIT, et LIGNUM QUOD PLANTATUM EST SECUS DECURSUS

51. supervia *cod* 55. ut diximus: cf. XIII *l.* 2 *supra* 58. gladium 2°: gladio *cod* 65. serbi *cod* 68. libere *cod* 73. solbens *cod* 76. imutari *cod* 81. seviat *cod* 82. supervis *cod* 83. valeuit *cod*

58. Cf. Eph. iv 15 62. Lk. ii 14 65. Cf. *Serm.* I *l.* 25, X *l.* 11, *et* Cypr. *op. et al.* 1 (373. 6) 69. Gal. iv 31 70. Cf. Phil. ii 11 72. Eph. ii 14 76. Acta Cypriani 1 79. Cf. Act. xiv 15 83. Cypr. *ad Fortunatum* tit. x (320. 24): cf. *Serm.* VIII *l.* 27 *supra* 84. Mt. vii 17 85. Ps. i 3

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AQUARUM DABIT FRUCTUM SUUM IN TEMPORE SUO. ad hanc conparationem et homo qui IN LEGE Dei (fol. 76 *b*) MEDITATUR DIE AC NOCTE, et in tempore pacis vel in tempore persecutionis DABIT FRUCTUS BONOS ad gloriam Dei.

Ipsis hodie dicitur in psalmo GAUDETE IUSTI IN DOMINO: RECTOS DECET CONLAUDATIO. GAUDETE IUSTI IN DOMINO, qui vos ad caelestia regna perducit: GAUDETE IN DOMINO, qui noluistis gaudere in saeculo: GAUDETE IN DOMINO qui est gloria vestra, spes vestra, salus aeterna vestra. RECTOS DECET CONLAUDATIO: IUSTI et RECTI sunt qui agnoscunt et confitentur creatorem omnium Deum eiusque unigenitum filium Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum unumque et Spiritum sanctum, quique idola contemnunt et elementa non ut deos venerantur sed sub Dei summi famulatu adque servitio constituta esse dinoscunt. tales merito GAUDEANT IN DOMINO, a quo et aeterna eis requies preparatur, ut mereantur in illo die audire a Domino Christo VENITE BENEDICTI PATRIS MEI (fol. 77 *a*) POSSIDETE REGNUM PARATUM VOBIS AB ORIGINE MUNDI.

Amor Christi, fratres, omnia contemnit tormenta. SPECIOSUS inquid FORMA PRÆ FILIIS HOMINUM: omnes homines superat illius pulcritudo, quare amamus quando audimus quia PASSUS EST PRO NOBIS. quid amamus? membra cruci fixa, latus foratum. hanc caritatem caritas amat: AMAVIT NOS ut redamaremus eum, redemit nos sanguine suo. sponsus ille quo nihil est pulchrius, qui quasi foedus apparuit inter manus persequentium. de quo dicebat Eseias propheta ET VIDIMUS EUM, ET NON HABUIT SPECIEM NEQUE DECOREM. ergo sponsus noster foedus est? absit: quomodo illum virgines amarent quae in terra maritos non quaesierunt? ergo persequentibus foedus apparuit; et nisi foedum eum putarent non insilirent in eum, non flagellis caederent, non spinis coronarent illum, non sputis inhonestarent eum, (fol. 77 *b*) sed quia foedus illis apparebat, fecerunt illi ista. non enim habebant oculos, unde Christus pulcer videretur. quali*bus* oculis Christus pulcer apparuit? *qua*les oculos quaerebat ipse Christus quando dicebat Filippo TANTO TEMPORE VOBISCUM SUM, ET NON ME VIDISTIS? isti oculi mundandi sunt ut possi*nt* videre illam lucem.

Hunc semper cogitabant, hunc semper desiderabant in pas*sion*ibus suis beati martyres, qui semper dicebant ad ipsum Dominum cum propheta David EXQUISIVIT TE FACIES MEA, FACIEM TUAM DOMINE

87. et *cod*: *fortasse* erit *tr.* homo dī qui in lege *cod* 104. pre *cod* 113. cederent *cod* 116. qualibus *scripsi*: qualis *cod* 118. sum: suum *cod* 119. possit *cod* 120. passionibus *scripsi*: pascalibus *ut vid cod*

87. Ps. i 2 90. Ps. xxxii (xxxiii) 1 100. Mt. xxv 34 103. Ps. xliv (xlv) 2 105. 1 Pet. ii 21 107. 1 Jn. iv 19; cf. Eph. i 7, v 25, 2 Cor. xi 2 109. Is. liii 2 111. Cf. Cant. i 3 117. Jn. xiv 9 122. Ps. xxvi (xxvii) 8

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REQUIRAM; et iterum QUANDO VENIAM ET PAREBO ANTE FACIEM DEI? et SICUT CERVUS DESIDERAT AD FONTES AQUARUM, ITA DESIDERAT
125 ANIMA MEA AD TE, DEUS. horum, fratres, sanctorum Domini amicorum sollemnia celebrantes, semper patri per filium gratias agamus, CUI EST GLORIA IN SAECULA. AMEN.

A. SPAGNOLO.
C. H. TURNER.

Introduction to the Sermons printed above.

THE Verona MS from which these fifteen Homilies have been printed is catalogued as li (49) in the Chapter Library. It was written in the sixth century, perhaps towards the end of it, and has suffered terribly from damp, as the too numerous *lacunae* in the transcription of the text sufficiently testify. It is labelled with the name of Maximus of Turin, a noted preacher of the middle of the fifth century; and the first 132 leaves (there are altogether 157) appear to constitute a homogeneous collection of sermons and treatises by a single writer. We may dismiss altogether from our purview the miscellaneous appendices which follow: an Arian Sermon (printed in the JOURNAL for Oct. 1911); a Sermon of St Augustine; a fragment of the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and, continuous with this, the Apostolic Canons, the whole in an unknown version[1]: and we may concentrate our attention on the group of writings which can plausibly be attributed to Maximus.

Most of the matter was transcribed from this MS for the Roman edition of the works of St Maximus (1784: reprinted in Migne *P. L.* vol. lvii), namely, rather more than twenty Homilies on the liturgical Gospels, and two tracts *contra Iudaeos* and *contra Paganos*. Intervening between these Homilies on the one side and the two Tracts on the other is the present set of fifteen Homilies on the chief festivals of the Christian year, which Dr Spagnolo copied out and I have edited in the JOURNAL for January and April 1915, and in the present number. But the tracts against Jews and Pagans have also been transcribed by the same indefatigable hand, and we hope some day soon to be able to publish them in a form very much more complete and satisfactory than that hitherto known in print. It seemed worth while to make such an

123. Ps. xli (xlii) 2, 1

[1] The fragment of the eighth book of the *Constitutions* was published in *J. T. S.* xiii 492, July 1912: and re-edited together with the 85 Apostolic Canons in *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* I iii (1913) pp. 32 *a–nn*. The conclusion (whether or no it is an integral part of the work) about the preaching and death of the different apostles was first published in *J. T. S.* for October 1913, pp. 63–65.

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attempt, in view of the stress laid by M. Franz Cumont on the evidence of St Maximus (among others) as to the real state of pagan beliefs in the later empire.[1] In any case it may be confidently asserted that the author of the two tractates and the author of the little Homiliary, the publication of which is now being completed and concluded in this number of the JOURNAL, are one and the same person.

That he wrote neither before nor after the fifth century A.D. is also demonstrable. Not before, since in the 15th Sermon (p. 228 *supra*) he quotes a passage from 'quidam sanctorum' which is found among the sermons of St Augustine printed by cardinal Mai in the first volume of his *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, while in the *contra Paganos* he makes extensive use of Rufinus's translation of the Clementine *Recognitions*, made somewhere about the year 400. Not after, since in the same treatise he speaks of pagans still flocking to the representations of heathen mythology on the stage, which can hardly have continued as late as the sixth century, while the practically exclusive use of the Old Latin Bible tells in the same direction. If there are any traces of the use of St Jerome's Vulgate, they are few and far between; alike in the Old and the New Testament, where the versions diverge our Homilist reproduces the older forms.[2] The fathers with whom he seems to be found most frequently in company are Ambrose, Hilary, Ambrosiaster,

[1] *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* (ed. 1909) p. 302 'certains ecclésiastiques que leur ministère pastoral mit en contact avec les derniers idolâtres, comme l'auteur d'homélies attribuées à saint Maxime de Turin', p. 409 n. 8 'nous ne possédons encore qu'une édition très défectueuse des traités *contra Paganos* et *contra Iudaeos*'.

[2] Compare the following: Ps. viii 2 (VIII 23) 'inimicum et *defensorem*'; Ps. xlvi (xlvii) 5 (V 17) 'ascendit in *strepitu*'; Ps. lxxii (lxxiii) 28 (V 48) '*adiungi* Deo' with Auct. de promiss.; Ps. cxvii (cxviii) 24 (III 3) '*iste* dies' with Cypr.; Cant. v 10 (I 78) 'fraternus meus candidus et rubeus' with Amb.; Mic. v 2 (I 7), the whole very like Hil.; Is. liii 7 (XII 38, XIV 42), just as in Novatian; Mt. iii 15 (II 29) 'sic enim *oportet*' with Amb. (*semel*) Chromat. Hil. *Op. imperf. in Mt.*; Mt. v 14–16 (XI 4–9) 'lux *huius* mundi', '*supra* candelabrum', 'luceat *lumen* vestrum', 'vi*dentes* . . . *magn*ificent' with Leo; Mt. x 16 (XI 32) '*astuti* sicut serpentes' with Amb. Aug.; Mt. x 32 (XI 15) 'con*fessus fuerit*'; Mt. xix 14 (VIII 11) 'nolite prohibere *infantes*'; Mt. xxv 34 (XV 100) '*ab origine* mundi'; Mk. i 3 (IX 27) 'semitas *Dei nostri*'; Lk. ii 10 (I 4) '*adnuntio* vobis gaudium . . . omni *plebi*'; Lk. iii 21 (II 69) 'cum baptidi*atus esset*'; Jn. i 15 (IX 52) 'qui post me *venit*'; Jn. i 29 (II 51) 'qui tollit *peccata* mundi' with Cypr. Amb. Zeno; Jn. iii 32 (IX 44) 'haec tes*tificatur*' with Ambst.; Jn. xiv 16, xvi 7 (V 23, 25) '*advocatum*' '*advocatus*' with Tert. Novatian Hil. Lucif.; Jn. xix 37 (V 44) '*conpunxerunt*' with Iren. Hil.; Jn. xx 22 (V 65) '*inspiraret*', cf. Cypr.; Acts i 3 (V 59) '*docens* de regno Dei'; Acts i 11 (IV 22) '*re*ceptus est'; Acts vii 59 (X 32) '*ac*cipe spiritum meum'; Rom. viii 35 (XII 32, XIII 26), order of the nouns; 1 Cor. ii 9 (XII 24) 'dili*gentibus se*' with Lucif. Vict-Af. Aug.; 1 Cor. xv 22 (III 34) 'vivifi*cantur*' with Hil. Amb. (*semel*) Faustinus; 1 Cor. xv 55 (III 17) 'ubi est mors *aculeus* tuus'; 2 Cor. viii 9 (I 18) 'pro nobis *pauper* . . . ut . . . nos *ditaremur*', cf.

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Leo: where his citations agree with Cyprian, he may have derived them from that father's works, and not from his own Bible.

For we light here on one of the most marked characteristics of the Sermons and Tracts, their literary dependence on St Cyprian. Many references have already been recorded in the apparatus to the Sermons above: I have since noted that V 14 'ut hominem ipsum quem induit, quem dilexit, quem a morte protexit, ad patrem victor inponeret' is from Cyprian's *Quod idola* 14 (Hartel 31. 2). Exactly the same feature recurs in the tract *contra Paganos*, which has one quotation from the *ad Demetrianum* and half a dozen from the *Quod idola*, while the *contra Iudaeos* depends certainly on Cyprian's *Testimonia ad Quirinum* and possibly on the pseudo-Cyprianic *de montibus Sina et Sion*. Both in the Homilies and in the Tracts the borrowing is sometimes acknowledged, sometimes unacknowledged.[1]

Now what we know about Maximus of Turin is all favourable to our acceptance of the attribution of these Homilies to his authorship. Gennadius of Marseilles in the 41st chapter of his *de viris illustribus* catalogues a number of his Homilies, and notes that he had written on St Cyprian: 'Maximus, Taurinensis ecclesiae episcopus, vir in divinis scripturis satis intentus et ad docendam ex tempore plebem sufficiens, conposuit in laudem apostolorum tractatus et Iohannis baptistae et generalem omnium martyrum homiliam . . . fecit et duos de sancti Eusebii vita, Vercellensis episcopi et confessoris, tractatus et de sancti Cypriani . . . homiliam de natali Domini, homilias et de Epiphania et de Pascha et de Pentecosten multas'. We cannot say that other 'preachers of the fifth century did not choose the same themes: but the coincidence of the internal indications of these Homilies with all that we know of the bishop of Turin, and especially

Paulinus *Vit. Ambrosii*; Eph. vi 12 (XV 18) 'adversus *principatus* et potestates' with Amb.; Eph. vi 16, 17 (XI 49, XV 24) 'omnia *iacula maligni ignita* extinguere' 'galeam *salutaris*',—'maligni' with Amb. Ambst. Leo; Phil. ii 11 (XIV 9) 'in gloria *est dei* patris' with Novatian Hil. Amb.; 1 Pet. i 12 (VII 55) 'in quo *concupiscunt* angeli prospicere'. [But it seems possible that the quotations from the Psalms in the *contra Iudaeos* may depend on St Jerome.]

[1] The following is a list, though I have no doubt it could be made more complete, of the passages of St Cyprian used in these fifteen Homilies and in the *contra Paganos* (an asterisk is attached to the passages where St Cyprian's name is given by the writer): 1–5. *Quod idola* 2, *3, 6, 6, *8 all in the *contra Paganos*; 6. *Quod idola* 14 = Serm. V 14; 7. *ad Demetrianum* *14 in the *contra Paganos*; 8. *de bono patientiae* *6 = Serm. III 58; 9. *de opere et eleemosynis* 1 = Serm. I 25, X 11, XV 65; 10. *Testimonia ad Quirinum* i titt. 15–17 = Serm. IX 15; 11. *ad Fortunatum* tit. 10 = Serm. VIII 27, XV 83; 12. *Ep.* x 2 = Serm. XIII 19, XIV 22; 13. *Ep.* x 3 = Serm. XII 8; 14. *Ep.* lviii 6 = Serm. VIII 50; 15. *Ep.* lviii 9 = Serm. XV 44; 16. *Ep.* lxxvi 7 = Serm. VIII 2? (the common words are only 'ad impetrandum . . . facilior oratio'); 17. *Acta Proconsularia* 1 = Serm. XV 76.

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the common indications of a special [illegible] give us fair warrant for adhesion to the [illegible] first two parts of the collection (*J. T. S.* [illegible] published under the anonymous title of [illegible] now seems to me an excess of caution [illegible] claim the name and authorship of St Maximus.

[1] I was partly influenced in the direction of caution by [illegible] about the Holy Spirit at the end of Sermon VII [illegible] me to be barely orthodox: 'Spiritus sanctus tertia [illegible] tertiam gerentem personam et *tertiam naturam* [illegible] comparing the wording of Augustine *de civ. Dei* [illegible] tatem, sed ipsum quoque substantiam et tertiam [illegible] (especially if we read 'tertium', be interpreted [illegible]

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NOTES AND STUDIES

ARLES AND ROME: THE FIRST DEVELOPEMENTS OF CANON LAW IN GAUL.

THE commencement of the first attempts at codification of the Canon Law of the early Church may be placed in the East about A. D. 400, in the West not till somewhat later. For Gaul we may date the beginning of the process in the middle of the fifth century; but the ideas which began then to germinate, and the tentative efforts to express them, were only as it were the advance guard of a movement which did not attain its full force for another generation. The first half of the sixth century saw the formation of the earliest Gallic codes of which copies are still extant, though of these copies themselves none are much older than the end of the same century. The crucial period roughly synchronized with the episcopate of a prelate who may be taken as the typical representative of the meaning and vigour of this movement—Caesarius, bishop and metropolitan of Arles from 503 to 543. Recent investigation has tended to shew more and more clearly how predominant was the part played in this developement by the churches of Provence, that corner of south-eastern France of which Arles was the acknowledged head.[1] Most of our early Gallic collections can in fact be referred, on grounds more or less satisfactory, not only to one period but also to one neighbourhood.

But the movement in Gaul was not confined to the collection of local material and the conservation of local tradition; side by side with the process of codification, a second movement of a more distinct and articulate tendency was at work at the same time, and of this further movement of expansion the focus seems undoubtedly to have been at Arles. The school of canonists that flourished there were active in the Roman interest, and some at least of its members appear to have had no scruple, where genuine material was wanting, in supplying new material under ancient labels.

Of all the canonical collections made in Gaul the best known, certainly in modern times and perhaps in ancient times as well, is that

[1] See especially Duchesne *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule* i, ed. 1 p. 140, ed. 2 p. 144; and Morin 'Les *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, sont-ils de S. Césaire d'Arles?' (*Revue Bénédictine* July 1913 pp. 334–342.) The latter paper, one of Dom Morin's most brilliant contributions to the critical study of Latin patristic literature, is the starting-point of the present enquiry, though I have attempted to cover rather more ground and have arrived at rather less clear-cut conclusions.

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which we call after the name of its editor, Quesnel,[1] a name well known on the Gallican side in the history of the Jansenist controversy. Quesnel's judgement was inferior to his learning, and the Ballerini, who like Quesnel edited this canonical collection as an appendix to an edition of St Leo,[2] and whose work remains after 150 years a monument of completeness and of all other scholarly qualities, were able to make damaging criticisms, in the Ultramontane interest, of his historical theories. It was easy for them to riddle Quesnel's idea that this collection of canons emanated from Rome, and to shew on the contrary that, though entirely devoid of Gallic matter, it is from beginning to end a native product of Gaul. For all that Quesnel was quite justified in detecting about it a Roman atmosphere. The canonist who compiled it worked on universal rather than on local lines, from a Roman rather than a national point of view. He must have published his *corpus* somewhere about the year 500; the latest document belongs to the pontificate of Gelasius and the year 495, and the papal catalogue prefixed to the Arras MS of the Quesneliana gives the years, months, and days of each pope down to Felix, the predecessor of Gelasius. Duchesne attributes the collection to Arles; and the attribution is probable enough.

Indications of locality are naturally more numerous where the material is native and not foreign, and scholars have thought that they could detect such indications, pointing to Arles or its neighbourhood, in the case of several of the primitive collections. Morin is convinced that the nucleus of the 'Lorsch' collection—represented by a Lorsch MS, now Vat. Pal. 574, and by a Murbach MS, now Gotha i 85, both of the early ninth century—stands in intimate relation with the circle and the policy of Caesarius of Arles.[3] The Cologne MS (ccxii of the Chapter Library, written about A. D. 600) I had myself ascribed on the ground of its palaeography and its contents—or if not the MS itself, then the original collection of perhaps fifty years earlier from which it was derived—to Provence.[4] And the Corbie MS (now Paris lat. 12097), the oldest monument of Gallic Canon Law, written in the second half of the sixth century, though its script seems to me too degraded to have emanated from the more cultured Provence, is expanded, in Duchesne's view, from a collection made at Arles somewhere about 525.[5]

[1] *Sancti Leonis Magni Opera* vol. ii (appendix), Paris 1675 (in quarto: a second edition in folio followed in 1700).

[2] *Sancti Leonis Magni Opera*, edited by the two brothers, Peter and Jerome Ballerini of Verona, vol. iii (Venice 1757).

[3] loc. cit. p. 339.

[4] In Burn *Facsimiles of the Creeds* (H.B.S. vol. xxxvi, 1909) pp. 39–41.

[5] *Fastes épiscopaux* i (142) 144.

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Two other Gallic collections of the sixth century remain to be mentioned; that of Albi, represented by two MSS, Toulouse i 364, written at Albi between 600 and 666, and Albi 2, the latter a copy of the former, but more completely preserved; and that of St Maur, represented by three nearly contemporary MSS, of date not far removed from A.D. 800, Paris lat. 1451, Vat. Reg. 1127 (from Angoulême; it once belonged to Jean du Tillet) and a third MS which came from the Jesuit college of Clermont at Paris into the Meerman collection and from thence to the Westreenen-Meerman collection at The Hague. Of these two collections the former is already located by the MSS which contain it to southern Gaul; while the latter has at least this much contact with Arles, that it gives the text of the canons both of the great council of Arles in 314 and also of the so-called 'second council', of which I shall speak presently, in a purer form in some crucial cases than any of our other MSS.[1]

Nearly all these ancient Gallic collections of the sixth century have in common one very significant feature, which illustrates the 'tendency' of the canonists to whom they owe their origin—the presence, in the forefront of the collections, of a list of popes from the beginning down to the respective date of each collection or manuscript. Such lists are found in the Arras and Einsiedeln MSS of the Quesnel collection, in the Corbie MS, in the Cologne MS, in the Albi MS, and in the St Maur MSS. They are rather rarely found in canonical collections outside Gaul, and their regular recurrence in the Gallic MSS is symptomatic of the 'mouvement nettement accentué vers Rome' which gathered strength in Provence and its metropolis as the influence of the school of Lerins declined.

So far we have been dealing with the work of the compilers who, for the most part in the first half of the sixth century, brought together pre-existing material into some sort of *corpus* of Canon Law. Of the contents of these compilations the vastly larger part is genuine beyond suspicion or cavil, and even the residuum, of which so much cannot be said, was in most cases admitted (there is no reason to doubt) in perfect good faith. But side by side with all this mass of honest and straightforward work there are other examples of this department of literature, produced during the same period and in the same neighbourhood, which leave a less favourable impression. Morin has drawn up a

[1] e.g. Arles I canon 9 (8) 'De Afris quod propria lege sua utantur . . .' where the main body of MSS has 'Arriis' for 'Afris': Arles II canon 5 'ut scripto responso consensisse significent' where the rest have 'se suo' for 'scripto': see the next part to be published of my *Eccl. Occid. Mon. Iur. Ant.* i 381–395, 426–435. Duchesne suggests Narbonne as the cradle of this collection.

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formidable impeachment of the integrity of documents traceable, it would seem, to the chancery of the metropolitan see of Arles, and, even if we limit the range and blunt the edge of some of his conclusions, there are counts of the indictment on which no other verdict than that of 'guilty' can be returned. The fraudulent passing off of new goods as old, and of individual or unauthorized manuals as conciliar codes, were devices not unknown among the school of canonists whose work we have here to examine. One method is exemplified in the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, which were not 'ancient' but modern, the other in the canons of the (second) 'council of Arles', which had in all probability nothing to do with a council at all.

1. The case of the second council of Arles is at once the less clear and the less important of the two. The canons of this council, in the fullest form in which they have come down to us, are a *réchauffé* of those of four earlier councils, Nicaea, Arles I (A. D. 314), Orange I (A. D. 441), and Vaison I (A. D. 442), altered and adapted to the ideas of the compiler and the requirements of his day. Thus in the first canon the Nicene prohibition (can. 2) of the ordination of neophytes to the 'episcopate or presbyterate' is changed into 'diaconate or priesthood'. Next follows a canon, which would certainly not have represented the mind of the Nicene Fathers, against the ordination of married men to the priesthood, save at the cost of putting away their wives. By the third Nicene canon the clergy were allowed to have as inmates of their homes certain women only, mothers, sisters, 'aunts or persons quite beyond suspicion': but the 'Arles' adaptation limits the permission to sisters and the direct line of ascent and descent, 'grandmother, mother, daughter, granddaughter'.[1] And so on for the other canons.

One cannot say that this sort of free treatment of the Nicene canons is inconsistent with the claim to conciliar sanction at Arles. But there are more definite grounds for suspicion. For instance the compiler of this 'revised and enlarged edition' of the Nicene code knew and used no less than four Latin versions of the Nicene canons—that of Rufinus, and those known as the Isidorian, the Gallica, and the Gallo-Hispana. It is not very likely that this medley can represent anything else than the work of a scholar with a large library at command, and the inclination and capacity for comparison of different authorities. And Duchesne and Morin both point out that a profuse display of learning, such as implies access to a rich and well-kept collection of church archives, is characteristic of the Arles school of canonists. Again, there are certain notes of the genuine Gallic councils which seem to have become part of their traditional equipment, such as the consular (and sometimes

[1] If indeed we ought not, with the St Maur group of MSS, to omit the grandmother and even the mother.

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imperial) date and the episcopal signatures. Thus there is no single council of all those held in south-eastern Gaul where the date is wanting, save only this so-called second council of Arles: I need only cite the two earliest, Arles of 314 'in civitate Arelatensium apud Marinum episcopum temporibus Constantini Volusiano et Anniano consulibus',[1] and Valence of 374 'apud ecclesiam Valentinam sub die IIII idus Iulias Gratiano IIII et Equitio consulibus'. This habit is in marked contrast with the absence of such dates in the majority of the Greek councils of the fourth century: we do not know the precise year of the councils of either Ancyra or Neocaesarea or Gangra or Laodicea. The list of episcopal signatures is not quite so constant a note of the Gallic councils as is the date: but there is hardly one of which the subscriptions are not present in some one or other of the MSS, while there is not the slightest trace of any such list for our 'second council'. The 'synodus habita in civitate Arelatensi', even if we need not call it a forgery in the fullest sense of the word, was probably at best a sort of semi-official manual of the church law of the time and place of its composition. The time will naturally have been not very long after the two latest councils which supply its material, those of 441 and 442: the place was presumably Arles itself, certainly somewhere within its jurisdiction, since the 18th canon runs: 'Ad Arelatensis episcopi arbitrium synodus congreganda, ad quam urbem[2] ex omnibus mundi partibus sub sancti Marini tempore legimus celebratum fuisse concilium atque conventum'. It will be noticed that there is no trace of any Romanizing interest in this 'second council': if its composition is correctly dated about A. D. 450, that was perhaps somewhat earlier than the Roman movement made itself consciously felt in the sphere of canon law.

2. Of more general importance in its history than the 'second council' of Arles, and much more gravely suspect in its origin, is the document known as the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*. In the editions of the Concilia, this body of canons will be found printed as the fourth council of Carthage (A. D. 398), that being the place assigned to them in the Hispana: but the Hispana is one of the latest and least trustworthy of the canonical collections of the patristic period. Since the time of the Ballerini it has been universally recognized that these canons, whatever they are, are not African: Maassen emphasized their Gallic character, and ascribed to them an origin at Arles within the same limits of time (between the council of Vaison in 442 and the council of Agde in 506) as the 'second council'. Recent opinion as

[1] The words *temporibus Constantini* may betray the hand of a later editor; but there is no reason to doubt that the consular date of this early council represents genuine tradition.

[2] Note the use of *urbs* for another city than Rome.

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to their authorship had tended to crystallize upon the name of Caesarius of Arles—though, since Caesarius only became bishop in 503 and the *Statuta* are cited, as is admitted on all hands, at Agde in 506, there was not much room available for Caesarius to have produced the code as a fruit of his episcopate. And certainly the bishops present at Agde (Caesarius was one of them) do not appear to regard the *Statuta* as anything but 'ancient', for they introduce their citation (canon 43) with the words 'sancti patres nostri synodali sententia censuerunt'. It is Morin's primary purpose, in the article already referred to, to shew that whatever the bishops at Agde did in their canons, that and more Caesarius himself did in his own writings, treating the *Statuta* as an existing and authoritative code, and, what is more, an African code. For in 534 Caesarius addressed a circular letter to the Gallic bishops in the matter of the deposition of Contumeliosus, bishop of Riez, and among the precedents to which he appeals are not only the decrees of the 318 bishops of Nicaea but the 'Africani pontifices'. There is nothing at all in the context to explain this sudden introduction of African bishops, save only that the *Statuta*, 'antiquorum patrum statuta', are actually quoted a little way further on. Morin concludes that Caesarius accepted the attribution of the *Statuta* to an African council, and he supports his conclusion by the parallel ascriptions contained in the sixth century Gallic collections: e.g. the 'Lorsch collection', giving the *dossier* in the case of Contumeliosus, prefixes to the *Statuta* the title 'Synodus Africana episcoporum ducentorum quattuor decem'. Morin's argument makes it clear that at the beginning of the sixth century the *Statuta* were already in existence, and were already assumed to be African. We must, therefore, look behind Caesarius and behind the sixth century for their origin. A document is not necessarily late even if it is a forgery.

How far the compiler went in the direction of the *suggestio falsi* is now the problem which we have to examine. We may take it as beyond question that he lived in Gaul and published his code somewhere in the second half of the fifth century. If he labelled it *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* he was claiming more than he had any right to claim, but we shall not feel very critical of a canonist who simply read his modern ideas into more primitive times—we are all in danger at one time or another of doing that. If he is responsible also for the words 'Synodus Africana', he was adding what he knew to be false, and the matter is more serious. Both the Ballerini and Maassen supposed that the connexion with Carthage or Africa was a copyist's blunder, and acquit the author of any responsibility for it: Morin on the other hand thinks that he claimed both an African origin and a Roman guarantee for his compilation, and regards him as acting throughout

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with the quite definite intention of securing, by a false title and a false colophon, an authority for his document which it would not otherwise have possessed.

It is certainly rather remarkable that no one before Morin seems to have called attention to the significance of the colophon appended to the *Statuta* in the Cologne MS, 'Finiunt constituta synodi Chartageninsis episcoporum CCXIII[I], qui scripti sunt in urbe Roma de exemplaribus papae sancti Leonis'.[1] If the scope of this colophon was limited to the *Statuta*, it would be difficult to demur to Morin's severe judgement of it, for the whole history of the *Statuta* is Gallic or Spanish; they are not contained in any collection or quoted by any writer outside these two countries. There is no more reason to suppose that they were ever known or copied in Rome than that they were ever known or copied in Africa. It is true that in some points their prescriptions represent Roman and not Gallic *praxis*, but that is part and parcel of their 'ultramontane' policy. Undoubtedly a leading motive of the code was the desire to assimilate the ecclesiastical law of the Gallic Churches to that of the Roman Church, and the colophon of the Cologne MS may have been only, as Morin thinks, a mere device for giving the code a better prospect of success.

I do not know whether Dom Morin would not have been still further confirmed in his judgement, if he had happened to light upon the two striking parallels I am now going to adduce. It was mentioned above that the 'second council' of Arles makes use of as many as four versions of the Nicene canons: and two of these four circulated in Gaul in copies guaranteed in a curiously similar manner to the Cologne MS of the *Statuta*. The epitome of Rufinus is labelled in the oldest Gallic collections (Corbie, Cologne, Albi) with the title 'Incipiunt canones Nicaeni CCCXVIII episcoporum, scripti in urbe Roma de exemplaribus sancti episcopi Innocenti'; the version known as the Gallo-Hispana has, in the solitary MS which preserves it, the colophon 'Expliciunt canones CCCXVIII episcoporum Niceni, transcripti in urbe Roma de exemplaribus sancti Innocenti episcopi'.[2] As to Rufinus, considerations of date and place are not *in limine* unfavourable to this claim: for the epitome of the Nicene canons is taken from the tenth book of his Church History, and that was written in Italy in the episcopate of pope Innocent. But the so-called Gallo-Hispana is as purely Gallic and Spanish in its history, and probably as Gallic in its origin, as the *Statuta* themselves. Have we not to do, then, with a standing formula

[1] The Corbie MS is defective for the close of the *Statuta*, or we should probably find a similar colophon there.

[2] See *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* i 179 *col a*, 238 *col b*.

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of falsification, current in the circles of the 'mouvement nettement accentué vers Rome'?

Obvious as this conclusion seems at first sight, it is not really quite so certain as it looks. The relevant facts are not yet all before us. Both in the case of the Leo colophon and in the case of the Innocent colophon, the document to which the colophon is appended is a composite one: it is not the *Statuta* only, and it is not the Gallo-Hispana only, for the text of which a Roman origin is claimed. The Nicene canons of the Gallo-Hispana are followed by the Sardican canons, numbered continuously as though themselves Nicene: and this combination of Nicaea and Sardica is characteristically Italian and Roman. The *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, in the Cologne MS and the other older Gallic collections, are quite similarly run on with another document, the eight or nine Anathematisms directed against the Pelagians by a Carthaginian council of 417 or 418. And the alternative is therefore open that it was the Sardican canons which were said to have been sent from Rome under guarantee of pope Innocent, and the anti-Pelagian Anathematisms which came similarly from Rome under guarantee of pope Leo.

Reserving for the moment the further examination of the Niceno-Sardican collection of the Gallo-Hispana, let us examine the problem of the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* in this new light.

The first and most certain result at which we arrive is that the 'council of 214 African bishops' is not a mere fiction, as we might so far have supposed and as Morin does in fact suppose,[1] but is a genuine historical reality, being in fact the council, on the testimony of our oldest authorities, by which these anti-Pelagian Anathematisms were promulgated. In the Corbie MS they bear the title 'Incipiunt constituta sinodica Charthagenensis episcoporum docentorum quattuordecim'; in the Cologne MS the title in the body of the MS is only 'Incipiunt canones Chartagininsis', but in the index at the beginning of the MS it is 'Canones Chartaginensis episcoporum CCXIIII'; in the Albi MS it runs 'Constituta Bitynie[2] sinodi Cartaginensis episcoporum numero CCXIIII'; in the St Maur group, in the index prefixed to their collection of African councils, 'Incipiunt capitula canonum concilii

[1] loc. cit. p. 340 'Ce soi-disant concile africain de deux cent quatorze évêques est-il simplement le fait d'une bévue de copistes? . . . Je ne le crois pas: je suis convaincu que nous avons là un faux, un faux fabriqué dans le milieu arlésien, et cela vers le déclin du v^e^ siècle.'

[2] The unintelligible 'Bitynie' is doubtless a blunder of the scribe of the Albi MS, who in copying out his exemplar, the Toulouse MS—unfortunately now defective at this point—was not infrequently puzzled by the rubricated titles, which were sometimes faint or illegible. I have given instances in *J.T.S.* ii 267: CONCILIVM TELENSEM even became 'canon niceni sinod epī c'.

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Cartaginensis episcoporum ccxiiii'. And the evidence of Prosper shews that this number of 214 was attached to the council of the Anathematisms quite independently of the *Statuta* and indeed probably before they came into existence. On three different occasions, in separate works, he speaks of the council of 214 bishops (identifying it, in fact, just by this detail of the number of those present) and of the decisive part it played in the Pelagian controversy.[1]

Now Prosper was an important person in the history of the Romanizing movement in Gaul on its doctrinal side. For a generation after the first outbreak of the Pelagian dispute, the Church of Gaul, as represented by its great theologians, Cassian of Marseilles, Vincent of Lerins, and Faustus of Riez, had strenuously resisted the extreme conceptions developed by St Augustine, especially in his latest writings, in opposition to Pelagianism. Rome, after a brief period of indecision under the pontificate of Zosimus, had thrown its influence whole-heartedly on the African side; and it would be just about the time of Leo's accession in A. D. 440 that the Roman-African theology began to make headway in Gaul. Prosper, whose intervention on the anti-Pelagian side goes back to A. D. 427, was in close relations with St Leo, went to Rome with him as his secretary, and according to one (doubtless apocryphal) account wrote the pope's letters for him. Nothing could be in itself more likely than that either Prosper or some disciple of his should be briefed from Rome for the campaign against the 'semi-Pelagianism' of Gaul, and that the brief should consist of, or at any rate should include, the definitions that had been drawn up by an African council under the eye of St Augustine.

These considerations appear to me to be enough to rebut the *prima facie* case for falsification which, as we saw, did attach both to the title of the 'African synod of 214 bishops' and to the colophon 'written out from the copies of the holy pope Leo', so long as they stood in relation only to the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*. When they are brought into their proper relation to the anti-Pelagian Anathematisms, there is positive reason for regarding the title as genuine, and no positive reason for not regarding the colophon as genuine too. There would still of course remain ground for suspecting that the same person who compiled the *Statuta* not only equipped them with the brevet of 'antiquity', but did his best to establish their reputation by inserting

[1] I repeat the references from Maassen, p. 171 n. 5: (i) *Chronicon*, sub anno 418 'Concilio apud Carthaginem habito ccxiiii episcoporum ad papam Zosimum synodalia decreta perlata, quibus probatis per totum mundum haeresis Pelagiana damnata est'; (ii) *Responsio ad capitula Gallorum, obiectio* viii 'Et cum ccxiiii sacerdotibus, quorum constitutionem contra inimicos gratiae Dei totus mundus amplexus est...'; (iii) *Contra Collatorem* § v 'Erraverunt ccxiiii sacerdotes qui in epistula quam suis constitutionibus praetulerunt, ita apostolicae sedis antistitem beatum Zosimum adlocuti sunt ...?'

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them between the text of the Anathematisms and the colophon belonging to the text. This is certainly the earliest position to which we can trace them: in all the earliest Gallic collections the *Statuta* are run on without break from the Anathematisms. In the St Maur collection the preceding analysis summarizes in twenty-seven sections the matter of both Anathematisms and *Statuta*: in the Corbie MS the headline of the pages CANONES CARTHAGINENSES remains unaltered throughout both: in the Cologne MS even the actual numbering is continuous, so that after eight Anathematisms the first canon of the *Statuta* is numbered viiii, the second x, and so on. We cannot prove that it was the compiler who set them where we first find them, but it is not unlikely, nor can it be said to be alien from the habits of this school of canonists. But whether or not the device was intentional, it was certainly effective: the *Statuta* circulated henceforth under the *cachet* of African origin and papal approval.

3. Before concluding this paper, it will be well to probe a little further into the two parallel instances, cited above, of canonical matter 'written down from the copies of the holy bishop Innocent'. One symptom strikes us as reassuring at the outset: whereas the copies of Leo were claimed as those of 'the holy pope', 'papae sancti Leonis', the copies of Innocent are those of 'the holy bishop Innocent', 'sancti episcopi Innocenti', 'sancti Innocenti episcopi'. It might probably enough be just in the interval between Innocent and Leo—between A. D. 416 and 440—that the practice would be growing up of formally distinguishing the Roman bishop by the title 'pope'; and at Arles the practice would be fostered as the fifth century drew on by the ultramontane tendencies of its school of canonists. So far as it goes, the title 'bishop' given to pope Innocent in the collections which make his *exemplaria* the guarantee of the two versions of the Nicene canons, that of Rufinus and that called Gallo-Hispana, appears to be in favour of the label being really contemporary.

As the version or epitome of Rufinus was Italian and must have come to Gaul from Italy, and as it is clear that it enjoyed considerable vogue in Gallic circles—it is more largely employed than any other version, for instance, in the 'second council' of Arles, and Caesarius quotes a canon from it word for word—there is nothing to hinder, and much to recommend, the view that the chancery of Arles may have derived the text at a quite early date from the chancery of Rome. Intercourse, official and semi-official, was active between the two sees from the very earliest years of the fifth century A. D.

The version of the Nicene canons known as Gallo-Hispana is, however, as purely Gallic as that of Rufinus is Italian. Its characteristics are smoothness, lucidity, logical order and developement, and to the attainment of these qualities faithfulness in rendering the original is time

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after time sacrificed. The author put together his results by a conflation of two previous translations, the 'Gallica' and Rufinus, and combined, sorted, arranged, and edited without the slightest regard to the Greek, which there is no reason to think he ever looked at.[1] Considering the almost superstitious veneration of the Roman Church for the Nicene canons, I somewhat doubt if any scribe of the papal chancery would—except of course where there was any question of papal claims—have taken such liberties with the text. We feel that the compiler is rather a canonist and an ecclesiastic than a translator: the Nicene legislation is in fact adapted and brought up to date. His virtues and his faults are just those which are distinctive marks of the workshop of the school of Arles. I do not now feel any hesitation in locating him in Gaul and not at Rome.

Therefore if it were certain that the colophon about the *exemplaria* of Innocent applied primarily to that version of the real Nicene canons whose characteristics I have just been describing, the presumption against its veracity would be as strong as Morin felt it to be in the case of the colophon about the *exemplaria* of Leo. But it is not certain: and in fact an innocent construction can be put as easily on the one as on the other. For after the Nicene canons of the Gallo-Hispana there follow, first the Nicene Creed and the subscriptions of Osius and the two Roman presbyters, next the Sardican canons—numbered continuously, after nineteen genuine canons, as xx to xxxix—then the colophon EXPLICIUNT CANONES CCCXVIII EPISCOPORUM NICENI TRANSSCRIPTI IN URBE ROMA DE EXEMPLARIBUS SANCTI INNOCENTI EPISCOPI AMEN—and last of all the remaining Nicene signatures with the title NOMINA EPISCOPORUM QUI IN CONCILIO NICAENO SUBSCRIPSERUNT ORIENTALIUM and the colophon EXPLICIUNT NOMINA EPISCOPORUM NUMERO CCXXII, OCCIDENTALIUM VERO NOMINA IDEO NON SCRIPTA QUIA APUD EOS NULLA ERAT SUSPECCIO DE HERESI. From these *data* two conclusions emerge with tolerable clearness: the first, that the

[1] The following instances illustrate his entire independence of the Greek text: can. 1 'a barbaris aut a dominis castrati', G-H adds 'uel a iudicibus': can. 5 'munus purum offeratur deo', G-H adds 'et in diebus ieiunii et in pascha': can. 6 'urbis Romae episcopus', G-H adds 'habet vicinas sibi provincias et Anthiociae totam Coelem' [i.e. Coele-Syria]: can. 8 'ad ecclesiam nostram' 'ecclesiae nostrae', where the original had only 'the Church', and 'our Church' is presumably contrasted with the Arian Church of the barbarians: can. 8 'castella' is added to 'civitates' and 'vici': can. 14 'loca' are added to 'civitates': can. 16, the original and the earlier versions dealt only with usurious clergy, G-H adds 'et laici a communione ecclesiastica sequestrentur': can. 17 deacons are ministers to the bishop, G-H adds 'and to the presbyters', words significant of a change that came about in the fourth century: can. 19 for 'quae in scemate' *τῶν ἐν τῷ σχήματι*, G-H substitutes 'quae in schismate fuerunt, sive de illis quae in catholica semper fide manserunt'—not understanding the phrase in his exemplar, and desirous at all costs to produce something lucid and logical.

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final title and colophon must be read together (whether as a title or as a colophon), since the sense requires that ORIENTALIUM and OCCIDENTALIUM should be brought into direct contrast with one another: the second and more important that, if we omit the Sardican canons and their colophon, we find that the signatures of Osius and the Romans to the Creed is now followed without break by the remaining (Oriental) signatures, and it will hardly be questioned that that was the original arrangement.

But if so, the scope of the Innocent-colophon must be limited to the inserted matter, that is to the Sardican canons: and to treat the Sardican canons as Nicene was a purely Italian, not to say Roman, idiosyncrasy, only conceivable in a *milieu* where historical knowledge was so weak (and dogmatic prepossession so strong) as it was in Roman Church circles after St Jerome had retired to Palestine. Any appearance of Sardican canons under the guise of Nicene in a Gallican collection is an infallible sign of Italian influence.[1] And as it was Zosimus, the immediate successor of Innocent, who pressed the Nicene authority of the Sardican canons upon the Church of Africa, there is nothing unlikely in a similar attempt from Rome in the time of Innocent to commend their acceptance to the Church of Gaul.

To sum up, then, our results: it appears to be established that an important school of canonists flourished in the chancery of the metropolitical see of Arles in the fifth and sixth centuries, and further that as the fifth century progressed two tendencies became gradually characteristic of their work—the tendency to Romanize the local or Gallican church law, and the tendency to equip their own productions with labels of fictitious antiquity or authority. Obviously either of these two dominant ideas might account for emphasis laid on *exemplaria* of pope Innocent or pope Leo. We could not say off-hand whether the motive was an honest desire to advertise the value and promote the circulation of documents actually received from Rome, or whether the *soi-disant* Roman material had never crossed the Alps at all but had originated in the fertile brain of some Romanizing canonist at Arles. Each case must be decided on its own merits and probabilities: to me it seems more likely than not that all the pieces concerned—the epitome of Rufinus, the Nicaeno-Sardican canons, the anti-Pelagian Anathematisms of the 214 African bishops—did really come to Gaul from Rome. It is another question whether occasion was not sometimes taken to extend the guarantee of Roman origin contained in the colophons to cover other matter that was not Roman at all.

C. H. TURNER.

[1] For indications of this in the case of the Quesnel collection see *Eccl. Occid. Mon. Iur. Ant.* i 274.

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THE ORDINATION PRAYERS IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH ORDER.

In the last volume of the JOURNAL (vol. xvi pp. 542 ff) Mr C. H. Turner has raised this problem afresh, and has put forward a new solution of part of it, viz. for that which relates to the ordination prayer for a presbyter. He claims for his solution the merit of simplicity. This may be granted, though the analogy between the rubrical methods of the Gelasian Sacramentary and the ways of the much earlier Eastern Church Order based on the *περὶ χαρισμάτων ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις* of Hippolytus does not carry us far. The analogy itself is problematical, seeing there is no sign that the prayer there cited is not complete and continuous; nor is there exact parallelism, as there is in the Gelasian rubric, at the assumed second catch phrase, 'respice . . .'. But, beyond this, the theory does not really explain the form in which the prayer is referred to in the 'Canons of Hippolytus'; rather it makes this less intelligible than before. The facts, as he gives them, are these:—

Latin (Hauler p. 108).

et dicat secundum ea quae praedicta sunt, sicut praediximus super episcopum, orans et dicens **Deus et pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, respice super servum tuum istum . . .**

Ethiopic (Horner p. 143).

and [they] shall pray over him; in the form which we said before he (the bishop) shall pray, saying **My God, the Father of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, look down upon this thy servant . . .**

Here the 'Canons of Hippolytus' quote no prayer, but say 'the bishop's prayer shall be said over him (the presbyter-elect) entire, except the name "bishop" only. The bishop is in all respects the equivalent of the presbyter except in regard to the throne and ordination, because he was not given authority to ordain'. No doubt these 'Canons' are a secondary authority in their present form; but they sometimes preserve or presuppose more clearly the original form of the Ancient Church Order[1] lying at the base also of the two other witnesses and certain related documents.

Now Mr Turner's theory is that this common basis ran very much as the Latin and Ethiopic, which are supposed to cite the actual prayer

[1] Not, I think, Hippolytus's *περὶ χαρισμάτων ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις* itself, but an already modified form of it.

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over a presbyter first in its opening words, for reference, and then only in the part where it deviated from the episcopal type of ordination prayer—a view not borne out by the wording, as above; and that the compiler of the Canons misunderstood the passage to direct that 'the bishop's prayer shall be said entire' over the presbyter-elect, though what was actually before his eyes was something quite different in the main. The one difference he specifies is the non-use of the name 'bishop' in the prayer to be offered. Surely such an error is inconceivable.

Accordingly, seeing that the two witnesses already cited really give two contradictory directions—*pace* Mr Turner's explanation and analogy—I suggest that this is due to the substitution of a special ordination prayer for a presbyter, meant to remove the theoretic difficulty of the original text (implied by themselves as well as the Canons), viz. that the prayer over bishop and presbyter was the same. To avoid this anomaly, as it seemed at the date when the addition was made, a largely different prayer was compiled and inserted, so reducing to nullity the original simple instruction to use the same prayer. Assuming, then, that the Ancient Church Order dates from about 250, probably in Syria, this addition was most likely made before 325, to judge from its type of doxology, which has the archaic παῖς for Christ.

Further, Mr Turner has justly argued that the form of prayer for a bishop found in our authorities contains language which could not have been applied to a presbyter at any time in the third century; e.g. the function of high-priesthood and propitiation of God, and authority to forgive sins in the high-priestly spirit, to distribute offices, and to loose every bond according to the authority given to the Apostles. But in the light of the above suggestion, the natural inference from this is that the original prayer for a bishop (alluded to in the common basis of our three sources) did not contain such clauses; that they are in fact additions due to a later hand or hands.

An actual analogy for such interpolation in the bishop's ordination prayer is furnished by one branch of its transmission, that represented by *Const. per Hipp.* and *Apost. Const.*, in contrast to the [illegible] Mr Turner himself is 'quite sure' that these two 'have got quite [illegible] lines' in putting in 'references to ἐνεργήματα ἰατικά, to λύσιν [illegible] to παίδευσις τοῦ λαοῦ, and to αἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἱερουργίαι, as [illegible] the presbyter'. This he holds partly because they [illegible] to New Testament language, esp. the ἐνεργήματα ἰαμά[illegible] 10, 28[1]—and we may see references to the Pastorals [illegible] and 'partly because, without meaning it, they have [illegible]

[1] As does also Lat. (along with them) higher up. [illegible] ἀνθερῶν τὸν λαόν σου, on the model of 1 Cor. xii 28 [illegible]

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by introducing the sacerdotal ideas (*ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἱερουργίαι*) which did not attach to the presbyterate, apart from the episcopate, before the fourth century'. The probable date of these additions, to judge from their witnesses, is the latter part of the fourth century; and one may fairly assign the earlier and more widely attested additions to the episcopal prayer, and the whole of the presbyteral one—as not known to the compiler of the 'Canons of Hippolytus'—to a date *c.* 300–325. It was perhaps after that date that the remoulding of the doxology at the end of both prayers took place, whereby it assumed the embarrassed form in which it appears in our extant witnesses.

These suggestions touching the ordination prayers of presbyter and bishop admit of more detailed proof: and to make surer of our ground let us first consider the manifest changes that have been made in the Hippolytean basis in the case of the ordination of a Deacon. Here our authorities go various ways, both in the introductory matter and in the prayer. As to the former, the primary form of CO[1] in Dr Frere's nomenclature (viz. the old Latin version and the Ethiopic, as distinct from the Arabic and Coptic versions), CO[2] (= *Apostolic Constitutions* and *Const. per Hippolytum*), the *Testamentum Domini*, and CH (the *Canons of Hippolytus* in Arabic), all diverge. CO[1] and *Test. Dom.* imply a common form, though with minor later, and probably local, varieties: CO[2] sets even this basis aside, and substitutes something in terms of pure late fourth century conceptions, followed by a quite different prayer: while CH seems independent even of CO[1], alike in the argumentative introduction distinguishing the diaconate, as purely ministerial, from the presbyterate or higher clerical order ('the bishops and presbyters' whom he is to 'serve in all things'), and in the prayer which follows. In essentials the facts are as follows:—

Canons of Hippolytus.	*The basis of the Latin and Ethiopic Versions.*	*Testament of the Lord.*
When a deacon is ordained, let it be done according to the same rules[1]; and they shall (*man soll*) say the following prayer for him:	Diaconus vero cum ordinatur, eligatur secundum ea quae praedicta sunt, similiter [imponens manus episcopus solus sicuti et praecepimus [2]].	Let the deacon be appointed, chosen according to the things before spoken of. (Here follow his qualifications.)

this recurs in a part of the section on the ordination of a deacon which will be shown to be secondary.

[1] Riedel, 'nach denselben Canones', i. e. analogously to the procedure laid down in the bishop's case, so far as his election is concerned: compare Lat. and Eth.

[2] Here the secondary 'apostolic' setting of this recension of the Hippolytean basis shews itself. It seems a later one even than that used in *Test. Dom.*, which also refers to the qualities for which the deacon was to be 'chosen'—as in *the previous part* of CO[1].

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Canons of Hippolytus (continued).	*The basis of the Latin and Ethiopic Versions* (continued).	*Testament of the Lord* (continued).
[However, he is not appointed to the presbyterate, but to the diaconate, as a servant of God. Let him serve the bishop and presbyters in all things, and not only at the time of the liturgy: but let him also serve the sick of the Church who have no one belonging to them.	In diacono ordinando solus episcopus imponat manus propterea quia non in sacerdotio ordinatur, sed in ministerio episcopi, ut faciat ea quae ab ipso iubentur: non est enim particeps consilii in clero ('and he was not ordained to be the teacher (fellow-councillor, Copt.) of all those who are in orders', *Eth. Ar. Copt.*).	Let the bishop alone lay hands on him, because he is not appointed to the priesthood, but for the service of attendance on the bishop and the Church.[1] Let [his] ministry be thus. First let him do only those things which are commanded by the bishop as for proclamation; and let him be the counsellor of the whole clergy and the mystery of the Church,[2] who ministereth to the sick. . . .]

That the above is interpolation[3] is shewn by what immediately precedes in CH, which implies that originally a prayer followed at once. As it is, its own interpolation ends with a tag repeating the first reference to a prayer, in a later form: viz. 'But let the bishop lay his hand upon him, and say this prayer over him, saying':

Canons of Hippolytus.	*The basis of the Latin and Ethiopic Versions.*	*Testament of the Lord.*
O God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,	Deus, qui omnia creasti et verbo perordinasti, Pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, quem misisti ministrare tuam voluntatem et manifestare nobis tuum desiderium, da spiritum sanctum gratiae et sollicitudinis et industriae in hunc servum tuum, quem elegisti ministrare eccle-	Expanded form of that in the Ethiopic (and Lat.).
we earnestly beseech Thee to pour out Thy holy Spirit upon Thy servant N. and number him with those		. . give the Spirit of Grace and earnestness (so Eth.) . . . . .

[1] Cf. below, 'to minister to Thy Church', alike in Lat. (Eth.) and *Test. Dom.*

[2] In view of the deacon being called later on 'the eye of the Church' (as whose minister, rather than the bishop's, he appears in *Test. Dom.*), this may mean 'the symbol (representative) of the Church'. It looks as if local feeling in this circle, perhaps also in an older source, was far from minimizing the deacon's initiative.

[3] The very notion of safeguarding the distinction between presbyter and deacon is foreign to the genius and date of Hippolytus's περὶ χαρισμάτων, and represents later experience.

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Canons of Hippolytus (continued).	*The basis of the Latin and Ethiopic Versions* (continued).	*Testament of the Lord* (continued).
who serve Thee according to all Thy good-pleasure, like Stephen and his companions. Fill him with might and wisdom, like Stephen[1].	siae tuae et offerre [Lat. *hiat*, Eth. continues] 'in Thy Holy of Holies that which is offered to Thee by Thine ordained Chief Priests to the glory of Thy name.	offering in holiness to Thy holy place those things which are offered to Thee from the inheritance of Thy high priesthood[2]: so that ministering without blame and purely . . . . .
Make his life that it be without sin before all men, and an example for many, whereby he may save a number in Thy Church without fault: and receive all his service through our Lord Jesus Christ.	Thus without blame, in pure life, having served the degrees of ordination, he may attain the exalted priesthood and (*om. b*, &c.) Thy honour (in Thy counsel, *c*; *om. b*), and glorify Thee, through Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord.	he may be deemed worthy[3] of this high and exalted office by Thy good will, praising Thee continually through Thy Only-begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord.

Here it seems fairly clear that:

(1) Where *Test. Dom.* is really parallel with the oldest form of the CO[1] recension, it is more primitive than this.

(2) The features in which CO[1] diverges from *Test. Dom.* are those in which it diverges yet more from CH, where the moral and personal, as compared with the sacerdotal and official, aspects of the diaconate are most marked.

(3) CO[2] for the most part supports the CH type as it stands, save at the end, where the latter's reference to rise in the *cursus ordinum* differs also from what appears in *Test. Dom.* and Eth. (Lat.?). This suggests that the references to promotion are all secondary, as compared with the simpler form in CH, where no liturgical ministry at all is dwelt on.

(4) These divergences point to the whole discussion of the deacon's duties, and the *caveats* touching the exact nature of his orders, as being secondary. Thus all between the opening words, prescribing his election on the lines already indicated in the case of bishop and presbyter, and the ordination prayer, was lacking in the Hippolytean

[1] *Apost. Const.* and *Const. per Hipp.* support the line of CH's prayer thus far against the other.

[2] Referring apparently to the deacon's part in the offertory of the people's gifts, brought to the bishop for his support, and that of the clergy, and other sacred services. Eth. gives this another turn, tending to emphasize the bishop's part in the offering.

[3] *A. C.* and *Const. per Hipp.* have καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτὸν εἰσφέρειν λειτουργοῦντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σου τὰ δῶρα σου . . . ἀμέμπτως, ἀνεγκλήτως, μείζονος ἀξιωθῆναι βαθμοῦ, διὰ τῆς μεσιτείας τοῦ χριστοῦ σου, τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ σου.

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basis.[1] This would be natural from the nature of the work and the analogy of the way the two offices forming the higher order, bishop and presbyter, are there treated.

That there should be successive modifications in the ideal of the diaconate, is what we should expect from our other evidence. The change as between the Syrian *Didascalia* (*c.* 250–275) and its revision in the *Apost. Constitutions* (esp. iii 20) is markedly in the same direction. In the *Apostolic Church Order* or *Ecclesiastical Canons* the phenomena are even more similar to the above. For there we get a supplemental section (xxii), separated from the first and main section on Deacons by one on Widows, and assigned to another apostle. In this less important functions are assigned to the office as compared with what had before been laid down. Finally, comparison with early Western Orders, both Roman and Gallican, where the prayer of blessing ('Eucharistic' Duchesne styles such prayers of consecration, alike for deacon, presbyter, and bishop) is quite parallel in idea to that of CH in the actual supplication for the ministerial grace requisite to the office:

'Emitte in eos, Domine, quaesumus, Spiritum sanctum quo in opus ministerii fideliter exsequendi munere septiformi tuae gratiae roborentur. Abundet in eis totius forma virtutis, auctoritas modesta, pudor constans, innocentiae puritas . . . In moribus eorum praecepta tua fulgeant, *ut suae castitatis exemplo imitationem sanctae plebis acquirant*, et bonum conscientiae testimonium praeferentes in Christo firmi et stabiles perseverent, dignisque successibus de inferiori gradu per gratiam tuam capere potiora mereantur.'

Here, while we have the reference to future promotion which appears in CO generally, as distinct from CH, there is close parallelism with CH as to the conception of the diaconate as a ministry in which character and purity of life are the essentials. The reference to sacerdotal functions occurs only in the elaborate invocatory preface, which may well be of relatively late origin, especially when we compare it with that in the Gallican ordinal, where moreover the reference to sacerdotal ministry is but slight and may also be secondary:

'Domine sancte, spei, fidei, gratiae et profectuum munerator, qui in caelestibus et terrenis angelorum ministeriis ubique dispositis per omnia elementa voluntatis tuae defendis affectum,

hunc quoque famulum tuum, *Illum*, speciali dignare inlustrare aspectu, et tuis obsequiis expeditus sanctis altaribus minister purus adcrescat et, indulgentia purior, eorum gradu quos Apostoli tui in septenario numero, beato Stephano duce et praevio, sancto Spiritu auctore elegerunt, dignus existat, et virtutibus universis quibus tibi servire oportet instructus compleat.'

[1] As also in *A. C.* and *Const. per Hipp.*

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Here we have again, not only the same emphasis on the moral and spiritual qualities which fit for God's service, but also the reference to Stephen as the prototype of a true deacon, which may well go back to Rome in the days of Hippolytus, and so persist in the first Syrian recension of his work *περὶ χαρισμάτων*.

One may conclude, then, that Hippolytus's *περὶ χαρισμάτων ἀποστ. παράδοσις* read simply: 'When a deacon is ordained (or appointed),[1] let it be done according to the same rules; and they[2] shall say the following prayer for (or, over) him: O God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,[3] &c.'

With this experience gained in the case of a Deacon, we can consider more briefly, but with some confidence, the case of a Presbyter.

CH.	*Latin.*	*Test. of the Lord.*
And when a presbyter is ordained, let it be done in his case just as in that of the bishop, excepting the name 'bishop'. The bishop is in all respects like the presbyter, save regarding the throne and ordination; because he was given no authority to ordain.	Cum autem presbyter ordinatur, imponat manum super caput eius episcopus, contingentibus etiam presbyteris, et dicat secundum ea quae praedicta sunt, sicut praediximus super episcopum, orans et dicens:	Let a presbyter be ordained, being testified to by all the people, according as we have said before (then follow qualities requisite). Then let the appointment (*κατάστασις*) be thus [much as in Latin].

Then follows a prayer which, as already shewn, is *not* the same sort of prayer as that for a bishop—which yet is cited as its type—but conforms rather to the deacon's prayer in CH, (1) as regards its simple invocation

Deus et pater domini nostri Iesu Christi;

(2) the order of what follows, viz. prayer for the Spirit in a certain characteristic form defining the essence of the office (here that of counsel, to aid and govern God's people with a pure heart);
an analogy to such office and the corresponding grace for it (here that of the Elders associated with Moses, the bishop or chief Shepherd, as it were, of God's chosen people);
a petition for the constant supply of grace to fulfil the appropriate ministry in a worthy manner, to the glory of God through Jesus Christ.

[1] *κατάστασις* is the idea in question both in CO[2] and in *Test. Dom.*, which uses the same word also in the case of a presbyter. This is the word used for all offices in the *Ecclesiastical Canons*.

[2] i. e. those acting in the matter, bishop and presbyters, as in the previous case, that of a presbyter. This is borne out by the prayer itself, '*we* earnestly-beseech Thee'.

[3] This simple title, used in the opening of the bishop's prayer, persists throughout the deacon's prayer in CH.

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All this is distinctly not on the lines of the bishop's prayer, and is Syrian rather than Roman in wording.[1] On the other hand, it is to be noted that even this relatively late prayer (not earlier than A. D. 300 or so) makes the bishop and presbyters, who together pray it over the candidate ask for a continuance of the grace of the presbyterate in themselves. This suggests that the difference between the bishop and presbyter was only one of rank and presidential function, not of order or grace; and that is just what CH states explicitly. Further, when this document, whose credit as nearest to the Hippolytean basis has so far been confirmed throughout, says not only that the same prayer was to be used for a presbyter as a bishop, but also that the whole ordination was to be similar in form, it is probable that originally 'contingentibus etiam presbyteris'—which is here specified in CO[1] generally (including *Test. Dom.*)—applied also to a bishop's ordination.[2]

When, in the light of all this, we approach the prayer for the ordination of a Bishop in this group of authorities, we may fairly do so with the presumption that CH will be nearest the original or Hippolytean form. And here at once Mr Turner's strongest point, his sense that such a prayer as CO[1] contains could not have been used for a presbyter, finds justification. Neither CH nor *Test. Dom.*, which have hitherto yielded our oldest forms, has any reference to the right of conferring orders (*διδόναι κλήρους κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμά σου*). CH has simply 'Give unto him, O Lord, the episcopate, and a mild spirit and authority to forgive sins', a form which quite suits its statement of the rule for the ordination of presbyters. It has no reference to 'high-priesthood', either there or above; but where CO[1] as a whole has *ἀρχιερατεύειν σοι ἀμέμπτως λειτουργοῦντα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ἀδιαλείπτως τε ἱλάσκεσθαι τῷ προσώπῳ σου καὶ προσφέρειν σοι τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἁγίας σου ἐκκλησίας*, it has first a petition for his moral pre-eminence over all his flock, and then simply the following (which reminds one of the type of thought in the deacon's ministry in CH): 'and accept his prayers and oblations which he presents to Thee day and night, and let them be to Thee a strong savour'. The sacrifice is the personal one of the bishop's own prayers and alms; but the phrases used are such as easily to suggest another and more liturgical turn as time went on, and as these aspects

[1] In particular, *πνεῦμα . . . συμβουλίας τοῦ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κυβερνᾶν τὸν λαόν σου* agrees closely with the language touching the presbyteral order as sharing with the bishop 'the common and like Spirit' (so Lat.; its addition of *cleri* is not supported by the Eth. and other Eastern versions), found in the section which we saw reason to believe secondary and Syrian in the prayer for a deacon—being absent alike from CH, *Test. Dom.*, and *Apost. Const.*

[2] There are suggestions of this in the varying and rather embarrassed language of our authorities at that point itself.

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of a bishop's ministry became more emphasized. Such moral and personal emphasis as marks CH has its justification in the invocation of God as καρδιογνῶστα, the aspect on which in all our sources He is asked to look upon His servant, the ordinand. Finally, when we turn to the Western Orders, we there find large agreement with its distinctive emphasis on personal and moral gifts, especially in the actual graces invoked for the bishop. Of course there are also much the same prerogatives as are asked in CO[1] generally: but there is no reference to the giving of orders as characteristic of his office, while in the actual petitions for him, as distinct from the invocatory preface, sacerdotal or liturgical functions are absent.

On the whole, then, there seems good cause to regard the original form of the Ancient Church Order, as it took shape in Syria about the middle of the third century or rather later, and so of Hippolytus's περὶ χαρισμάτων ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις on which it was based, as best represented by CH in the ordination sections for bishop and presbyter, as well as for deacon. This view would be further confirmed by a comparison of the matter in the several sources with the view of these offices found in the Syrian *Didascalia*, the document most akin to CO[1] in date and provenance. Finally, the genetic relations of all the Eastern documents cited in this study would, in my opinion, be found to accord with these results, though they cannot here be worked out and exhibited in their totality.

VERNON BARTLET.

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THE DEIFICATION OF MAN IN CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA: SOME FURTHER NOTES.

In the January number of the JOURNAL the Rev. G. W. Butterworth gives an interesting analysis of what Clement of Alexandria has to tell us in regard to the 'deification' of man, and quotes the passages in which this deification is mentioned. He also shews how strongly Platonic ideas influenced his presentation of the subject, and, doubtless, his own thoughts about it also. Yet Clement's appeal is to a large extent, I take it, that of a philosopher to philosophers—an appeal which has not uncommonly met with the reception of a Paul at Athens —and we cannot always measure what is in his mind by what he actually puts forward, but sometimes we have to discover for ourselves the ultimate source of his inspiration in Holy Writ and the Christian Tradition.

Now, as regards the doctrine of the deification of the Christian—for I cannot treat it as less than a doctrine, and a very vital one at that— Mr Butterworth is very positive that the earliest Greek Fathers, and Clement in particular, could not have been influenced by the Scriptures (pp. 162–163). 'There is nothing in either the Old or the New Testament which by itself could even faintly suggest that man might practise being a god in this world and actually become one in the next. . . . As for the New Testament, we can imagine how vigorously such language would have been repudiated by, let us say, St Paul, in whose eyes "gods many and lords many" could never have seemed anything but the distinctive mark of false religion. A Scriptural origin being therefore out of the question . . .' May I suggest that in this the writer, like many a one before him, has been correct in what he has asserted, but mistaken in what he has denied? If I may sum up the matter in a few words, I would say that the identification of the Christian with Christ was the central doctrine of St Paul, and that he understood this as necessarily bringing with it deification. In the words which I have quoted the issue is somewhat confused by the supposition that this deification involves polytheism, a conclusion from which St Paul would, of course, have shrunk with horror, no less than Clement himself.[1] It also appears to me that Clement's fondness for the

[1] e. g. *Coh. ad Gentes*, capp. iv, x μόνος ὄντως θεός (Potter, pp. 55, 81).

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subject may partly be due to an influence other than Greek philosophy; he was writing at the fountain-head of hellenistic king-worship, and it may have been his purpose to shew that a Christian could become no less divine than any Ptolemy or Roman emperor. These two views I shall endeavour to put forward succinctly, without doing more than indicating the interesting developements of which the subject admits, and without endeavouring to press home one or two points which, I fear, cannot be said to stand wholly outside dogmatic controversy.

In the first place, then, if it be granted that St Paul believed Christ to be God, and if, as has been said, his central doctrine is the identification of the Christian with Christ, it would follow as the conclusion of a syllogism that he regarded the Christian as deified, whatever ulterior explanation we might think it necessary to give to this teaching. Now that he held Christ to be God will to many, at all events, seem a thing too obvious to be insisted on; we have, for example, the great passage Philip. ii 6–11, written, not for the sake of teaching or emphasizing the doctrine itself, but to supply a motive for humility. And the importance of the confession that 'Jesus is Lord' (or Yahweh) is again inculcated in Rom. x 9, 1 Cor. xiii 3. Then there are such passages as Rom. ix 5, Col. i 19, ii 9.

Next, not to labour this point, the identification of the Christian with Christ is proposed, if anything, even more plainly. As Dr Headlam has well put it in his *St Paul and Christianity* (p. 145), 'this teaching of union [I should prefer to say "unity"] with Christ is one of the greatest and deepest of St Paul's thoughts; it represents, perhaps, the culminating point of his religious experience; it unifies all his theology'. How, then, is man to enter into this unity with Christ, to first 'put on the Lord Jesus' (Rom. xiii 14)? The process is set forth in Rom. vi 1–11, and can be further illustrated from Gal. v 24–25, Col. iii 9–11, and many other passages. With Christ and in Christ he must be crucified, that is, his flesh, the 'old man', must be crucified with its passions: with Christ and in Christ he is buried: with Christ and in Christ he arises from beneath the waters of baptism as from the grave, in the glory of a new and risen life, which is even Christ living within him (Gal. ii 20). It was his eagerness to express the intimacy of this unity with Christ that led St Paul to employ, and in part to coin, that large and rather uncouth series of compounds with σύν, which are the despair of the translator (cf. Prat *La Théologie de S. Paul* vol. ii pp. 52–53). The same doctrine might also be illustrated from the Fourth Gospel (e.g. John xv 5, xvii 21), and traces of it indicated in the Synoptics (e.g. Matt. xvi 24–25 and parallels), and stress might be laid on the corporate, organic, and progressive character of this unity (e.g. Acts ix 4, Col. i 18, ii 10, 19; and the phrase ἐν Χριστῷ); but it

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may suffice to quote the classic expression in 2 Pet. i 4 θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως.

But the Apostle has not left us to gather his teaching on this point as the conclusion of a syllogism. It is intimately connected with the main theme of the doctrinal part of the Epistle to the Colossians, the unique position of Christ alike in relation to His Father and to His members in the Church. First set forth explicitly in Col. i 18–20, it recurs even more clearly in Col. ii 9–10: in Christ is the πλήρωμα of the Godhead, and in Christ, as His members and as one with Him, the Colossians also are filled with the Godhead, through that unity with Christ which is so strongly emphasized in the following verses. Surely we cannot exclude such language as this, or the Fourth Gospel either, from the background of the passage quoted by Mr Butterworth on p. 169: 'the Word of God became man, in order that from man even you may learn in what possible way man may become a god'. Such an exclusion is all the less possible when we realize that even in the *Stromata* (iv 21 *ad fin.*) Clement cites Ephes. iv 11–13, and places the perfection of man (τελειοῦσθαι ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα) in man's own perfecting of the πλήρωμα of Christ, a way of putting it that evidently implies unity, and is indeed markedly Pauline; we must συνδραμεῖν τῷ θελήματι τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τῆς τῷ ὄντι τελείας εὐγενείας τε καὶ συγγενείας εἰς τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸ ἐκ καταρτισμοῦ τελείως ἀπηρτισμένον. And again in *Strom.* iv 25 *ad init.* Clement lays it down very strongly that the Son embraces all things within Himself: He is not ἓν ὡς ἓν, οὐδὲ πολλὰ ὡς μέρη, ἀλλ' ὡς πάντα ἓν: the Word is the Alpha and Omega, and so forth. Hence to believe in Him and through Him is to become μοναδικός, which in the light of the previous use of the word in *Strom.* iv 23 *ad fin.* and of Clement's use of μονάς for God (cf. p. 158, notes 6 and 7, in the article to which I am referring) seems to be practically equivalent to 'divine': it is to be inseparably brought to unity in Christ. To disbelieve is to be divided from that infinite Unity which is Christ.

But the clinching passage for Clement is one which Mr Butterworth, I venture to say, has somewhat misunderstood. He writes (p. 160): 'First of all we notice a passage that stands in an intermediate position, inasmuch as it describes the stages in the process of deification, stretching over from this life into the next. These stages are: (i) Baptism, (ii) enlightenment, (iii) sonship, (iv) perfection, (v) immortality. Clement illustrates the final result of this developement by a reference to Ps. lxxxi 6 (Sept.) "I said, Ye are gods", &c.; that is to say, he asserts that men become gods when to the gnostic perfection attained on earth there is added that immortality which can be fully possessed only after death. Perfection and immortality are of course two

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prominent characteristics of God, and when man attains them he becomes like God'. The Greek runs, *βαπτιζόμενοι φωτιζόμεθα, φωτιζόμενοι υἱοποιούμεθα, υἱοποιούμενοι τελειούμεθα, τελειούμενοι ἀπαθανατιζόμεθα· "ἐγώ", φησίν, "εἶπα, θεοί ἐστε καὶ υἱοὶ ὑψίστου πάντες"* (*Paedag.* i 6 *ad init.*). But any one who will examine the context carefully will agree, I think, that it is only one process that is here being described, namely, that of baptism: *καλεῖται δὲ πολλαχῶς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο*, he goes on, *χάρισμα, καὶ φώτισμα, καὶ τέλειον, καὶ λουτρόν*: and he gives the reasons why. Evidently the enlightenment and perfection are merely other aspects of the baptizing and adoption and immortalizing; and indeed a little lower he explains this last term: *ζῶμεν δὲ ἤδη οἱ θανάτου κεχωρισμένοι*, and he quotes Christ's words that he who believes hath (already) life everlasting (John v 24: cf. Rom. vi 4). It does not appear necessary to point out at any length that we have here simply the doctrine of St Paul and St John, or that perfection and immortality can scarcely be said to exhaust the process depicted.

To come now to the Fathers of the Church. Not much need be said on this head, since Mr Butterworth refers with approval to Harnack's dictum that 'after Theophilus, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Origen [the idea of deification] is found in all the Fathers of the ancient Church, and that in a primary position', and indeed Harnack gives good quotations to bear out his view. But perhaps enough has already been said to shew that in this the Fathers of the Church were only setting forth and developing the doctrine of the New Testament. As the most authoritative representative of the scholastics we may take St Thomas Aquinas. Wishing to shew that God alone can cause grace in the soul, he writes as follows: *necesse est quod solus Deus deificet, communicando consortium divinae naturae.*[1] And this same idea, it may be added, is still found in several places in the Latin liturgy; to give but one example, at the Offertory the prayer is made, *da nobis per huius aquae et vini mysterium eius divinitatis esse consortes, qui humanitatis nostrae fieri dignatus est particeps*, where it seems right to take the *aquae et vini mysterium* primarily to refer to the symbolic representation of the immersing and absorption of our human nature in the divine nature, as the water is lost in the wine.

What then is this deification? To this I would answer in the language of current Catholic theology that it is before all else 'sanctifying grace', which again in the scholastic terminology of the Aristotelian categories is a *qualitas inhaerens animae.* But this 'quality' represents such a penetration and transformation of the human soul by divine action, that St Paul and the Fathers have alike strained thought

[1] *Summa Theologica* I[a] II[ae] quaest. cxii art. 1.

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and language to the uttermost to give us some inkling of its supremely intimate and supremely transcendental character. And even those who may themselves feel some difficulty in accepting their teaching on this point will none the less recognize the general drift of their thought.

To come now to the other point of which I proposed to say something, namely, the influence of hellenistic king-worship on Clement's thought and words. Egypt was the source of western ruler-worship; the Pharaohs had been gods, served like the rest of their kind with temples and altars and sacrifice, and to Alexander it doubtless appeared necessary to be a god if he were to replace the Pharaohs.[1] At his death the first Ptolemy secured his body, and brought it in great state to Egypt. The exact details of the story it is hard to unravel, but eventually, at any rate, Alexander was worshipped in great state as a god in Alexandria, and the Ptolemies took up the Pharaohs' practice of marrying their own sisters and of receiving adoration even in their own lifetime, so that we get a succession of pairs, each descended directly from the previous pair, and all divine. The astonishing thing is that the final offspring of this system is the prodigious Cleopatra! That the Alexandrines had not lost their fondness for ruler-worship in Roman times was shewn under Gaius. This madcap emperor might in some respects dispute Mark Antony's claim to be the last of the Ptolemies; he loved the city and the worship, and it is in the light of this fondness that we must view his suspicious relations with his sister. Hence in their disputes with the Jews the Alexandrines sought to secure their impunity for their destruction of several synagogues by placing Gaius's statue in the rest of them, and in this way the affair nearly brought the Jews to a premature doom.

Now Clement was familiar with hellenistic and Roman ruler-worship, and inveighs against it; he tells us of Alexander's claim to divinity, and of the extravagant worship paid by the Athenians to Demetrius Poliorcetes,[2] and like Justin Martyr he was especially shocked at Adrian's deification of his minion Antinous.[3] Hence, in a passage quoted by Mr Butterworth,[4] *θεοὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν κέκληνται, σύνθρονοι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ σωτῆρι πρώτων τεταγμένων, γενησόμενοι*, I do not think we can be wrong in imputing to him a reminiscence of the Ptolemies,

[1] Cf. the present writer's article 'Alexander the God' in the *Expositor* February 1913: also his *Ancient King-worship* in the 'Lectures on the History of Religions', published by the Catholic Truth Society, in which he has attempted (apparently for the first time in English) to summarize the whole of that vast and important subject.

[2] *Coh. ad Gentes* cap. iv (Potter, p. 48).

[3] *ibid.* (Potter, p. 43); Justin *Apol.* i 29.

[4] p. 161, note 5; *Strom.* vii 10 *ad init.*

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gods themselves while alive, and on their death to be tacked on in pairs as *σύνθρονοι* to the preceding Ptolemies, with Ptolemy I Soter and his wife at the head of the dynastic list, following upon Alexander himself. This is what we find in the Memphis decree of the Egyptian priests (196 B.C.), inscribed on the famous Rosetta stone, now in the British Museum[1]; and it doubtless represented fairly closely what was to be seen in the great dynastic temple, the *Σῆμα* at Alexandria.[2] Clement's language seems much too apposite to be accidental.

The occurrence of such a term as *σωτήρ* naturally raises the general question of the relation of Christian terminology to that of hellenistic ruler-worship, but it would be going too far afield to discuss it in detail. In general it may be said that the gospel of the God-man had to be presented in an intelligible shape, and that this naturally entailed the use of a certain number of phrases appertaining to the worship of the divine ruler, the would-be man-god. And just as for an Aramaic-speaking evangelist his own language may have dictated his choice from amid many Greek expressions that might possibly have been used, so the influence of ruler-worship may in a few cases have decided which of many phrases was to last. Thus, *ἐπιφάνεια* occurs six times in St Paul, and nowhere else in the New Testament, once (2 Thess. ii 8) in conjunction with *παρουσία*, and twice (2 Tim. i 10, Tit. ii 13; cf. iii 4) with *σωτήρ*. But it is a question of language, not of doctrinal origins, for the Old Testament is a more than sufficient background for the teachings of the New. In particular it is ludicrous to imagine our Lord inheriting a claim to divinity from the *divi filius*.

In conclusion, any one who will examine carefully the passages which Mr Butterworth has cited will probably admit that he has made out a good case for his contention (p. 169) that 'wherever in Clement the word *θεός* occurs in reference to man (exclusive of Christ), the true English equivalent is not "God", nor "god", but "a god"'. But it appears highly probable that ruler-worship (not to speak of other forms of apotheosis, which could not be excluded with certainty) was also partly accountable for this. And in general, while Clement's thought and language were to some extent conditioned, as is always the case, by his physical and mental environment, nevertheless in the main he appears to be moving along the high road of the Christian tradition.

CUTHBERT LATTEY.

[1] The Greek text may be seen in Mahaffy *Empire of the Ptolemies* p. 316.

[2] Cf. Theocritus xvii; Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire des Lagides* vol. i p. 124; vol. iii pp. 38–39 &c.

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THE TWO ELEMENTS IN MARCION'S DUALISM.

I

In the Dualism of Marcion two contrasts are discernible. The resultant is a single antithesis, but it is the outcome of his recognition of two separate distinctions.

In the first place, he sets Christianity in opposition to the Old Testament. He is strongly opposed to the Law, and exploits and expands the Pauline contrast between the Gospel and the Law. When the Christ of 'the good God' entered our world, there was a new departure, and the rent between the old and the new order was complete. Marcion will hear nothing of any continuity. For the new wine the old bottles are useless. So he severs the Gospel from the Law, the good God from the just.

The second contrast is not biblical. It has affinities with the Greek antithesis between matter and spirit, with the Gnostic subordination of the Demiourgos to the absolute Godhead, with the Persian opposition between Ormuzd and Ahriman. This element in his Dualism Marcion never worked out into systematic theory. It would, indeed, have been a task quite alien to his power to do so. But its influence is quite unmistakeable, albeit of a general character and undefined.

Harnack's valuable and illuminating chapter on Marcion[1] recognizes these two factors in his dualism, but pays no special attention to the question of their relative importance. Subsequent writers have expressed more decided views. Professor Bousset in his *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*[2] would discern the determinant element of Marcion's thought not in the scriptural contrast of Law and Gospel but in the more abstract, speculative, and oriental opposition of the good and evil principles. He will have it that Marcion's original teaching was 'ein schroffer Dualismus', that it was Persian in character, that he imported eastern theories into the biblical domain, and that his opposition of the New to the Old Testament is the outcome of speculative prepossession

[1] *History of Dogma* bk. i chap. v (Eng. Tr. vol. i pp. 266 sqq.). 'C'est M. Harnack qui nous a révélé Marcion . . . Pendant longtemps les vues de M. Harnack sur Marcion firent autorité'—E. de Faye *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme* p. 121.

[2] Göttingen 1907.

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rather than of candid exegesis.[1] A very different estimate is to be found in M. Eugène de Faye's more recent work *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme*.[2] In the view of this authority the scriptural factor is the determining one. Marcion, he thinks, found his Dualism in the Scriptures and had no need to go to Persia for it. He was in short a biblicist, and, if speculative or philosophic influences come in, at least they are subordinate.[3] De Faye pays great attention to the reliability of our sources of information and seems to make good his charge that Professor Bousset, for lack of such criticism,[4] has been led to attribute to Marcion the later teaching of the Marcionite communities.

Here, then, are two clearly opposed views as to the relative importance of the two contrasts which are fused in Marcion's Dualism. Bousset believes the speculative influence was decisive; De Faye assigns this importance to the Scriptures. The point at issue is worth consideration, even though it is with probabilities that we must rest content.

II

Chronologically it seems likely that Marcion first advanced towards his dualistic theories upon biblical grounds. The considerations which lead to this conclusion are as follows:—

(*a*) Marcion grew up under Christian influences, his father being Bishop of Sinope.[5] The probabilities are that in his earlier years he would learn much about the Scriptures and little about speculative philosophy. Epiphanius's account of his father, whatever may be its value, represents the Bishop as an earnest, rigid, somewhat conventional ecclesiastic,[6] who would be little likely to encourage his son's interests to roam beyond the ways of orthodoxy.

(*b*) Marcion's extraordinary knowledge of Scripture confirms this. He was not a literary person, as his treatment of the New Testament alone would shew, but he knew the Bible thoroughly and could quote

[1] Marcion, Bousset thinks, held the doctrine of two 'uranfängliche Wesen in absoluter Gegensätzlichkeit': he 'degradierte den Gott des alten Testaments zum Satan-Ahriman' (p. 329). See also pp. 109 sqq.

[2] Paris 1913.

[3] 'Bref, Marcion est un bibliciste' (p. 130). De Faye speaks of 'l'origine toute biblique de l'hérésie de Marcion' (p. 134); and says 'le fondement de toute sa pensée est biblique' (p. 136); 'Marcion se montre essentiellement bibliciste' (p. 140), &c.

[4] p. 122 n., 'M. Bousset a omis de discuter la question des sources du gnosticisme. Grave inconvénient en ce qui concerne Marcion.'

[5] Ποντικός, Σινώπης δὲ πόλεως, υἱὸς ἐπισκόπου, Epiphan. *Haeres.* xlii 1.

[6] Ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὁ πατὴρ δι' ὑπερβολὴν εὐλαβείας τῶν διαφανῶν καὶ σφόδρα τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιμελομένων, διαπρέπων ἐν τῇ τῆς ἐπισκόπης λειτουργίᾳ . . . ἀξιόλογος γέρων . . . ὁ τίμιός σου πατήρ, *op. cit.* 1. 2.

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texts in evidence with ready facility. Such knowledge is not hastily acquired.

(*c*) Conversely, there is nothing to shew that Marcion had ever received any training in the schools of philosophy. Doubtless Sinope had its lecture rooms, but he can hardly have been a frequent listener. Clement of Alexandria had the poorest opinion of Marcion's power to understand Plato.[1]

(*d*) Of the composition of the Church in Sinope it is not possible to speak with certainty, but that many Jews were settled in Pontus[2] is well known, though, on the other hand, it is generally held that 1 Peter was addressed principally to Gentile Christians.[3] Thus the adjustment of the Jewish and the Christian points of view might be an issue familiar to Marcion from his early surroundings.

(*e*) Marcion came to Rome about A.D. 141.[4] He was received by the Church and made a gift of money. There was no suspicion as yet that he held the unorthodox doctrine of two first principles. His final separation from the Church was the outcome of a controversy on purely scriptural grounds. What was the meaning, he asked, of the new wine and the old bottles, or of the new patch on the old garment? The Elders could not satisfy him. The narrative of Epiphanius[5] is singularly illuminating as to the form and character of his convictions up to the date in question.

Thus the probabilities are that it was at the biblical contrast that Marcion arrived first. The opposition between the Law and the Gospel, the dissimilarity between the harsh and just deity of the one and the good and gentle God of the other, impressed him more and more. He was content to break with the Church in order to assert the independence and new departure of Christianity.

III

It is at this point that the influence of Cerdo upon Marcion becomes

[1] Οὐκ ἀσαφῶς δεδεῖχθαι ἡμῖν νομίζω τὰς ἀφορμὰς τῶν ξένων δογμάτων τὸν Μαρκίωνα παρὰ Πλάτωνος ἀχαρίστως τε καὶ ἀμαθῶς εἰληφέναι, *Strom.* III iii 21.

[2] 'Dwellers . . . in Pontus,' Acts ii 9; 'A certain Jew, named Aquila, born in Pontus,' xviii 2; cf. Philo *Leg. ad Caium* 36.

[3] 'To the strangers scattered throughout Pontus,' 1 Pet. i 1. 'St Peter had in his mind predominantly, though probably not exclusively, *Gentile* readers'—F. H. Chase in *H. D. B.* art. 'Peter, First Epistle'. The Epistle may have been taken by Silvanus first to Sinope. Bigg *St Peter and St Jude* Int. Crit. Com. p. 69.

[4] Μετὰ τὸ τελευτῆσαι Ὑγῖνον, Epiph. *loc. cit.* The death of Hyginus may have occurred in A.D. 141.

[5] The narrative probably came originally from Hippolytus. Philaster also gives it (*Div. Heres. Lib.* xvii). De Faye thinks it should be accepted. So, on the whole, Salmon *D. C. B.* art. 'Marcion'.

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important. This is strangely minimized by De Faye.[1] Yet it is attested by many authorities, including Tertullian.[2] Cerdo was a Syrian Gnostic. He was already teaching in Rome when Marcion arrived there. When Marcion left the Church he attached himself to Cerdo, assimilated his teaching, and was said to have been Cerdo's successor in his school. His Dualism, in so far as it resulted from other than scriptural influences, seems to have come to him largely through this association.[3] Let us consider to what extent this second element in Marcion's doctrine is attested by the available evidence.

(*a*) His estimate of the Creator is consistently and arbitrarily adverse, shewing far more hostility than the Old Testament Scriptures could of themselves possibly justify. The God of the Law may be harsh and stern, but Marcion's Creator was a cruel and malignant divinity.[4] This attack profoundly shocked the orthodox. It was a new departure.[5] And it was far more than a matter of biblical exegesis. The determining influence came from elsewhere.

(*b*) Justin's evidence tends to shew that it was the Creator, rather than the Lawgiver, on whom Marcion principally made attack.[6] In other words he finds the dominant factor in Marcion's error outside

[1] 'Il se peut que Marcion doive quelque chose à ce Cerdon, venu de Syrie. Il est cependant fort étrange que Tertullien n'en dise rien. Il ne le nomme même pas' (p. 126). The last statement is surely not correct. Cf. 'Habuit et Cerdonem quemdam,' Tert. *adv. Marcionem* i 2; 'a Cerdone et Marcione,' i 22; 'nullo adhuc Cerdone, nedum Marcione,' iii 21; 'nec Marcion aliquid boni de thesauro Cerdonis malo protulit,' iv 17. These passages imply relation, even dependence.

[2] Κέρδωνα τῆς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα πλάνης ἀρχηγόν, Eus. *H. E.* iv 10; διαδεξάμενος αὐτὸν (*sc.* τὸν Κέρδωνα) Μαρκίων ὁ Ποντικὸς ηὔξησε τὸ διδασκαλεῖον, Irenaeus i 27. 2; Κέρδων ὁ πρὸ Μαρκίωνος, *ib.* iii 4. 3. ἐκ τοῦ προειρημένου Κέρδωνος τὴν πρόφασιν εἰληφὼς (*sc.* ὁ Μαρκίων), Epiph. *op. cit.* 1. For Tertullian see preceding note.

[3] 'So far as Marcion ventured on such a speculation [*sc.* about the final causes of the contrast actually observed] he seems to have been influenced by the Syrian Cerdo' Harnack *H. D.* E. Tr. i p. 269. 'Unter engem Anschluss an den Syrer Cerdo' *Gesch. der altchr. Litt.* II i p. 310.

[4] According to Tertullian Marcion's Creator was *saevus*, *adv. M.* ii 11; *iratus*, v 13; *acerbissimus*, iii 4; *auctor malitiae*, ii 14 (cf. *malitia creatoris*, i 17, 22; ii 3); responsible for the *onera legis*, ii 19; iv 27; for the *morositas legis*, iv 35. Hence Marcion's attitude is that of the *destructor*, iv 39; *repudiator*, i 14; *derogator creatoris*, iv 29; *destructio operum creatoris* is his especial aim, i 13; 'blasphemavit creatorem, reprehendit auctorem,' ii 2; he thought the creator inferior to Moses, ii 26; iv 28. Marcion collected and perverted passages of scripture to the creator's dishonour, cf. 'distorques adversus creatorem', iv 1; 'quaecunque . . . colligitis ad destructionem creatoris,' ii 27.

[5] 'Facilius de filio haesitabatur quam de patre, donec Marcion . . .' Tert. *De Praescr. Haeret.* 34.

[6] δημιουργός, ποιητής, *Apol.* i 26. Cf. the quotation from Justin's lost σύνταγμα πρὸς Μαρκίωνα in Iren. iv 6. 2 αὐτῷ τῷ Κυρίῳ οὐδ' ἂν ἐπείσθην ἄλλον Θεὸν καταγγέλοντα παρὰ τὸν δημιουργόν.

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Scripture. Possibly this element would more naturally attract the attention of a philosopher like Justin. Still, Justin was Marcion's contemporary, and his impression of the heresiarch's position is direct and early evidence.

(*c*) Clement's references are also those of a Christian philosopher. They are more numerous than Justin's, and they give clear prominence to the speculative element in Marcion's teaching.[1] De Faye allows great weight to Clement's testimony, though he rightly believes that Clement did not possess a copy of the *Antitheses*.[2] Yet the character of Clement's criticisms is hardly compatible with the theory that Marcion's point of view was biblically determined.

(*d*) The fact that Marcion's only known writings were exegetical or critical in character is not final or conclusive. The most speculative and philosophical issues were at this period debated in the form of discussions on Scripture; given a thesis it was usually supported by appropriate texts.[3] Marcion was quick to seize upon the passages that told in his favour—e. g. 'ego sum qui condo mala',[4] 'deus illius aevi',[5] and the like. But, like the devil, he quoted Scripture for his purpose. No man was further from 'letting Scripture speak for itself'. However much of a biblicist he might be in his arguments, his prepossessions and his conclusions often came from the school rather than from the book.

(*e*) Even Tertullian, upon whose evidence De Faye mainly relies for proof of the scriptural foundation of Marcion's thought, gives us hints of other influences. He knew Marcion had pondered over the origin of evil, and that other than biblical considerations had weighed with

[1] The following language, used by Clement in this connexion, is significant; ἵνα μὴ ὡς Μαρκίων ἀχαρίστως ἐκδέξηταί τις τὴν δημιουργίαν κακήν, *Strom.* iv 7. 45; κακὴν λογίζεσθαι τὴν ὕλην ἀφορμὴν οὐ πάρεσχεν τῷ Μαρκίωνι, *sc.* ὁ Πλάτων, iii 3. 19; Marcion is described as κατατρέχων καὶ τῆς κτίσεως καὶ τοῦ πλάσματος, and as actuated by ἀντίταξις πρὸς τὸν δημιουργόν, iii 4. 25; his followers κακὴν τὴν γένεσιν (cf. Tert. *adv. M.* iii 11) ὑπειλήφεσαν. Their attitude was ἀντιτασσόμενοι τῷ ποιητῇ, iii 3. 12; the whole question was one of ἀρχαί, iii 3. 13 and 21; it turned upon the ἐναντιότητες with which philosophers were concerned, iii 3. 21. Many of Clement's references are not to Marcion himself, but to the later Marcionites, who no doubt developed their founder's doctrine on more speculative lines. But there is quite sufficient evidence to shew that Clement regarded Marcion himself as more concerned with abstract principles than with Scripture. The Alexandrine Father noted, no doubt, what was most akin to the genius of his own mind.

[2] p. 124, cf. my *Clement of Alexandria* vol. i p. 166.

[3] Cf. the Valentinian teaching as given in the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* and the *Eclogae Prophetica*e; also Clement's own ambitious scheme of a summary of all knowledge, based on the Scriptures, *Strom.* iv 1; vii 1. Theodotus of Byzantium taught 'Psilanthropism' on Scriptural grounds, Eus. *H. E.* v 28; Epiph. *Haeres.* 54.

[4] Isa. xlv 7. Tert. *adv. M.* i 2; ii 14, 24; iv 1.

[5] 2 Cor. iv 4. Tert. *ib.* v 11, 17.

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him.[1] He knew that the heretic had drawn deductions from natural catastrophes[2] and from the evils of the physical world.[3] He even held that Marcion's teaching might, without great distortion, be made to mean that the devil was the Creator.[4] Many of the points in Marcion's teaching which Tertullian criticizes most effectively, are speculations asserted by way of exegesis. They are far more than deductions from the text.

(*f*) Finally, there are other elements in Marcion's doctrine which clearly did not originate in Scripture. His Docetism, his Asceticism, his denial of a bodily Resurrection are the most notable. They are perhaps the 'Gnostic woof'[5] of his teaching. In any case they afford some presumption that his theory of the two gods and his attack upon the Creator were in part determined by influences which arose in the same quarter.

On the whole it seems as though M. de Faye had underrated the influence of speculative ideas upon Marcion's thought, much as Professor Bousset has underrated the influence of Scripture.

IV

Psychologically we are left upon the foregoing considerations with a consistent scheme of Marcion's religious developement.

We have the young and energetic layman, actively following his calling as a shipmaster and growing rich thereby. He has neither time nor interest for literature and philosophy, but he knows the Scriptures well and is specially arrested by St Paul's teaching, more particularly by the Epistle to the Galatians. Single texts greatly influence him, as they do all half-educated and sincere Christian natures. Christianity, with its liberty and redemption, is for him the complete and independent religion, and he would free it from the trammels of the legalistic Old Testament. Once started on this track he concludes impetuously[6]

[1] 'Languens enim, quod et nunc multi et maxime haeretici, circa quaestionem Unde malum? . . . Ex *aliis* argumentis quae ita persuadent perverso cuique,' etc. Tert. *adv. M.* i 2.

[2] 'Ut concussiones quidem referas ad creatorem, saevitiae scilicet deum,' *ib.* iv 39.

[3] Cf. 'de isto huius mundi indigno', *ib.* i 13, and many other expressions.

[4] 'Si diabolus creator est, quis erit diabolus apud creatorem?' *ib.* v 18. Tertullian rejects the supposition, but clearly thought it a possible interpretation of Marcion's theory. Such passages go far to justify the critic of De Faye's book who speaks of Marcion's dualistic system as one 'qui n'est pas le dualisme perse, mais qui tout de même y ressemble'.

[5] Harnack *Hist. dogm.* i 272.

[6] None of Tertullian's many epithets is more appropriate to Marcion than that of *inconsiderantissimus*, *adv. M.* ii 29. Cf. Rhodon's criticism of Marcion and his kind: *μὴ εὑρίσκοντες τὴν διαίρεσιν τῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος, ἐπὶ τὴν εὐχέρειαν ἐτράποντο*, *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v 13.

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upon the complete separation of the Gospel and the Law. Then there follows the breach with his father and his home, possibly on the ground of this very rejection of the ancient Scriptures. So he makes his way to Rome. His early association with the Church of the capital is characteristically enthusiastic,[1] but disappointment rapidly ensues: even in Rome they did not understand the greatness of the Christian redemption. Thus he breaks with the Elders. 'I will tear your Church'[2] are his parting words. And now the second influence comes in. Cerdo's Dualism has some affinities with the antagonism to the Law at which he had independently arrived, and where the two do not coincide, Marcion's impetuous thought has no qualms in enforcing agreement. The Scriptural antithesis is widened till it can be adjusted to that of eastern speculation, and, with the two contrasts fused in his mind, Marcion now compiles his critical and exegetical works, his *Gospel*, his *Apostolicon*, his *Antitheses*. The resultant theology is a strange blend, half Pauline, half Persian. It was a facile subject for Tertullian's criticism. But throughout the several phases of his religious developement Marcion's nature preserves the same characteristics. There is the same profound conviction of the value of Christianity. There is the same rapidity of decision, the same vigour of action. There is the same impatience of compromise and adjustment. There is the same indifference to, even perhaps ignorance of, the points that could be urged on the other side. There is the same unhesitating grasp upon a few great religious verities. We follow a nature untrained, uncritical, sincere, alert, and born for action, making up by his religious earnestness what he lacks in theological acumen. That he should have profoundly alarmed the mediocrities of the Church is not surprising. The pity of it is, that the conditions of the time made it impossible for such men as Justin and almost impossible even for so generous a nature as Clement of Alexandria[3] to recognize his sincerity.[4]

[1] 'Et pecuniam in primo calore fidei catholicae ecclesiae contulit,' Tert. *adv. M.* iv 4; 'Marcion cum ducentis sestertiis, quae ecclesiae intulerat,' *De Praescr. Haeret.* 30.

[2] 'Εγὼ σχίσω τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑμῶν, Epiph. *Haeres.* xlii 2.

[3] Clement called him θεομάχος γίγας, *Strom.* iii 4. 25, and used other hard language. But there is one kindly reference: οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει πολλάκις τὴν αὐτὴν παρατίθεσθαι γραφὴν εἰς ἐντροπὴν Μαρκίωνος, ἤν πως μεταβάληται πεισθείς, *ib.* iv 8. 66. Apparently Clement hoped for his repentance in another world, for Marcion must have been dead for many years when Clement wrote.

[4] There is an interesting article on Marcion by V. Ermoni in the *Revue des questions historiques* no. 87, 1910, pp. 1–33. The following passage is germane to the subject of this paper: 'Remarquons cependant que la critique historique n'a pu encore déterminer exactement les rapports de ces deux problèmes. Est-ce l'Antinomisme qui a conduit à la multiplicité des principes, ou la multiplicité des principes qui a conduit à l'Antinomisme? La première hypothèse paraît être la plus probable.'

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V

The interest of Marcion's Dualism need not be restricted to those who are students of Christian biography and of the phases of Gnosticism. Some years ago Dr Foakes-Jackson in his Hulsean Lectures[1] (1902–1903) suggested that Marcion has a relation to modern thought. To-day it is one of the theological outcomes of the Great War that earnest minds are being driven to suspect that more than one spiritual principle is operative in our world. We are compelled to ask again the question of Mill's *Essay on Theism*, whether the absolute goodness of God can be reconciled with the belief in His entire Omnipotence. We can ask no more profound question, and Theology is bankrupt if it cannot set about the enquiry for an answer. Under such conditions there is something to be learned from the mistakes and also from the convictions of this profoundly Christian Dualist, who was so acutely conscious of the discrepancies between common experience and the message of the Gospel.

R. B. TOLLINTON.

RHYTHM AND INTONATION IN ST MARK i–x.

THE study of Greek prose rhythm has progressed much in recent years. The books of the New Testament, however, with the exception of the Epistle to the Hebrews and isolated passages, chiefly Pauline, discussed by Blass[2] and Norden,[3] are usually held to be free from rhythmical influence. Such authors have not, perhaps, sufficiently grasped that in so entirely musical a language as Greek,[4] and one in

[1] *Some Christian Difficulties of the Second and Twentieth Centuries.* Cambridge 1903.

[2] *Die asianischen Rhythmen* pp. 40 ff. Blass finds special rhythmical influence in (e. g.) 1 Cor. xv, 1 Thess. iv (note that these passages deal with the Resurrection, and see below p. 276 note 3), and concludes, on rhythmical grounds, that 1 Tim. i 5–11 stand apart from their context. With the Epistle to the Hebrews he concerns himself more fully, and has since published a text of the whole, in rhythmical κῶλα.

[3] *Die antike Kunstprosa* i pp. 480 ff. Preference, in the gospels, is given to Lk. Norden regards general evidence of style, &c., rather than of literary rhythm, and on this evidence sets apart certain sections of Acts as inferior work. Generally speaking, he denies to the Christian literature the *Formenschönheit* of secular Greek (see pp. 516 ff).

[4] Of the musical nature of their language the Greeks were themselves very conscious. See citations in Norden, *op. cit.* pp. 53 ff, and Roberts *Dionys. de Comp. Verb.* Introduction III, p. 39 and chapter xi, text and notes.

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which the art of literary composition was so minutely and so diligently taught, the absence of rhythm is perhaps as interesting a phenomenon as its presence,[1] and is often much harder to explain. Inexperience of the writer is not a satisfying cause, since the beginner is commonly specially careful of his word-arrangement[2]: nor will the mere fact of translation excuse it (witness the Authorized Version and a host of Elizabethan and later literary renderings).[3] Official documents are not necessarily without good rhythm, and often possess it in a striking degree[4]; while everyday private letters exhibit touches of it.[5] Much more, therefore, would any one setting himself to put together a comparatively lengthy document conform to the ordinary rules of composition, as given by the well-known sentence of Lucian (*de Hist. Conscr.* c. 48):

ἐπειδὰν ἀθροίσῃ ἅπαντα ἢ τὰ πλεῖστα, πρῶτον μὲν ὑπόμνημά τι συνυφαινέτω αὐτῶν καὶ σῶμα ποιείτω ἀκαλλὲς ἔτι καὶ ἀδιάρθρωτον· εἶτα ἐπιθεὶς τὴν τάξιν ἐπαγέτω τὸ κάλλος καὶ χρωννύτω τῇ λέξει καὶ σχηματιζέτω καὶ ῥυθμιζέτω.

Non-rhythmical Greek will then be either a rough translation—a mere translation, that is, of something not considered worthy of elaborate care—or a piece of mere 'copy', to be worked up, perhaps, later, but at present artless and naïve; or a rough official memorandum.

The Marcan gospel complies (in the earlier chapters at least) with the first half of Lucian's rules; it is a σῶμα ἀκαλλὲς ἔτι καὶ ἀδιάρθρωτον, with little τάξις,[6] colouring, or rhythm; yet not wholly so, for embedded in this almost unliterary (ἄτεχνον) whole are fragments clearly shewing

[1] In certain cases deliberate 'roughness' (ἡ τραχεῖα συνθήκη) was recommended, e.g. by Hermogenes of Tarsus (περὶ ἰδεῶν i c. viii), who regards neglect of ordinary stylistic care as a kind of forensic 'frightfulness'.

[2] Witness the over-rhythmicizing of the Babu or educated native clerk: they are tentative, but conscious artists. They have practically no rules of composition: a beginner in Greek was well hedged about with instructions (see Lucian *de Hist. Conscr.* quoted below).

[3] On these generally see Saintsbury *History of English Prose Rhythm* pp. 128 ff.

[4] See, e.g., the highly rhythmicized inscription of Antiochus of Commagene (quoted by Norden *op. cit.* 140 ff).

[5] The schoolboy letter of Theon (*Pap. Oxyrh.* 119) has two excellent examples of 'inverted' rhythm:

οὐ μὴ λάβω χείραν παρά σου — — | ∪ — | — — | ∪ ∪ —
οὔτε πάλι(ν) χαίρω σε λυπὸν — ∪ ∪ | — — | — ∪ | — —

and later on ἀναστατοῖ μ(ε)· ἄρρον αὐτόν. ∪ — | ∪ — | — ∪ | — ∪

[6] On the meaning of τάξις in Papias's statement that Mk. wrote οὐ τάξει, see F. H. Colson *J. T. S.* xiv p. 62, and Dr A. Wright *ib.* xiv p. 298; the former taking τάξις in the technical rhetorical sense (= οἰκονομία), the latter in the general sense of 'arrangement'. Papias is correct in either sense.

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arrangement, colour, and rhythm. Our business is then to make such use as we can of these literary finger-prints, which should give valuable clues to the secrets of literary compilation.[1]

Before examining the text, a word is necessary as to notation. By actual experiment in the enunciation of sentences and words, we can discover (1) that we enunciate by 'breath-streams', having a maximum of about seventeen syllables—the length of a dactylic hexameter[2]; (2) that each stream is broken into breath-ripples or 'pressures'—each capable of enunciating such words as 'mind', 'remind', 'minded', and (the maximum) 'reminded': or, in quantitative languages, the feet –, – –, ∪ ⏑, – ∪, ∪ ∪ –, ∪ ∪ ∪, – ∪ ∪, ∪ – ∪ (the last being rare). We may regard four or five syllable 'feet', but they require more than one breath-jet or 'pressure'.[3] For convenience of notation numerals will represent these 'feet'; namely, ⏑ (in pause) 1, ∪ – 2, – ∪ 3, ∪ – ∪ (in single word; rare) 4, ∪ ∪ – 5, – ∪ ∪ 6, – – 7, ∪ ∪ ∪ 8.

Note that 2 and 5 mark upward, 3 and 6 downward rhythm: 67 is a heroic cadence; 5577 gives anapaestic rhythm, &c. The rhythm-unit is the κῶλον or logical sentence. Hence minor errors of scansion cannot seriously affect the general result, owing to the brevity of the rhythm-sentences.

Prosody is a difficult question; but we may perhaps lay it down that the numerous shortenings, crases, and synizeses of poetry do not necessarily apply to prose, which probably moved slower and was recited with more attention to logical stress.[4]

[1] Much has been done in this direction for classical works. Josephy (*Der oratorische Numerus bei Isocr.* &c., pp. 91 ff) applies tests analogous to the Shakespearian verse tests, by which speeches may almost be dated; or proves the spuriousness of the *Demonikos* on rhythmical grounds. In *Barlaam and Joasaph* Nachor's speech might have been proved a foreign body by rhythmical tests. In Hebrew prose analysis reveals poetic fragments, e. g. Gen. ii 4 *b*–6. In the New Testament there are well-known fragments revealed by their language or style as poetical or liturgical: e. g. Mt. vi 9, cf. Lk. xi 2 (the Lord's Prayer), Eph. v 14 (a hymn), 1 Tim. iii 16 (a creed), &c. The present study only attempts to carry such analysis a little further.

[2] A πνεῦμα (see Hermogenes 243 Spengel πνεῦμα . . . μετρούμενον πρὸς τὴν διάρκειαν τοῦ πνεύματος κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ λέγοντος) may of course be longer than this (e. g. Dem. *de F. L.* p. 411 § 250, p. 431 §§ 320–322, where see Shilleto). But we do not naturally exert ourselves unnecessarily.

[3] This statement is based upon an anonymous pamphlet *Accent and Rhythm*, Blackwood 1888. The author invents a simple notation for scansion by stress or accent.

[4] Zander *Eurhythmia Demosthenis* p. viii and pp. 429 ff discusses this question He concludes that final long vowels and diphthongs are not usually shortened before vowels; ordinary simple elisions are allowed (μὴ 'χειν) but not the more elaborate crases. -ν is added even before consonants.

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It must be understood that mere 'scanning'—mere analysis, that is, of alternating 'longs' and 'shorts'—is a part only of rhythm. We should note also consonant and vowel colourings,[1] which all go to swell the musical element of speech. The order of words is a subject of itself; but has its importance as a rhythmical side-light.[2]

With this preface, we may now turn to the text and pursue our analysis.

The readings are those of W-H; the section-numbering of Dr Wright's Synopsis (ed. 3, 1906) is occasionally used.

i 1 Heading: ἀρχὴ κτλ. Aristotle (*Rhet.* iii 9) has an interesting misquotation of the heading of Herodotus's history Ἡροδότου Θουρίου ἧδ(ε) ἱστορίης ἀπόδειξις, the correct[3] form being given by Demetr. *de Eloc.* 17 Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνασῆος ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε, as an example of a 'single-numbered period'. Aristotle seems to have felt that in such formal head- or tail-pieces a heroic rhythm was proper, as in Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος (? Ἀθην.) ξυνέγραψε . . . or ὃν Θ. ξυνέγραψεν.[4]

The Marcan heading, by whomsoever prefixed, has the right ring, 776377.

Here, however, for a time, literary rhythm ends in Mk. Pericope succeeds pericope, in rough non-rhythmical Greek, containing, no doubt unconsciously, all the elements of τραχύτης—harsh hiatus,[5] successions of 'breves', no proper clausulae,[6] no rhythm-iteration[7] between κῶλον and κῶλον or περίοδος and περίοδος. If they are translations, they are faithful to a fault, suggesting no very high opinion entertained of their originals[8]; if not, they are simple ἄτεχνα, with no

[1] Of the former, alliteration is the best-known type; but there are subtler forms (see e.g. *Apocalypse*—a book not distinguished by rhythm in the narrower sense—xiii 1, 2 θ κ δ colour. μ π χ in *v.* 16. θ in *v.* 18. Vowel tones play a considerable part in literary Greek (see Dionys. Hal. *de C. V.* c. xv) and in Latin (see *Aen.* vi 210 ff. the Cave of Avernus: *a* occurs 9 times, *u* 6 times, in 10 words: the description of Ennius is similar). In the *Apocalypse* are good examples: xix 11–13 *o η o ι* vii 1 (*b*) *η*. Anglo-Saxon made much of vowel-colour.

[2] An interesting example in Lk. vii 44–46, the reason there for the unusual order being probably logical, not rhythmical. Dionys. *de C. V.* c. v (Roberts, pp. 98 ff.) is very instructive on this subject.

[3] Or at least nearer the form in the extant MSS of Herodotus.

[4] Thuc. i 1 and ii 70 *al.*

[5] . . . ἡ τραχεῖα συνθήκη. ἡ συγκρούσεις τε φαινήσεται ἔχουσα . . . καὶ ἁνωμοιωμένων ποδῶν συγκειμένη . . . ἄρρυθμός τις, καὶ δύσπνοος. Hermog. περὶ ἰδεῶν i 8.

[6] Ποιεῖ δὲ μάλιστα τοῦτο (i.e. τραχύνει τὴν ἀκοήν) ἡ ἀπάτησις ἡ πολλή, vii. 1, viii.

[7] The essence of rhythmical writing, according to Zander (*op. cit.* pp. [illegible]) 'nullus verus rhythmus nisi iteratus'; who overstates his case; but [illegible] of course, there must be, some *metrical* undersong in the writer's mind on which his rhythm is based.

[8] A translator will usually 'rhythmicize' according to the [illegible] of his original. The A.V. is over-rhythmicized: so are many [illegible]

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visible 'working-up', no evidence, in fact, of anything but artless *naïveté*: simple folk-anecdotes, wonder-stories, much as they were told by untutored eyewitnesses, who saw, perhaps, more than there was to see, but told their tales in all good faith. In other words, on rhythmical grounds (and stylistic too) we are in the first stage, perhaps the very first stage, of the 'Reminiscences of Jesus' which form the *σῶμα ἀκαλλὲς καὶ ἀδιάρθρωτον* (on literary grounds) of the first ten chapters of this Gospel. Even the Voice from Heaven (i 11) is left awkward and unmusical, with sixfold hiatus in ten words.[1]

The presence of literary rhythm will be the more marked when we do meet it. The first clear occurrence[2] is a piece of imitative rhythm i 27, where an agitated enquiry is thus represented:

τί ἐστι τοῦτο; (a) | διδαχὴ καινή· (b) | κατ' ἐξουσίαν (c) | καὶ τοῖς πνεύμασι (d) | τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις (e) | ἐπιτάσσει (f) | καὶ ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ (g) |.

Here we get iteration, parallelism, inversion.

b and *d* are inverted rhythms,[3]

d and *e* are in the form of a chiasmus, and together form heroic rhythm,

e and g_1, *b* and *f*, shew clear iteration.

All the elements of literary rhythm are present therefore. The passage suggests working up, to give special point to the excitement caused by the new Teacher.

i 42. Note the heroic rhythm:

εὐθὺς ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ | ἡ λέπρα, κἀκαθερίσθη, and note in context *ἐμβριμησάμενος, μηδενὶ μηδὲν | εἴπῃς, δεῖξον τῷ ἱερεῖ, ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν, καὶ διαφημίζειν, εἰς πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔξω ἐπ' ἐρήμοις, ἤρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν | πάντοθεν.*

Blass is severe on those who hunt for verse rhythming in New Testament prose[4]; but it is worth noting that heroic rhythm occurs with some frequency in the passages which deal with healing.[5] The early

renderings (Jowett's *Thucydides*, for example). We should not, however, use great literary craft in a rendering from a foreign newspaper cutting.

[1] Contrast the Johannine (xii 28) *πάτερ, δόξασόν σου τοὔνομα.* | 23731, *κἀδόξασα καὶ πάλιν δοξάσω.* | 75231; good antiphonal rhythm.

[2] By no means all examples are here noted. There are such embedded in other sections which are here passed over.

[3] Inverted rhythms (see above p. 271 note 5) are the simplest form of rhythm-variety, e. g. — ∪ | ∪ — gives the well-known 'foot', choriambus; ∪ — | — ∪ the antispast; many metres are based on inversions: e. g. Aesch. *Persae* 65, 66 (ionic rhythm) *πεπέρακεν μὲν ὁ περσέπτολις ἤδη | βασίλειος στρατὸς εἰς ἀντίπορον γείτονα χώραν.* 561,67 | 561,6751 |. I assume here a caesura.

[4] *Gr. of N. T. Greek* (Eng. Tr.) § 82.

[5] See e. g. Mk. v 22 *πίπτει πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ*, 23 *ἐλθὼν ἐπιθῇς τὰς χεῖρας*, 29 *ἐξηράνθη ἡ πηγὴ (τοῦ) αἵματος αὐτῆς*, 32 *τὴν τοῦτο ποιήσασαν*, 39 *τὸ παιδίον . . . ἀλλὰ*

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medical writers retained something of epic cadence,[1] and the fashion may have remained; or we may hazard the suggestion that these sections are 'prosed' from rough hexameter narratives[2] without wholly losing their cadences (as the verse *Morte d'Arthur* affects the rhythm of Malory's prose rendering).

ii 11. After the rough and broken rhythm of *vv.* 3–10, the change to swift trochees is remarkable:

σοὶ λέγω, ἔγειρε, ἆρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου | χῖτας εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου. | καὶ ἠγέρθη καὶ εὐθὺς ἄρας τὸν κράβαττον ἐξῆλθεν |

3337371 . 3371 77373371 .

ii 17. There is here the appearance of a citation in scazon iambics:

οὐ (γὰρ) | ἔχουσιν (οἱ) ἰσχύοντες ἰατροῦ χρείαν | ἀλλ' οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες . . .

So 21 d οὐδεὶς ἐπίβλημ' ἀγνάφου ῥάκους ῥάπτει | ἐφ' ἱμάτιον παλαιόν· εἰ δὲ μή, χεῖρον | (τὸ) σχίσμα γίγνεται . . . |

v. 22 is apparently a more topical illustration added to the former, and perhaps suggested by the context of the wedding-feast in *v.* 19: Mk. does not dignify it with literary rhythm.[3]

iv 3 ff. This—the first recorded—parable is a clear example of imitative rhythm; the alternations of slow and rapid movement, of *largo* and *allegro*, being marked.

ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων σπεῖραι | καὶ γένετ' ἐν τῷ σπείρειν ὁ μὲν | ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ ἦλθεν | τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτό. | καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ πετρῶδες | ὅπου οὐκ εἶχεν γῆν πολλήν, | καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξανέτειλεν | διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς· | καὶ ὅτε ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος | ἐκαυματίσθη· | καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν | ἐξηράνθη. |

vv. 7, 8 lend themselves to a similar analysis.[4]

καθεύδει. ix 16 ff τί συζητεῖτε πρὸς αὐτούς; ἐκ τούτου ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν; (doubtful, ἐκλίει· ἀφρίζων, ἐκ παιδίθεν καὶ πολλάκις εἰς πῦρ . . . 25 ff ἐπισωτρέχει ὄχλος, ἐπετίμησεν τῷ πνεύματι, ἔξελθ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ μηκέτι . . . (Note in this latter context rare words τρίζει, ἐξεθάμβησαν, ἐκ παιδίθεν. Other examples will be found in similar contexts (e. g. vii 25, 33, 37: there are several in Lk. and Acts (iii 6, 7, 8, 10).

[1] See Lamb *Clio Enthroned* for a good account of the medical writers.

[2] The Sibyllines give proof that there was a strong tendency abroad towards pseudo-epic composition.

[3] But both Mt. and Lk. do so; here, as elsewhere, adding the literary touch:

Mt. βρέχουσι οἱ ἀσκοί	— — ⏑ ⏑ | — — |	Lk. βρέχει ὁ ὄφις . . . τῶν ὑγιῶν |
χὠ οἶνος ἐκχεῖται	— — ⏑ ⏑ | — — ⏑	καὶτὸς ἐκχυθήσεται
		— ⏑ | — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ |
χαὶ ἀσκοὶ ἀπόλλυνται	— — | ⏑ ⏑ | — — | — ⏑	χαὶ ἀσκοὶ ἀπολοῦνται
		— — | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑

[4] Note that in this instance the rhythm-sentences do not exactly coincide (as usually) with the thought-sentences; but the whole has a strong [illegible] a fairly clear iambic or anapaestic undersong. The main [illegible] not suffer, however, if ὁ μὲν . . . ἦλθεν, and καὶ ἄλλο . . . ἔπεσεν . . . [illegible] as rhythm- (as they are thought-) sentences.

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Notation: 7277 | 6772 | 5527 | 5283 | 6827 | 2777 | 367 | 8721 | 666 | 221 | 6271 | 77.

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that here is a piece of elaborated Greek, either written for didactic purposes, or at least polished by frequent oral use.[1]

Note the slow opening, the rapid scattering of the seed, the sudden growth, the disappointment, the final success (*v.* 8). It is almost as if it had been set to music. The rhythm of the two following sections (12 c[2] and 12 d Wright) is of an entirely different order (see below on vii 20 ff).

vi 45 ff (§ 20, Wright). The storm-scene as given in iv 35–41 (§ 14, Wright) is not markedly rhythmical, but this doublet (as conjectured) is strongly imitative.

The framework (*vv.* 45, 46 and 51, 52) is prose.

vv. 47 ff. καὶ ὀψίας γενομένης (*a*) | ἦν τὸ πλοῖον ἐν μέσῳ τῆς θαλάσσης, (*b*) | καὶ αὐτὸς μόνος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. (*c*) | καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτοὺς βασανιζομένους ἐν τῷ ἐλαύνειν, (*d*) | ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἄνεμος ἐναντίος αὐτοῖς, (*e*) | περὶ τετάρτην φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτούς (*f*) | περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης· (*g*) | καὶ ἤθελεν παρελθεῖν αὐτούς (*h*) |.[3]

Notation: 7281 (*a*) | 333721 (*b*) | 7651 (*c*) | 3766737 (*d*) | 36251 (*e*) | 87572221 (*f*) | 8637 (*g*) | 72271 (*h*) |.

Here the correspondences, though not exact, are clear enough. Compare close of *f* and *h*, opening of *f* and *g* (– – equivalent of – ∪ ∪), of *d* and *e*, spondaic close of *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h* (*b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g* also have ∪ – – in clausula). *a* and *c*, *d* and *f* are similar in type, broken rhythm, while *b* is strongly trochaic and *h* equally iambic; but the whole gives an appearance of careful planning.

vv. 49, 50 οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης περιπατοῦντα (*i*) | ἔδοξαν ὅτι φάντασμ' ἐστί, (*j*) | κἀνέκραξαν, (*k*) | πάντες γὰρ αὐτὸν εἶδαν (*l*) | καὶ ταράχθησαν. (*m*) | ὁ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐλάλησεν μετ' αὐτῶν, (*n*) | καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, (*o*) | Θαρσεῖτ', ἐγώ εἰμι, (*p*) | μὴ φοβεῖσθε (*q*) |.

Notation: 33622621 (*i*) | 2873 (*j*) | 37 (*k*) | 7221 (*l*) | 371 (*m*) | 23721 (*n*) | 371 (*o*) | 723 (*p*) | 37 (*q*) |.

Note correspondences *k*, *m*, *o*, *q*, *l* and *p*, *j* and *n*. Spondaic closes;

[1] If so, ἀκούετε and ὃς ἔχει κτλ. (a phrase which recurs, see Wright *Synopsis*[3], p. 40) would be the conventional opening and closing words of the recitation.

[2] The language of *vv.* 10–12 makes it clear that the question of the twelve refers to parables generally, not the sower alone.

[3] This καί in hiatus and the crasis of ἄνεμος cannot be held certain: but the general features do not suffer if καί is shortened or forms crasis. Zander *op. cit.* p. 435 gives examples of καί with or without crasis. Blass shortens -αι before vowel; he elides it in two cases only, viz., in two 'resurrection-passages' noted above, p. 270 note 2, 1 Cor. xv, 1 Thess. iv. With καί scanned short, (*d*) above becomes anapaestic.

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triple trochee at close of the whole. *m* and *o* shew clausulae of an approved type $- \cup - | - \overline{\cup}$ (Zielinski's first type). There is, then, every sign of literary rhythm. Note the vowel colour; *k* and *m* shew *α*, *o*, *p*, *q* shew *ει* as dominant. The rhythm is imitative, and not therefore of the most finished order; but even Demosthenes does not taboo imitative rhythm (see *Androtion* § 68 f *εἴ γ' ὁ πατήρ . . .*).

The first and third Gospels also give a rhythmical storm-scene, both having framework distinct from the picture itself: the fourth Gospel abbreviates, but has anapaests like those of Mk., and keeps the spondaic clausula *ἐφοβήθησαν*.[1] This all suggests that we have a set passage, written up probably for didactic use.[2]

vii 18, 19. Apparently a set formula, appropriately introduced here, from some collection dealing with ceremonial purity or defilement.[3]

Statement:

πᾶν τὸ ἔξωθεν | εἰσπορευόμενον | εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον | οὐ δύναται αὐτὸν | κοινῶσαι |. 371 | 361 | 371 | 671 | 71 ||.

Explanation:

ὅτι οὐκ εἰσπορεύεται | αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν | ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν, | καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀφεδρῶν' ἐκπορεύεται |. 5331 | 7731 | 772 | 67331 |.

Here statement and explanation are both rhythmical, but on different lines: the former ends with molossus, the latter has cretics. The latter has also a clear assonance, and reads like a set stanza.[4] The additional explanation (*vv.* 20 ff) is non-rhythmical.

vii 24–30 (§ 22, Wright). *v.* 25, the heroic cadences have been noted above, p. 274.

v. 27, a *γνώμη* (? a trochaic tetrameter):

οὐ καλὸν λαβεῖν τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τοῖς κυναρίοις βαλεῖν[5]

(with the familiar play on *λαβεῖν* and *βαλεῖν*).

The answer is a paraphrase of some similar *γνώμη*, e. g. *τῆς δὲ κυρίων τραπέζης καὶ τὰ κυνάρι' ἐσθίει* ('a cat may look at a king'). The woman

[1] This note of fear—a discord awaiting resolution—is a device employed elsewhere (iv 41, ix 6, x 32, and perhaps xvi 8).

[2] It has been noted already that passages dealing with the resurrection (and the appearances after resurrection) show special literary features (see especially John xx 11 ff: the earlier Johannine narratives are non-rhythmical). This 'appearance' may have belonged to the same cycle of writings. In any case, this storm-scene is rhythmically far removed from that of iv 35–41.

[3] The twice-repeated *Ἃ ὁ Θεὸς ἐκαθάρισεν σὺ μὴ κοίνου* (Acts x 15, xi 9) may be another such fragment, *κοίνου* having its proper sense 'defile'.

[4] On assonance as the parent of rhyme see Norden *op. cit.* Ap. I. He refers to Mt. vii 13 f, 16 ff, 24 ff, Lk. x 16 (where note D), all in stanza-form, like the above. Their parallelism is not of the Greek order, but of the Hebrew; but they have certainly been cast into a shape convenient for teaching purposes among Greek converts.

[5] Greek seems certainly to have been used in this dialogue.

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caps proverb with proverb, and proves her faith with the help of a ready wit.[1]

viii 34 ff (§ 28, Wright). The same features are visible as in vii 18 f, namely, parallelism and assonance. It would seem to be a well-known saying (see Mt. x 38 f, xvi 24 f, Lk. ix 23 ff, xvii 33, and compare Joh. xii 25), in three parts, statement, nearer and remoter explanation, the last being apparently of a different rhythm-stratum to the two former, and more variously rendered in the Synoptists.

ix 2 ff (§ 29, Wright). A tendency to heroic rhythm: *κἀναφέρει αὐτοὺς | εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν | καὶ μετεμορφώθη | καὶ θοἰμάτι' αὐτοῦ |* (with transposition of D) *στίλβοντ' ἐγένοντο | οἷα γναφεὺς ἐπὶ (τῆς) γῆς | οὐ δύναται οὕτως λευκᾶναι. | κἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Πέτρος | οὐκέτι οὐδένα εἶδον* (possibly elision here) *| εἰ μὴ τὸν Ἰησοῦν.*

This tendency is carried on (as already noted) in the healing of the demoniac boy. Certain rare words occur (see above p. 274 note 5). The passage does not shew trace of good *prose* rhythm.

ix 35. *εἴ τις . . .* apparently a set saying with jingling rhythm (it recurs in each Synoptist). The conventional notation will shew this clearly.

εἴ τις θέλει πρῶτος εἶναι – – | ∪ – | – ∪ | – – (inverted rhythm) | *ἔσται πάντων ἔσχατος* – – | – – | – ∪ | ⏑ | *καὶ πάντων διάκονος* – – | – ∪ | – ∪ | ⏑ | (cretic endings) |.

v. 37 is non-rhythmical, but in Mt. x 40 it is rhythmicized: *ὁ δεχόμενος ὑμᾶς | ἐμὲ δέχεται, | χὠ 'μὲ δεχόμενος | δέχεται τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με* |.[2]

x 34. A good instance of sympathetic rhythm with assonance: *κἀμπαίξουσιν αὐτῷ | κἀμπτύσουσιν αὐτῷ | καὶ μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτὸν | κἀποκτενοῦσιν* |, (all spondaic closes),

then with change to rapid, confused rhythm:

καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστήσεται – ∪ ∪ | – – | ∪ – | ∪ – | – ∪ | –.

Mt. here has a marked spondaic line

εἰς τοὐμπαῖξαι κτλ. 7777771. *καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ κτλ.* 75872,

while Lk. makes effective use of passive futures with cretic cadences.

x 46 ff. The passage is marked by three rhythmical phrases:

υἱὲ Δαυείδ, ἐλέησόν με. (*bis*) *| θάρσει, ἔγειρε, φωνεῖ σε. | ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέ σε |*

shewing parallelism and assonance, with consonant colour in the last phrase, and vowel colour (-ει-) in the second = 3757 | 7227 | 7722 |.

The last phrase recurs (Mk. v 34, Mt. ix 22, Lk. vii 50, viii 48, xvii 19).

May not this four-line stanza have been an early antiphon in which a cry for pardon is answered by words of comfort and assurance?

[1] Her anguish of mind would be no barrier to this word-fencing. See Coleridge's well-known note on Shakespeare's word-plays (Lecture on *Richard II*).

[2] Have we here, in *vv.* 35 *b*, 37, and their doublets (for which see Wright, §§ 30 *b* and *c*), fragments from an early form of dismissal of missionaries?

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Mk. ii 5, Mt. xvi 19, xviii 15, 18, 21, 22 may be similar fragments, from some early office of forgiveness and reconciliation, built up, no doubt, of recollections of the Master's words. To appropriate incidents these well-known liturgical phrases are, in their current forms, attached.

Thus far a brief and rapid survey of some more striking instances in these ten chapters of conscious or semi-conscious literary rhythm. The results may seem meagre enough, but the great connected narratives of the Passion and Resurrection have not been touched on, and the chapters here treated are just those which by their nature are likely to prove least fruitful of rhythmic influences.

In the main, however, we have seen that the broken fragments of narrative are naïve, artless, neither 'touched up' nor 'worked up' as would no doubt be the case had they been written with any dogmatic or controversial purpose. Though harmonized to some degree as far as language and style go, they have all the appearance of *bona fide* 'reminiscences' set down in the *lingua franca* of the day, loosely strung together,[1] and representing only a small survival of a considerable floating collection of similar papyrus leaves.

Into these ἄτεχνα there creep, however, certain rhythmicized sections; a parable, a storm-scene, both highly wrought, perhaps polished by actual recitation.[2] These we conjecture to have been used for catechetical or liturgical purposes, and to have been imported into the Gospel in their known forms. The same is possibly true of smaller literary fragments, short phrases, formulae, &c. These may have been used in certain primitive service-forms (e. g. exorcism, Mk. ix 25, dismissal of missionaries, ix 35 *al.*, confession of sins and assurance of pardon, v 34, x 47 ff, confession of faith, ix 24, &c.). They are fitted to appropriate contexts as ancient Roman cries or formulae are fitted to contexts by Livy,[3] or obscure sayings are given an origin in the Old Testament (e. g. 1 Sam. x 12).

[1] They are, no doubt, partly consecutive, but many are put together on no very clear principle. Dr A. Wright (*Interpreter* vol. ix 1914) suggests the use of 'catch-words'. Perhaps if we had some idea how a collector of loose papyrus sheets would docket and arrange his collection, we should be nearer to the methods on which our Evangelist worked. Quite possibly he might index each with some heading according to subject (e. g. 'Salt' or 'Fire' in Mk. ix 49) or date, and then sort them off into batches. It may be that such a docket-note appears in δευτερο-πρώτῳ of Lk. vi 1: there were two leaves indexed σαββάτῳ πρώτῳ: πρῶτον and δεύτερον, α′ and β′: hence we get σαββ. (πρῶτον) πρώτῳ, σαββ. (δεύτερον) πρώτῳ. The second leaf has survived.

[2] Let any one experiment by reading aloud one of these passages, and then any ordinary section (e. g. vii 5–13, x 17–27).

[3] A difference being that in Livy the context is perhaps the creation of aetiology. In the Gospels, the phrases in question are probably based on actual 'sayings', the

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There remain also certain passages—chiefly healing-stories—where the presence of heroic rhythm suggests the possibility of hexameter origin.[1]

Even these tentative results must be tested by considerations of syntax, vocabulary, and so on[2]: but the study of latent rhythms may prove a useful trace-horse to help us along the path of accurate criticism; and through careful analysis and observation of indications of this kind we may perhaps get nearer than before to the Evangelists at work.

E. ILIFF ROBSON.

THE SITUATION OF TARSHISH.

IT has been well said (by the late Sir P. Renouf) that 'the identification of Tarshish with Tartessus in Spain is so universally taken for granted, both by secular writers, and by Biblical scholars, that it would argue a great want of modesty to call it in question, were not the arguments in its behalf well known to be devoid of demonstrative force'. The words 'Tarshish, tin, and Spain' have been so unhesitatingly linked together, without any real attempt at investigation, that it is difficult to say which is the more culpable: the carelessness or the credulity involved in so universal an assumption.

Tarshish—as an ethnico-geographical term (for the name is also used in other senses in Scripture)—occurs altogether thirteen times in the Old Testament; and those references contain all the direct evidence on the subject, as (with one possible exception) the name Tarshish has never been found elsewhere. Our primary duty lies therefore in the investigation of these texts; such subsidiary questions as the identification of 'Tartessus' and the meaning of the phrase 'ships of Tarshish' being merely historical accessories to the exegetical question—what do we know about *Tarshish* as an ethnical and a geographical term?

I. *Biblical Evidence.*

In Gen. x 4, 5 we read—'the sons of Javan were Elishah and Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanim.' 'Of these were *the isles of the nations* divided in their lands.' This 10th chapter of Genesis must not be

contexts on actual incidents. It is the junction of the liturgical phrase or formula with an appropriate context which the evangelist supplies.

[1] See p. 275 note 2.

[2] Such results of criticism are here purposely left aside, the present aim being to find in what direction rhythm alone will take us.

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regarded as a strict and scientific ethnological list. Such races of men as fell within the horizon of the writer are enumerated from the point of view of the geographer rather than that of the ethnologist. Also (as Schrader pointed out) the Japhetic family is arranged in two series: the first—Gomer and his sons—containing more distant races, whilst the second—Javan and his sons (among whom Tarshish is included)—comprises those nations living in nearer proximity to the Hebrews. Moreover, these lists are each arranged in the order of a survey from West to East, though of course geographical knowledge was then only in its infancy. This systematic arrangement of the 'sons', being an admitted fact, furnishes valuable and reliable data for determining the locality of Tarshish if we can (within reasonable limits) fix the cognate races.

The first of these is Javan, which has been decisively identified with the Ionians; a term that includes all that mixed body of early Aryan inhabitants of 'the isles of Greece' and the Eastern Mediterranean which gradually became known to the Hebrews through the medium of Phoenician commerce. The evidence for this identity will be found carefully summarized by Dr Sayce in his article on 'Javan' in Hastings *Bible Dictionary*.

The three names associated with Tarshish as 'sons of Javan' are Elishah, Kittim, and Dodanim, which are Hebraized eponymics known to Hebrew writers through the reports of Tyrian traders. From 'the isles of Elishah' they obtained one of their precious purple dyes, the *murex brandaris* for which the isle of Cythera and the eastern coast of the Peloponnesus became famous at a very early period. In fact the stormy Cape Malea (the southern promontory of Greece) for a long time constituted the extreme limit beyond which even those hardy traders dared not venture into unknown western seas. It was the district over which, in the Homeric age, the wise counsellor Nestor ruled, who himself was the son of a Tyrian colonist Neleus. The Pelasgic Εἰλώτης (whence is derived the Hebrew 'Elishah') at that time inhabited this district, though soon afterwards they were reduced to slavery by Doric invaders,[1] and passed almost into oblivion.

Again, Josephus was undoubtedly correct in identifying the 'isles of Kittim' with Cyprus, though probably the term also included Crete,[2] both of which islands still possess ample remains of primitive Phoenician occupation: Dodanim should doubtless be read רוֹדָנִים as in 1 Chron. i 7 (the parallel passage), and denoted the famous island of Rhodes in the Aegean, where was another ancient Phoenician colony at Camirus.

In the face of such evidence as this it seems superfluous to enlarge

[1] 'Return of the Heraclidae' *circa* 900 B. C.

[2] Josephus *Ant. Iud.* ix 14. 2.

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on its opposition to any inference that the allied ethnical term 'Tarshish' should be identified with a hypothetical Phoenician colony (or group of colonies[1]) out in the Atlantic Ocean, two thousand miles away from the others.

There is, however, the view maintained by Josephus and other Jewish writers,[2] that Tarsus (St Paul's birthplace) is Tarshish: a view which might, so far, seem probable. But the objections raised against it are so many and so cogent that, when combined, they are fatal to its tenability.

There is first a philological objection. The identity of the Septuagint Θαρσεῖς and the classical Ταρσός is philologically unsound. The distinction between the Θ and T is consistently maintained throughout all our evidence, as is also the force of the Hebrew *long I* (chiriq) in the second syllable, represented in Greek by the diphthong ει but never by the short ο. Then again, neither of the two sibilants in Ταρσός is a radical; the first s being the Hebrew ז (zain) softened from the Phoenician name TARZ [𐤕𐤓𐤆 = תרז], and the second s being the usual Greek termination for a nominative case in such foreign names. But the most insuperable objection to the identity of Tarshish and Tarsus is the fact (conclusively proved by monumental inscriptions) that the early inhabitants of Cilicia were connected far more closely with the Asiatic Hittites than with the European Ionians. In fact, Tarsus (which, by the way, was never a seaport) was a primitive Hittite city dedicated to the deity Tark or Sandan; and we may be absolutely certain that no Old Testament writer would so confuse a tribe of Mongolian Hittites with the white-skinned, blue-eyed Aryans of Greece and the Mediterranean isles as to call Tarshish (meaning Tarsus) a son of Javan.[1]

Rejecting, therefore, the theory that Tarsus is meant, let us proceed to another incidental consideration which has an important bearing upon the identification of Tarshish, namely, its intimate connexion with the 'isles of the nations'.

In Ps. lxxii 10 we read 'the kings of Tarshish *and of the Isles* shall bring presents'. In Isa. lx 9 God Himself is represented as saying—'the Isles shall wait for Me, and ships of Tarshish to bring thy sons from far', whilst in Isa. lxvi 19 Javan, Tarshish, and the Isles are again grouped together. We meet with an analogous expression—'the Isles of the Sea' on the Egyptian monuments, where it always means the larger islands of the Eastern Mediterranean. I am aware that too much

[1] Rawlinson *Phoenicia* 69.

[2] Josephus *Ant.* i 6. 1 and ix 10. 2. Cf. also *Judith* ii 23.

[3] The value of Josephus's geographical knowledge is discounted by his statement that Jonah, on his way to *Tarsus*, was vomited by the fish on the shore of the Euxine Sea.

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stress must not be laid upon this point, and that the Revisers have accordingly favoured the ambiguous term 'coastland' as a marginal alternative for 'isle'. But in Ezek. xxvi 18 we find the unequivocal expression 'the isles that are in the sea', and there are other references which leave us in no doubt that Hebrew writers did know what an island is—and used the proper term אִי for it. Also, as we bear in mind the parallelism which characterises Hebrew poetry, we may naturally infer that Tarshish was one of the islands thus referred to.

In concluding this part of our enquiry, I think there can be no reasonable doubt that the various Biblical references all refer to one and the same place, and that place the one inhabited by the Ionian nation named Tarshish in Genesis x 4.

Other references might also be examined, but perhaps enough has been said to furnish fair presumptive evidence that Tarshish should be looked for among the *islands* of the Mediterranean, especially as these remaining Biblical references to Tarshish, although interesting in themselves, throw but little additional light on its position. From Jer. x 9 we learn that 'silver, beaten into plates' for overlaying images was a well-known export; other minerals for which Tarshish was then a famous emporium being iron, lead, and a certain metal called בְּדִיל which has been tentatively translated 'tin'.[1] Of course it does not necessarily follow that all these metals were mined at Tarshish (though doubtless some were), but merely that the mineral products of neighbouring lands were from thence shipped to Tyre. A point on which great stress has been laid (though injudiciously) is this connexion of Tarshish with the metallic substance known to the Hebrews as בְּדִיל, and translated 'tin' in our Bibles. It is an acknowledged fact that the Phoenicians, as early as the third century B. C., did visit the Scilly Isles and the coast of Cornwall, and thence obtained tin. It is also true that a small quantity of this *cassiterite* has been found in Southern Spain. But to assume that a systematic commerce in tin existed between Tyre and either Spain or Britain, at least 700 years previously, is flagrantly to defy evidence and probability, and to assume what is practically impossible. And, *a fortiori*, I may, in passing, add that Tarshish was evidently not a mere place of barter, but was an important Phoenician colony, in intimate connexion with the mother-country, Tyre.

Even supposing we accept the hypothesis that the Hebrew בְּדִיל is 'tin', the fact proves nothing for our present purpose. Tin was known to the Hebrews only as the (reputed) alloy[2] in the bronze used for weapons and other tools or instruments. But bronze (containing about 10 per cent. of tin) was unquestionably known in Egypt, Crete, Akkad,

[1] Ezek. xxvii 12. [2] Cf. Isa. i 25.

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and Mycenae many centuries before the first Phoenician vessel ploughed the waters of the Mediterranean; and neither then, nor in any subsequent period,[1] was there that universal reliance on Tarshish for tin which has been so hastily assumed by those who think that the whereabouts of Tarshish is to be thus crudely decided by the whereabouts of tin.

A few words are perhaps desirable in regard to the difficulty raised by the references in 2 Chronicles (ix 21 and xx 36) to ships which (in the former case) 'went to Tarshish' from Ezion-gaber, a port on the Red Sea; and brought back to Solomon 'gold and silver, ivory, and apes and peacocks'. Obviously these exports are very different from those we have hitherto considered, and cannot be explained as European products. Bochart got over this difficulty by assuming that there were *two* different Tarshishs—one in the Mediterranean, the other in the Indian Ocean.

The frequent occurrence, however, of the phrase אֳנִיּוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ as a synonym for large vessels furnished with both sails and oars—the 'East Indiamen', in fact, of ancient commerce—suggests a different and far simpler interpretation. It is clear, from 1 Kings xxii 48, that the destination of Jehoshaphat's vessels was *Ophir*, even though they are termed 'ships of Tarshish', and the natural inference is that the part. הֹלְכוֹת in 2 Chron. ix 21 is an interpolation of the Chronicler, in a mistaken effort to elucidate the ambiguity in אֳנִיּוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ at a time when its original signification had become obsolete. This is the view taken by De Wette, Winer, Gesenius, Ewald, Movers, Hävernick, and most other modern authorities, and one which entirely meets the case.

II. *The Evidence as to 'Tartessus'.*

We have now briefly examined all the Biblical evidence on the subject. Summarized, it amounts to this. Tarshish was an island, or part of an island, in the Mediterranean, inhabited by a numerous and civilized Pelasgic people, renowned for its supply of several valuable minerals, and for the technical skill of its metal-workers. It was an island, moreover, on which a very early Tyrian settlement was made, which, in the seventh century B.C., had grown into a very important and flourishing Tyrian colony.

[1] Oxydracan ambassadors gave presents of 100 talents of tin to Alexander in India. See Q. Curtius *De Rebus Alex. Mag.* ix 8. 1. בְּדִיל is more likely to be the 'bdellium' (בְּדֹלַח) of Gen. ii 12, and was of oriental origin. Κασσίτερος is derived from Sansk. KASTIRA, which induces the inference that prehistoric tin came from Drangiana or some other stanniferous area in the Far East. But the point is an immaterial one.

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We now turn to the modern claim that Tartessos a name which it is needless to add does not occur in the Bible is the place really signified. The natural curiosity enquires What do we know about such a place? Are we sure that Tartessos ever existed? Did the Phoenicians ever have any colony there? These are important questions concerning which all the available evidence was collected many years ago by the late Sir G Cornewall Lewis and printed as an article in *Notes and Queries* 1850.

The first author to mention Tartessos is Stesichoros a Sicilian poet in the sixth century B.C. who names it as a river in Spain which Strabo subsequently identified with the Baetis which takes the same course. Two other Greek poets—Anakreon and Simonides of Ceos (both circ. 500 B.C.)—mention the existence of Tartessos. But for Herodotos a few years later we have the evening star of the books in the same century B.C. there was an historic Tartessos called the Tartessic province by a most authoritative writer remarkable for having lived one hundred years (B.C. 484–584). Hesiod's mysterious Erytheia where Geryones lived to capture the cattle of Geryones was identified by Pherekydes of Leros[1] as the island of Gades though Polybios states that Eratosthenes used to refer the whole Tartessian problem entirely to the realm of fiction and Eratosthenes and elsewhere in A.D. Strabo says 'what is beyond the Pillars is impassable'.[2] Apollodorus however does certainly speak of a place Tartessos in connexion with Hercules' voyage. But Apollodorus was 500 years later than Strabo and in matters of geographical knowledge prevailing even at the time of writing was regarded as ancient. Hercules arrived at the Pillars thus naturally assuming that the supposed Tartessos was within the Mediterranean.

As regards Gades on the ocean side from the same century B.C.—or possibly even earlier still—the Phoenicians had a trading station which soon grew into a successful colony as Strabo testified from its Phoenician name Agadir meaning an enclosure[3] which in the Latin became changed to Gadir and by the Spaniards to Cadiz. But there is absolutely no ground for supposing that Gades was preceded by a still earlier Phoenician colony called Tartessos, especially a colony of such wealth and importance as is demanded by the Biblical references to Tarshish. Certainly whatever commerce that name in Tyre from Western Spain must have come from Gades and after the destruction of Carthage it passed to that emporium rather than to Tyre.[4] Now it

[1] Quoted by Strabo II. 2. 12. [2] Eratosthenes 16. [3] Strabo Frag. 2. 2.
[4] Pherekydes in Müller Frag. Hist. Gr. [illegible]
[5] Strabo Frag. 2. 12. Dionys. II. [illegible] [6] Apollonius Rhodius I. 9. 12.
[7] Second Book of the Bible Kings [illegible]

is incredible that Gadeira (which possessed a name familiar in Hebrew) could have been known to the Hebrews only as Tarshish (which has not a Hebrew etymology). It is equally incredible that Tarshish and Gadeira could have co-existed together as neighbouring colonies, or they would certainly have been mentioned *together*, either in the Bible, or in the various Greek references to the adventures of Perseus and Hercules. So far, however, from that being the case, Herodotus,[1] in narrating a story about the Samian navigator Colaeus who, driven by contrary winds, had paid an involuntary visit to this Tartessian tribe about 640 B.C., says that Colaeus found them a peaceful people apparently quite unacquainted with Phoenician commerce, even though Gades, a settlement just off the coast, had existed for some 200 years. Clearly Herodotus knew nothing about a Tartessus holding commercial dealings with Tyre or Sidon.

In fact the main authority for the theory that Tartessus was a *place* (not merely the name of a *river*) is a passage ascribed to Scymnos of Chios (an obscure Greek geographer, living about the third century B.C.). In that passage[2] Tartessus is definitely described as a city, two days' sail beyond Gades, and as renowned for its wealth of gold, tin, and copper—products which, by the way, are very different from the murenas of which a Tartessian fame had reached Aristophanes, or even the peculiar kind of weasel found there which Herodotus recorded.[3]

But that specious description of Tartessus may safely be dismissed as mythical, for Meineke proved conclusively, in 1846, that the entire poem from which it is taken is a forgery of the first century B.C., at which time Diodorus and Strabo assure us that no authentic evidence for such a town as Tartessus was in existence.

The silence of Pseudo-Scylax, who wrote an account of Spain in his work called 'Periplus' about 350 B.C., as to such a city is very significant; as likewise is the silence of Artemidorus of Ephesus and Poseidonius in the second century B.C., because both of those writers knew Iberia intimately, and mention its various towns. Coming down later than the Christian era we find Pliny,[4] Pausanias,[5] and Avienus[6] suggesting that Tartessus was an old name for Gades (a suggestion which we have already seen to be impossible), and Arrian[7] calling it a *κτίσμα Φοινίκων*, also apparently thereby meaning Gades. On the other hand Pliny, Ptolemy, and other classical geographers identified

[1] Herodotus iv 152.

[2] Scymnos v 162. [3] Aristophanes *Frogs* 475; Herod. iv 192.

[4] Pliny is unreliable, because in *Nat. Hist.* iii 3 he identified Tartessus with Karteia, whereas in iv 36 he identified it with Gades.

[5] Pausanias vi 19. [6] Avienus *Ora Marit.* 85. 269.

[7] Arrian *De Exped. Alexandri* ii 16. § 3.

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it with Karteia,[1] an obscure (but much later) *Carthaginian* settlement immediately east of Gibraltar, which, having always had a Phoenician name, could never have been called either Tarshish or Tartessus. As there certainly was an Iberian tribe called the *Tartessii*, inhabiting the mainland somewhere near the island of Gades, the probability is that, owing to the meagre and inexact knowledge available to ancient geographers concerning so distant a locality, the Tartessian district and the ancient Phoenician colony of Gadeira became confused, and so the misconception arose that the colony was named Tartessus.

In conclusion we ask who first proposed to identify this purely hypothetical town with the Biblical Tarshish? So far as I have been able to trace, it seems to have originated with a learned Spanish Jesuit named Pineda, who wrote several Biblical commentaries about the year 1600 (died 1637). In his work *De Rebus Salomonis* (iv 14) he discusses the subject at considerable length, and quotes a vague statement of Anastasius Sinaita, a seventh-century monk, that Tarshish was 'Hesperia in the West'. Pineda, therefore, merely on the ground of similarity of name, asserted that Tartessus must be identical with it. His theory remained unnoticed, however, until adopted by the famous Oriental scholar Bochart, a generation later, in his great work on 'Biblical Geography'.[2] Bochart quoted Eusebius as the authority for his opinion, but gave no reference to support it, and, unfortunately for him, the opinion of Eusebius is still ascertainable from his *Onomasticon*,[3] and proves beyond question that he thought Tarshish was Carthage. Michaelis,[4] and Gesenius[5] (to whom the matter was only of incidental concern), were content to accept the opinion of Bochart; and thus the theory that Tarshish was a Phoenician colony on the west coast of Spain received the added support of their names, though they do not appear to have ever made any attempt to sift the evidence before giving their personal *imprimatur* to the theory. After them came the pens of ready writers who, under the misleading term 'popular knowledge', have made themselves wholesale disseminators of errors on this as on many other similar matters. With the exception of the article in Smith's *Bible Dictionary* no really critical examination of the evidence was made until the late Sir Peter Renouf in 1894 drew the attention of the 'Society of Biblical Archæology' to the baselessness of the common hypothesis; and requested me to

[1] Probably Steph. Byzant. meant Καρτεία when he said Ταρσήιον, and was merely copying Apollodorus. Καρτεία or Καρθαία = Phoen. קַרְתָּא 'city'. It was with Καρτεία that Smith identified Tartessus, whilst Winckler prefers the unknown Ταρσεῖον, which he erroneously identified with Mastia (*Forschungen* i 445).

[2] Bochart *Phaleg* iii 7.

[3] Eusebius *Onom.* sub voce

[4] J. D. Michaelis *Spicilegium* i 82.

[5] Gesenius *Heb Lex* sub voce

follow up the enquiry, which I thereupon did. I had finished my examination of the evidence and written out the results of it before the publication of Dr W. Max Müller's article 'Tarshish' in Hastings *D.B.* (1902). Though the conclusions which I reached are in the main the same as his, there appears still to be room for such a summary of the results of my own independent investigation as this article affords.

III. *The Constructive Evidence.*

Rejecting then as untenable the traditional theory that Tarshish was in Spain, we turn elsewhere; and, remembering the extremely early date at which Tarshish and Tyre were intimately connected (say 980 B.C.), and the primitive means of navigation then existing, we naturally look nearer to the mother-country—among the islands of the Mediterranean. We know that among the very earliest Tyrian settlements were several in Sicily and Sardinia. Passing the dreaded dangers of Scylla and Charybdis, Tyrian mariners traded all along the north coast of Sicily at and from a remote period. Early in the eleventh century B.C. they planted an island colony at Motya in its north-west corner, a colony which they retained uninterruptedly for the next seven centuries. But the greatest and probably the oldest of their Sicilian settlements was that northern city which subsequently was called Πάνορμος by the Greeks (its original Phoenician name is now unknown), and which still flourishes under its modern name 'Palermo'.

The Phoenicians on their arrival found the country already occupied, not only by barbarous tribes of aboriginal Sikans, but also by a far more civilized race called the Elymoi. The latter were closely allied to the Etruscans, and it was their renown as metal-workers and builders which probably originated the stories of the Hekatoncheires. Their Cyclopean strongholds at Eryx and Egesta must evidently have closely resembled the Pelasgic structures at Mycenae and Troy.

Passing on from Sicily, still pressing westward, the Tyrian navigators came to Sardinia, where too they established several trading stations. One of these, Tharros, which became an important Phoenician colony, was on an island at the mouth of the river Thyrsus (mod. Tirso). The similarity of the names Tharros, Thyrsus, and Tarshish may perhaps be only a coincidence, but there is no doubt that the two former names are closely connected with the Turshoi, another highly civilized race, in all probability the Tyrseni of Southern Italy, from whom the Etruscans were descended.

We know from Egyptian records that these Turshoi, with certain Sardinian and Sicilian allies, on two occasions prepared a fleet, and actually menaced the power of the great Pharaohs by invading Egypt. So eminent was their civilization, and so vast their resources, that

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Merneptah II the Pharaoh of the Exodus was only able to expel them with great difficulty: a point which indirectly may have affected his recorded feelings with the Israelites in their consequences demand for emancipation.

Even if for the sake of argument we suppose this maritime confederacy to have been brief and temporary, the nations constituting it would continue to flourish, and the Phoenician traders who came in contact with them a century or two later would be only too pleased to maintain friendly and advantageous relations with them. So important were they that their entire omission from the list of Hamitic nations in Gen. x is difficult to account for. But of course if the term Tarshish covers one or more of these allies all becomes clear. Readers of Dr W. Max Müller's article on 'Tarshish' in Hastings *D.B.* will be aware that this is the conclusion at which he has arrived.

It has not any point on which we really differ is the question as to which people may best be regarded as the predominant partner in the league: the Tyrsenoi, the Shasu, or the Sardinians. Whilst he inclines to the Tyrsenoi I consider the evidence seems to point to the Sardinians of Sardinia and Sicily, from the former of which islands the Tyrseni migrated to Italy.

It is in Sardinia that the most numerous and the most ancient remains are to be found. Sardinia still exhibits those enormous stones so characteristic of the prehistoric builders. Thousands of wonderful erections called 'nuraghi' are scattered all over the island, similar in plan though varying in size and materials absolutely different from all other buildings in the world. Centuries before the principle of the arch was understood by the masons of Greece and Italy, every chamber in these Sardinian 'nuraghi' was roofed with a perfect dome or cupola of stones beautifully fitted together. Other Sardinian antiquities —the 'Tombs of the Giants', and the huge circular buildings called 'pozzi'—although of more primitive construction, show traces of Phoenician influence, thus confirming the inference that the real centre of this obscure civilization was Sardinia, though probably it was shared by Tyre and by Greece first of all in Sicily.

From the earliest ages Sardinia has been renowned for its mines of gold, silver, iron, lead, and other metals. The excavations still extant show that were worked for centuries ere as they furnish the main exports from the island to-day. In Sicily also numerous ancient and rude workings have been discovered, and it was the metallic wealth which formed the historic basis of those semi-mythical voyages of Herakles, Daedalus and other early Aegaean adventurers, and also originated the fables of Zeppelin, Medusa, and the Argonauts. Under the analogous Tyrian stories of the Golden Fleece of sheepskins and Hesperides we shall

the same foundation of fact. Near Mt. Eryx, which was the ancient citadel of the Elymoi, Homer placed the Cyclops (a Phoenician word, by the way, meaning 'hammerers'), and it was from Chrysothoas in Sicily that the so-called 'oxen of Helios' (probably bronze) were stolen by Ulysses's companion Eurylochus.[1] From Crete the famous metal-worker Daedalus came to Sicily, where he made statues both of bronze and of tin, similar doubtless to those Sarde idols of which scores are still preserved in Sardinian and other museums.

With the long and bitter struggle for supremacy which ensued between Phoenicians and Greeks, in these Mediterranean islands, we are not here concerned. In fact Tarshish ceased when Carthage began to be. Long ago a curious Phoenician inscription was discovered near Nora in Sardinia, on a sandstone slab. Although opinions, unfortunately, vary considerably as to the purport of the full text, it has been almost unanimously agreed that the first word is בתרשיש ('In Tarshish'), this being the one solitary occurrence of the name outside the pages of the Bible.[2]

After thus reviewing all the evidence, though necessarily very briefly, the conclusion which appeals to me is that although we cannot perhaps (as yet) *conclusively* demonstrate the real position of Tarshish, it may be conjectured with all reasonable probability to have been the name under which (at first) Sicily, and (later on) Sicily and Sardinia, were known by repute to Hebrew writers, as the isles whence Tyrian traders obtained various metals in Solomon's day; and where before the era of Isaiah a group of colonies, of first-rate importance, had been established in intimate connexion with Tyre—these being the כְּפִירֵיהָ 'young lions' of Ezek. xxxviii 13. Each of them doubtless had a specific name entirely different from the generic 'Tarshish', the etymon of which may possibly be either a jumble or an acrostical combination of the native races—Tursha, Uashesh, Shardana, and Sheklusha—surviving the oblivion of their archaic confederacy.

W. W. COVEY-CRUMP.

[1] *Odyssey* xii 355.

[2] See *Corp. Inscrip. Sem.* i 144.

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THE LAST SUPPER AND THE PASCHAL MEAL.

Two problems come before us when we attempt to investigate the question whether the Last Supper was a Paschal Meal. We have (1) to consider the probabilities as to the historical facts, and (2) to explain the statements of the Evangelists. As every one knows who has studied the subject, some statements in the Gospels imply that the Last Supper was a Paschal Meal, some statements imply that it was not. No answer therefore is sufficient or final that does not account for the statements against the proposed solution, as well as those which support it.

First, then, as to historical probabilities.

There can be little doubt that general considerations make against the theory that the Last Supper was a regular Paschal Meal. The arguments are familiar, but they will bear repetition. Jesus was condemned and crucified by authority. The trial may have been irregular and unjust, but at least the pretence of law was observed; it was no mere assassination, or the result of a chance riot. This being the case, we can hardly imagine that the Jewish 'High-Priests' who compassed Jesus's death would have thought the actual Festival-day an appropriate time. They would be engaged with other duties. Either they would get the thing done before Passover began, or if they had Jesus arrested they would wait till the Feast was over. As a matter of fact, this view is actually echoed in the New Testament: 'Not on the Feast-Day, lest there be a riot' is what Caiaphas and his advisers thought, according to Mk. xiv 2; and Acts xii 4 tells us that when Herod had Peter in custody, though he had every intention of killing him and knew it would be a popular act, he nevertheless waited till Passover-time should come to an end. With regard to 'Not on the Feast-Day' in Mk. xiv 2, Wellhausen acutely remarks that the Evangelist probably judged the intention of the Jerusalemite Grandees *a posteriori*, from their actual performance, i. e. we may infer from the verse that the arrest of Jesus was actually accomplished before Passover arrived.

With these general considerations agree many details in the Christian tradition. (1) St Paul speaks of 'Christ our Passover', i. e. (if we may press the phrase) our Lord died when the Paschal lambs were being killed. Some weight also must be given to the fact that when he speaks of the Last Supper he dates it as 'the night when He was betrayed': had it been the Paschal meal it would have been more perspicuous to have said 'at the last Passover'. (2) The Johannine

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writings carefully avoid connecting the Supper with the Paschal meal, and in Joh. xviii 28 and xix 14 it is definitely asserted that the Crucifixion took place before Passover-time. (3) The saying at the Supper peculiar to St Luke ('With desire I have desired', Lk. xxii 15, 16) is at least equally interpretable on the theory that the Supper was not the Paschal meal, as that it was the meal. (4) A good many features in St Mark imply that the Feast had not begun at the time of the Crucifixion.

What is there, then, on the other side? The answer is plain: certain statements in St Mark's narrative definitely imply that the Last Supper was the Paschal meal. These must now be considered. But before doing so, it is proper to notice the simplification in this old vexed question caused by our present understanding of the Synoptic Problem. Mark is the source both of Matthew and Luke, practically the only main source of Matthew's whole Passion narrative and one main source of Luke's. All the statements in Matthew and Luke which imply that the Last Supper was a Paschal meal are taken from Mark. If we can find an explanation of the statements in Mark our problem is solved.

Formerly the case was different. When the agreement of Matthew, Mark, and Luke was regarded as in some way a consensus of three traditions any other view than that set forth by these three Gospels seemed like a minority protest, something maintained in the face of ancient Christian tradition. It was as if the *consensus fidelium* could be invoked for the theory of a Paschal meal. Indeed the alternative view was commonly spoken of as the 'Johannine' chronology, as if in this matter the author of the Fourth Gospel was a voice crying in the wilderness, whether he was supposed to have reached his position from superior historical information or from dogmatic grounds.

The point is of considerable importance, since it affords a justification for reopening this much-discussed affair. It will therefore bear restatement from another point of view. It might be urged that this problem cannot primarily be one of the interpretation of the text of particular narratives, that the nature of the Last Supper is a matter about which there must have been in the earliest times a *consensus fidelium*, and that our only business is to find out what this *consensus* really was. It seems natural to the modern Christian, for whom the narrative of the Passion has so much associated religious meaning, who is so familiar with this part of the Gospel-story as a feature in his liturgical exercises, to imagine that such an important element of the background as the relation of these events to the Jewish festival cannot ever have been left in doubt. This or that story of Jesus in Galilee may rest upon the evidence of a single narrator, but the date of the Last Supper (we feel) must have been notorious.

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I venture to think this view, though now it seems plausible, is false. There is first the obvious fact that the Gospels themselves are, at least superficially, at variance over the date, and that this difference is reflected in the difference of East and West over the ritual use or non-use of 'azymes'. But further there is one fact which can hardly ever be too much emphasized, when we attempt to realize for ourselves how far the common knowledge of the earliest believers extended, the fact, I mean, that the Passion-Gospel of Matthew is wholly based on Mark. And this is the case though 'Matthew' appears to be Palestinian, and can tell us how the Jews call such and such a place in Jerusalem 'unto this day'. This seems to me clearly to indicate that for matters of incident and history, such as the things we are considering, there was no *consensus fidelium* at all, and that the ancient Church, as well as ourselves, are indebted to the reminiscences of St Mark—his own, and what he had heard at various times from Simon Peter—for a knowledge of the 'events' of the Passion.

We must therefore consider carefully the statements in Mark which tend to represent the Supper as a Passover. They are to be found in Mk. xiv 12–21, 26, for *vv.* 22–25, containing the account of the Bread and Wine, are neutral, if not actually incompatible with the Paschal view. Our Lord takes bread (ἄρτον, *v.* 22), which does not suggest an unleavened cake, and there is no hint in these verses of a material lamb at the meal.

With the other verses it is different. They do all imply that the Evangelist intends to represent the Supper as the Jewish Passover. Let us take them in order. A formal date is given in *v.* 12: 'on the first day of the Unleavened Bread, when they slew the Passover'. This sounds like a contradiction in terms, for the Lambs were killed in the afternoon of 14 Nisan (Jewish reckoning), and the Feast of Unleavened Bread (τὰ Ἄζυμα) did not begin till after sunset, i. e. 15 Nisan. But it is conceivable that 14 Nisan might be reckoned as the first day of unleavened bread, for no leaven was eaten on that day after the first meal. Thus the date in Mk. xiv 12 means 14 Nisan. The evening meal of *v.* 17, therefore, is on 15 Nisan, i. e. it is the Paschal meal, which had been 'prepared' by the two disciples (*v.* 16). Wellhausen further points out that 'dipping' in the 'dish' (*v.* 20) suggests something cooked with sauce or gravy (*ḥarōseth*); and, as it is not supposed that Jesus and the Disciples ate meat every day, this also implies the Paschal Lamb. Coming in to the City from Bethany indicates that the Supper was a Passover, which could only be eaten in a certain local area. Finally, the ὑμνήσαντεσ of *v.* 26 suggests the singing of the *Hallel*: this is perhaps the most telling argument of all to a modern investigator, for the word is dropped by the way. No

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stress is laid by the Evangelist on the singing, but our knowledge of Jewish custom tells us that it was a piece of the *Seder* ritual.

Undoubtedly there is here a good deal of evidence, though not all of it is of equal weight. 'He that dippeth with me in the dish' very likely means, as Wellhausen himself points out, no more than 'My table-companion'. It is only in Joh. xiii 26 that the phrase is materialized into an actual individual sop given there and then to Judas. But the other details must be held to shew that Mark thought the Supper was the Passover, and I confess that I find it difficult to refuse to accept ὑμνήσαντεσ. I am not sure there was a Lamb on the table, but I must believe that the disciples sang.

The verses above examined are the only ones in which either the Last Supper is regarded as the Paschal meal or the story of the Crucifixion is told in such a manner as to suggest the Feast had already begun. The afternoon of the Crucifixion is merely described as Paraskeue, i. e. the time before the Sabbath (προσάββατον, Mk. xv 42); Simon of Cyrene comes in 'from the country' (ἀπ' ἀγροῦ, Mk. xv 21), apparently still in his working clothes; the prisoner to be released at the Feast is still in custody (Mk. xv 6). Granting, then, that the true date for the Crucifixion is 14 Nisan, and consequently that the Last Supper took place twenty-four hours before the time of the Paschal Meal, what explanation can be given of the procedure of Mark, who evidently intends to describe it as the Paschal Meal?

Several hypotheses have been put forward. First there is the theory of Mr Box, that the Eucharistic acts correspond not to the Paschal Meal itself, but to the *Ḳiddūsh* before Passover, a Jewish rite of hallowing or preparation. Mr Box urges, and with reason, that there is a striking resemblance between the actually practised *Ḳiddūsh* and our Lord's recorded actions with the Bread and Wine.[1] But even if we accept this our problem is not solved, for *Ḳiddūsh* immediately precedes the actual celebration of the day, e. g. *Ḳiddūsh* for Sabbath is done on what we call Friday evening, not twenty-four hours earlier. Moreover, we have to account for the definite wording of Mark. We read: 'they prepared the Passover (τὸ πάσχα), and when it was evening Jesus came with the Twelve, and while they were eating . . . And having sung they went out.' Whatever the historical facts were, the narrator evidently imagines himself to be describing τὸ πάσχα.

Another theory is that it was an anticipatory Passover. But it does not seem to be proved that anticipatory Passovers were ever held to be admissible by any variety of the Jewish people.

Yet I venture to think that both of these theories contain some

[1] G. H. Box *The Jewish Antecedents to the Eucharist* in *J. T. S.* iii 357–369.

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amount of truth. Only they must be so stated as not to imply that either Jesus or the Disciples supposed that they were in any way 'keeping' Passover, or doing anything legal or valid from the Jewish point of view. *Obseruata lege plene cibis in legalibus*—that is the theory which must, I think, be rejected. I do not think there is any Jewish ceremony, binding or optional, to which the Last Supper corresponds, beyond the obvious binding duty of Grace before eating and drinking.

And here I would bring in the consideration of Lk. xxii 15, 16, interpreting the words in the sense of my article in this JOURNAL (vol. ix 569 ff), viz. that they imply that Jesus had much wished to eat the Passover of that year with the Disciples, but after all would *not* be able to do so. From other recorded sayings of that eventful evening, it appears that He already anticipated that He would be arrested and His followers scattered that very night, before cock-crow. The catastrophe would come in any case before the time for eating Passover. Events had moved rapidly: the triumph of the adversaries might not have seemed inevitable on Palm Sunday or on the Monday or Tuesday, but by the time of the meal with Simon the Leper Jesus already anticipates immediate death. Why had He so earnestly desired to eat that Passover with His Disciples? Perhaps He was convinced that it was a date which would mark a second Deliverance, comparable to that of Israel from Egypt. What a Feast that would be, when those who had persevered with Him in His trials ate at His table in the Kingdom of God! If on the coming Friday He and they would be parted, they could not eat that Passover together. But though they could not eat Passover together there was yet time for a farewell supper—and Jesus and the Disciples were actually in possession of an appropriate room, where they had planned to hold the Passover. They could have a Last Supper on Thursday evening.

According to this view the Last Supper was not a Jewish festal meal at all, any more than the 'Feast at the House of Simon the Leper' was. But if Jesus designed during the course of it to perform a solemn symbolical act with the bread and wine on the table—whether this act was intended (or specifically commanded) to be repeated does not matter for this argument—then it is only likely that the 'form' of this act would have a general likeness to existing religious practices at table. Hence the resemblance to *Ḳiddūsh*; it was not a *Ḳiddūsh* of something to come, but the form of the sacrament (if we may use the later technical terms) was the form of *Ḳiddūsh*, especially in the detail of a single cup handed round to all present. Further, Jesus and the Twelve may really have sung the *Hallel* or part of it. The crowd of Galilean sympathisers had shouted *Hosanna*: this

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suggests that Ps. cxviii was just at this time in the mouth and hearts of the Disciples.

But how are we to explain the view, the mistaken view, of Mark? Here I venture to think a little of what some persons might call 'rationalizing' may, after all, not be out of place. Let us suppose that the Second Evangelist is, as tradition declares, none other than John Mark. Is it not possible that his exceptional position may have been the reason why so much of his story of Maundy Thursday night bears the mark of an eyewitness, and yet may have actually contributed to his confusion of the Supper with a Passover meal?

For the eyewitness we may in the first place appeal to Mk. xiv 51, 52, the quite pointless story of the youth who had followed Jesus to Gethsemane and was so nearly arrested—pointless, that is, unless the youth is the writer himself. From the moment the youth disappears the narrative becomes general; before that we have the amazing scene of the 'Agony' (when Peter was asleep!) and the dramatic picture of the Arrest. The youth had followed with the others (*συνηκολούθει*, *v.* 51); therefore he had been at the house where the Supper was held. It is a reasonable conjecture, then, that the house was the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark, where afterwards we find the Christians assembled (Acts xii 12).

But this leads to further inferences. The episode of the man with the pitcher of water (Mk. xiv 13 ff) is very odd. What is particularly odd is that Matthew, who tells the story from Mark, evidently does not regard the rendezvous as in any way miraculous (Matt. xxvi 18). We must therefore suppose that an arrangement had been made: for aught we know, the man with the pitcher may have been Barnabas, Mark's uncle, or (quite as probably) Barnabas may have been the person called *οἰκοδεσπότῃ* in Mk. xiv 14. In that case, if Mark was a young boy about the house he may have actually remembered the two men coming to his home and the preparation of the room as for a *Seder*. He may have heard the company singing *Hosanna* and other *Hallel*-strains before they departed. His acquaintance with Jewish customs, judging from other passages in his Gospel, appears to have been a sort of ignorant familiarity, the reminiscences of boyhood as distinct either from really accurate knowledge or from book-learning.

Here, as elsewhere, Mark writes *ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει*, from memory but not on a consistent plan. No doubt those who thought of our Lord as the true Paschal Lamb were confirmed by that thought in dating the Crucifixion just when the Paschal lambs were being slain. But, on the other hand, those who regarded the Christian Eucharist as the equivalent of the Jewish Passover, or had begun to cherish any of the lines of thought leading up to the symbolism and

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doctrine expressed in the Corpus Christi Hymns of St Thomas Aquinas, those who wished to keep the Fast of Holy Week in connexion with a Sunday Eucharist and not (like the *Quartodecimans*) in connexion with a lunar month—all these would feel that it was congruous that the Last Supper should have been a Passover. And if this view be specially associated with Rome, as Dr B. W. Bacon points out, then Mark at Rome writing thirty years after the event might very well feel that his reminiscences of a Paschal character concerning the Last Supper shewed that it really was a Passover. Even so he writes ἀκριβῶσ. He introduces no lamb, and he makes no alteration in the story of the Trial or Crucifixion to suggest that the day was actually the day of the Feast. The details which he actually records may really have happened: what is wrong is the construction which he puts upon his reminiscences.

The view here defended is in a sense eclectic. It takes account both of the *Ḳiddūsh*-element noticed by Mr Box, and the anti-Quartodeciman element noticed by Dr Bacon. Wrede, no doubt, would have called it 'psychologizing'. But I venture to think that this is one of the cases where imaginative psychology is as safe a weapon as literary critical analysis. I do not think there were two documents before the Evangelist; I do think he was confused by his own recollections, the recollections of his boyhood.

One other consideration may be noticed. The household in which John Mark lived was, if not definitely 'Christian' already, at least in full sympathy with the Prophet of Galilee. In that household Jesus and His Twelve had had their last meal, in the room which had been got ready (or was at least partly got ready) for their Passover. That was on 14 Nisan. Passover was to be eaten on the following evening, on the evening of Good Friday. What sort of a Paschal Feast can we suppose was eaten in that household? Is it to be supposed that it was eaten at all? What memory of the *Seder* of that year would John Mark carry in his mind? Would not this tend to make him think of the other Supper as a Paschal Meal?

F. C. BURKITT.

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TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

IT is impossible to pass without a word of protest Dr Barnes's surprising treatment of the evidence of the ancient versions of Ps. xcvii 11, and his equally surprising attack on the critical notes of Wellhausen and Kittel.

i. With the intrinsic merits of the two readings—

Light is sown (זָרַע) *for the righteous*

and *Light is dawning*, or *about to dawn* (זָרַח) *upon*[1] *the righteous*—

I am not now concerned, but would only observe that, even if we accept the somewhat uncertain reference of the Psalm to the future judgement of the world, the second of the readings[2] is just as consistent as the other with a futuristic interpretation. And surely the fact that in another Psalm we read 'there hath dawned in the darkness light upon the upright' (cxii 4) is an argument not against but for a similar reading here.

ii. The most remarkable feature of Dr Barnes's article is his attempt to nullify or weaken the evidence of the Peshitta for the reading זרח. He suggests that *each* of the four letters of an original ܙܪܚ has been *by accident* misread so as to yield the extant reading ܙܪܥ.[3] And so *by accident* (or shall we say, by a miracle?), through the blunder or blunders of a Syriac scribe or scribes, the Syriac version is supposed to have arrived at the same reading which came to the LXX by an entirely different path. Such is the logic of probability as handled by a twentieth-century supercritic!

iii. The Targum has the double rendering 'dawning and hidden' (or 'buried'). How are we to account for the two expressions side by side, of which one agrees with LXX and Peshitta, and the other with MT.? I know no other possible theory, nor can I believe that any other is seriously held, than that the second rendering is due to revision

[1] That this is the proper rendering of the dative after זרח is shown by Gen. xxxii 32 (E. V. 31). Cf. Deut. xxxiii 2, Mal. iii 20 (E. V. iv 2), Ps. cxii 4.

[2] The fact that the LXX read זרח as a perfect may of course be discounted, as the LXX witnesses only to the consonantal text. The order of words is in favour of reading the participle.

[3] Dr Barnes is puzzled by the ʔ prefixed to ܙܪܥ. I suggest that the difference from Ps. cxii has arisen because in the one case the participle, in the other the perfect, was being translated. For the insertion of ʔ before a participle, cf. for example Gen. i 12. Or the ʔ may have been accidentally dittographed.

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of the more primitive Targum-text on the basis of the later Massoretic. In the case of similar doublets in the LXX we often have tangible external evidence that the reading nearer to MT. is the work of a later translator. And yet when Wellhausen and Kittel quote the Targum as evidence for the reading נתן, Dr Barnes calls it the culmination of their 'carelessness (to use no severer a word)'.

iv. Dr Barnes actually falls foul of Wellhausen and Kittel because they do not on this verse quote the positive evidence of Aquila and Symmachus in favour of the Massoretic reading. He must know as well as I do that *non ibere* throughout the books to which he is referring is it the custom of either scholar to give more than the evidence for readings differing from MT. Considering this, and remembering Dr Barnes's treatment of the Peshitta and Targum evidence, his readers will be able to estimate the value of his judgement that 'Wellhausen's textual note is not a piece of textual criticism, but a hasty statement made to justify a foregone conclusion'.

I conclude with one general remark. The depreciation of the use of the LXX as 'born in ignorance and brought up in a state of continual textual corruption' will scarcely appeal to those who have learned its value in the trained hands (e.g.) of Wellhausen and Cornill. Surely a juster appreciation of the necessity, if not of the merits, of the LXX was shewn by Hitzig when he exhorted his students in these terms: 'Meine Herren, haben Sie eine Septuaginta? Wenn nicht, so verkaufen Sie alles was Sie haben, und kaufen sich eine Septuaginta'.

NORMAN MCLEAN.

A COMMENT ON LUKE xii 41–58.

FRAGMENTARY and baffling as the Synoptic Gospels often are, the possibility that some of the passages, that seem to be least coherent, are yet a faithful transcript of what Christ actually said deserves consideration. It encourages us to subject such narratives—λόγοι ὅσα—to the particular kind of scrutiny required by the hypothesis. The clue to Christ's mode of thought, hitherto elusive, might thus be discovered by a process at once critical and intuitive. There are indications that His thinking was of a peculiar kind—rapid and irregular, subject to abrupt transitions, and to a gift of intense visualization which, while giving substance to his metaphors, yet tended at times to carry the metaphor beyond the limit of his thought. These qualities, rather than serious deficiencies in the whole record, may be responsible for much that appears disconnected and obscure.

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If, for example, the passage Luke xii 41–58 be examined, it will be found to furnish some justification for this view. The transitions are so abrupt that the passage, while bearing strong marks of authenticity, has been thought to be a collection of detached sayings, authentic in themselves, but devoid of all their natural context. If so, that context is irrecoverably lost.[1] But the conclusion is perhaps premature, and the passage, closely examined, has a strong texture and unity of its own.

Underlying the answer to Peter's question of verse 40 is still that conception of Himself in authority which governs the earlier part of Christ's discourse. With the developement of His answer in verse 48 His thought changes. καὶ ᾧ παρέθεντο πολύ He says, and with arresting suddenness sees Himself as the one steward to whom has been committed, not much, but all. All the purposes of God, all the impetuous love even now staking life on His life, all the faith of millions to come have been deposited (παρέθεντο) in Him. Is it not possible, and even probable, that His humanity recoiled from the thought, and that this, and not any break in the narrative, accounts for His strange transition from discourse to the passion of the words that follow? This, and more; for even while He quails before a calling no less than to kindle fire on earth—the fire of new life—there flashes into His mind the double meaning of fire, to fill Him with a fresh desolation. If it is fire of life to kindle which is His real and only aim, it is fire of strife rather which will seem to scorch His tracks—men's passions inflamed as perhaps they never would have been had there been no Christ, His own sufferings, and a tale of discords down the centuries. All this He sees in the near future and in the far-off future—and not in the future only, but afoot and aflame in the present; and then, in the language of desperation—τί θέλω He says, 'what will I, what am I to make of it, if it is already kindled?'

'But I have a baptism to be baptized with.' In these words the mood of doubt and despair finds part of its own answer. (The δέ is almost 'at least' in His chain of thought.) At least, though the vision shakes His self-confidence, He is clear that His next step and the only road to certainty leads straight through His own baptism of fire. Until that is accomplished the pressure of His doubt will not wholly lift.

With the next verse His mind is back on the thought of strife, but He is no longer thinking aloud. His intense desolation pleads to the

[1] The setting of verses 42–46 may be looked for in Matthew xxiv where they recur in a far more harmonious context. But Matthew's harmonies result from an arbitrary arrangement under subjects, while Luke's whole intention is not logic but biography. Luke, therefore, has the better claim to authenticity on a question of arrangement.

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[illegible] something of His vision and despair. 'Think ye I am come to give peace?—nay, rather division.' There is no thought in His message: it is the vehemence of utterly self-centred [illegible]

[illegible]

REVIEWS

The English Rite, being a Synopsis of the Sources and Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer, by F. E. BRIGHTMAN. 2 vols. 42*s*. (Rivington's, London, 1915.)

THE time had come for a new publication carrying on the work of L'Estrange, Cardwell, Keeling, and Parker in setting out the stages of developement through which the English Prayer Book has passed. Dr Brightman in the two fine volumes of *The English Rite* has taken up the succession, and produced a Synopsis of the successive revisions, which for completeness, minute accuracy, and practical convenience goes a long way beyond anything that has previously been attempted.

The general plan of the book is that each page is in double columns, so that each opening exhibits four, three of which are uniformly occupied by the Books of 1549, of 1552, and of 1661 respectively. These books are given complete (except that there is no Psalter), and their sequence is preserved, so that either of the three columns can be read through, and will be found to represent in the smallest detail a given edition of the book in question. Not only so, but the columns are printed to correspond with one another line by line and even word by word. This method is prodigal of space, and exacting as regards the labours of editor and printer: but the reader reaps the benefit, by having the case set before him in a form which he cannot mistake, and in a conspectus which tells its own tale to the eye at the first glance.

Further, by an ingenious and simple use of varying types and of index numbers, the last of these columns distinguishes many influences which contributed after 1552 to make up the text of the Book of 1661. Thus in studying that column the reader is reminded all the time what is due e. g. to the English Book of 1604 or the Scottish Book of 1637, or again to suggestions of Wren, of Cosin, or of the Puritan Divines.

Dr Brightman has further gone beyond all his predecessors in this work by making his Synopsis include also the ulterior sources of the English Rite. The first of his four columns is devoted to the original texts, Greek, Latin, and German, from which the English version is directly drawn, whether of the pre-Reformation time or of later date; and it contains also in some cases a reference to English precedents, to canonical regulations and the like, so that an illuminating commentary runs on side by side with the English texts. Something of this sort was done by Dr Blunt in his *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, and by Messrs Campion and Beamont in their *Prayer Book Interleaved*.

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Dr Brightman does not allude to these attempts in the preface, where he describes his relation to his predecessors: but his own handling of the sources is so much more complete and thorough that there is henceforward little need for any student to go back behind him to those earlier works, unless it be for material that gives illustrations rather than the precedents of the English services.

The value of this Synopsis is so great, that it is very desirable that it should be more generally accessible to students than it can be in these two bulky and necessarily expensive volumes. It would be a great gain if, later on, a compendious edition could be produced, omitting the full text of Introits, Epistles, and Gospels. One volume would then cover the whole ground, including the important Introduction and Appendix, of which it now remains to speak.

The Introduction comprises 220 pages of masterly summary, dealing with the sources and their history. It is as full of material as an egg is of meat, and far surpasses anything previously published in the way of completeness and wise judgement. The result of a great deal of very intricate labour and of much careful balancing is often expressed in a few lines, and the relative importance of the various influences which the Prayer Book has undergone is estimated with very convincing sobriety. On page after page the reader meets with a phrase or two which expresses some point with greater clearness, or reveals some influence more accurately, or fills in some detail more fully, than is done elsewhere.

A conspicuous instance is the account given of the earlier set of German influences on the Prayer Book. These were long ago considered and much overestimated by H. E. Jacobs and subsequently reassessed by Gasquet and Bishop; but Dr Brightman has minutely examined the whole question again, using, in addition to Richter's reprint of the chief *Kirchen-Ordnungen*, the new and fuller reprints which Sehling has been editing. A dozen pages of the Introduction give a luminous account of the genesis and sequence of those Lutheran liturgical documents which Dr Brightman has sifted out from the whole set as being the ones which may chiefly be supposed to have influenced the English Rite. They run from Luther's first effort in 1523 down to Hermann's *Consultation* of 1543, where the influence becomes most direct. At the same time the influence of other documents emanating from Cologne—especially the *Antididagma*—is duly set in the opposite scale, and their significance is brought out more strongly than heretofore. A more exact estimate of the English obligation to these German influences is thus made possible.

The Introduction also contains very valuable comparative tables; and each of the sections descriptive of the English documents, from the

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Litany of 1544 to the Book Annexed of 1661, is followed by a series of Notes, closely packed and closely printed, calling attention to other points than those which emerge on a study of the Synopsis itself.

In the Appendix Dr Brightman deals at length with the Bidding of the Bedes, and more briefly with the Rogation Procession. The 24 pages devoted to the former will, it is hoped, help to recover for the observance its authentic position, and help to direct into right lines some of the expedients of the same nature that are now being revived or tried in a bungling manner.

In view of the issue of future editions it may be well to raise one or two small questions and minute criticisms. It seems desirable that the list of books (p. vii) appertaining to the Divine Service previous to the compilation of the Breviary should include the *Legenda Sanctorum*. The source of these *legenda* is one of the problems of early breviary history. As time went on the contribution that derived from this source became more and more considerable and complex, and its importance increased accordingly. The list of non-Roman books (pp. xviii, xix) should perhaps include a reference to the Mozarabic or Gallican *Orationale*[1]: for though it is very inaccessible and needs to be re-edited, it is of importance; and it may yet provide clues to the solution of some liturgical puzzles. The developement of the modern office out of the old breviary service is described in terms of the Roman Breviary (pp. xxiv and xxv): but the same evolution or a similar one transformed also the mediaeval English Divine Service: and from the point of view of this book it would be more satisfactory to have the complicated history of curtailment and enlargement described in terms of an English Breviary. It is true, England recorded no laments like those of Ralph de Rivo: nor has any one traced the changes on English soil even as scrappily as Batiffol has done for the Roman Breviary: but the main lines are clear, and the story is a very integral part of the evolution of the Sarum Rite.

Dr Brightman has thrown so much light upon terms that it seems lawful to beg for some illumination about the history of the term Agenda (p. xl); also to suggest reconsideration of the term 'prose' as applied to the *Salve festa dies* (p. lxiii). The English custom of calling the *Antiphona ad introitum* by the name *officium* is a case of using the part for the whole, since the *officium missae* is properly not the *introitus* itself (p. civ), nor yet the antiphon and psalm accompanying it, but the whole of the first section of the Mass down to the end of the collect (Amalarius *De Eccl. Off.* iii 5).

It might be well to note (p. clxv note 1) that the *Brieff Discours* was

[1] Printed in *Liturgia Antiqua Hispanica Gothica . . .*, 2 vols. Rome (1746), and in the only volume issued of Bianchini's edition of Tommasi's works (1741).

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reprinted in 1846 and again recently in 1908: otherwise it might be thought to be more inaccessible than it is.

Such points as these are all very minute, and it may seem unworthy to raise them. But a writer of such minute knowledge and exact technique would rather have criticism and suggestion than adulation: and the reviewer who would avoid the latter must almost perforce, and even at great risk to himself, attempt the former alternative.

W. H. FRERE.

The Doctrine of the Atonement, by J. K. MOZLEY, M.A. (Duckworth, 1915.)

MR MOZLEY has produced a work of real distinction—a work that would have held a place of honour if it had come from an older writer, and that is still more remarkable when it is remembered that he wrote it within ten years of taking his degree. Although it assumes the modest form of a half-crown volume in Duckworth's series of 'Studies in Theology', it is really a complete history of the doctrine of the Atonement, well worthy of a library edition.

The first thing that strikes us about it is its wide range and thoroughness of treatment. The book really covers, in well-judged proportions, every period in the history of the doctrine—Old Testament, New Testament (Synoptic Gospels, and the rest of the N.T.), Greek Patristics, Latin Patristics and Schoolmen, the Reformation and Post-Reformation Theology down to the present day. To the best of my belief, the treatment of all these diverse aspects and periods is equally thorough. I have looked for weak places, but (so far as my knowledge goes) have not found them—unless it be the negligible fact that textual criticism is not handled with quite so much command as other subjects. Nowhere has one the impression of knowledge imperfectly assimilated and only lightly got up for the occasion.

The next thing that strikes us is that all this really vast collection of materials does not over-burden the author, but is always kept well in hand. He possesses the shaping power which neither sacrifices the whole to the parts nor the parts to the whole. The book is quite a success aesthetically and artistically. The effect may be judged from the very opening paragraph of the Preface. The reader is carried up at once into a high region, from which he surveys the history of the doctrine in its place in human thought and in its actual influence upon the human mind. It is right that the gift which enables a writer to do this should be estimated at its full value.

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Not a whit less noticeable is the searching treatment of details. The writer's pen never seems to lose its fineness of point; it is always precise, and as clear as it is precise. And another quality about it is the ease and resourcefulness of expression. It is not mere fluency which expatiates in the field of commonplace, but rather the natural aptness of a copious and well-stocked mind. It is evident that the book, in spite of its profuse learning, has been rapidly written. And it has gained by this rapidity. The ease with which details come pouring forth has saved them from interfering with the due balance and sense of proportion.

It is to be noted, again, that by the side of this constructive faculty the critical faculty is no less active. It is not often that one comes across a book which involves more multitudinous acts of judgement. In this book they must average a number—I dare not guess how many—to every page. And (again, so far as my own knowledge and capacity for judgement goes) I am constantly struck by the extent to which I should myself assent to the estimate or criticism given. Many a one commends itself specially to me as not only sound but felicitous.

Of course these judgements are of the most varied kinds—points of scholarship, points of exegesis, estimates of character, definitions of doctrine, generalizations or limitations and restrictions. But I think that a special word of recognition is due to the handling of persons, whether ancient or modern. Judgements of this kind are extremely numerous, and they are always sharp and keen, in the sense of being exact and not vague; but my impression is that they are also, in the vast majority of cases, kindly and genial. This characteristic is not less conspicuous in the case of writers from whom Mr Mozley differs than in the case of those with whom he agrees. This is a very pleasing side to his book, where an opposite tendency might have easily shewn itself.

Mr Mozley does not obtrude his own opinions. He says himself:—

> 'The present work is primarily historical and descriptive. The writer does not pretend to have begun his task without *praejudicia*. But it has been his object to present the evidence, as regards both the foundations of the doctrine and the various expositions of the doctrine itself, with such fullness as has been possible and such accuracy as has been his to command, rather than to elaborate his own beliefs and make his material serve as an apologetic for them.'

This does not mean that Mr Mozley at all suppresses or conceals his own tendencies rather than views—which are to emphasize what may be called the objective, in contradistinction to the subjective, side of the doctrine of the Atonement. He says towards the end of his book:—

> 'I conclude that we cannot dispense with that point of view which

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finds notable expression in the works of Dr Dale, Professor Denney, and Dr Forsyth, and is assumed in the soteriological teaching of the Roman Catholic Church.'

He goes on to add a warning that the Roman teaching on this subject is not so much opposed to the Reformation and post-Reformation theology as is often supposed. It is true that this tendency of Mr Mozley's runs counter to a good deal that is current, especially in Liberal circles, at the present day. But it has not a little sympathy from the writer of this notice.

To sum up: my own impression is that we may welcome, in the person of Mr Mozley, a real theologian, in the more specific sense of the word. And I should not think it too much to describe him as a born theologian in this sense. It is natural to him to take broad and comprehensive views, in which (as I have said of this book) neither is principle sacrificed to detail nor detail to principle. And I need not add that theologians of this type are few and far between, and correspondingly precious when they are found.

W. SANDAY.

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CHRONICLE

LITURGICA.

IN *The Stowe Missal* vol. ii, issued by the Henry Bradshaw Society in the autumn, Sir George Warner completes his edition 'of the oldest Mass-book of the early Irish Church known to have survived'. Vol. i, containing a photographic facsimile of the Missal and of the Irish tract on the Mass, which follows it in the MS, was issued in 1906. The new volume consists of (1) a reprint of the text of the Missal, with the contractions expanded, and the later hands distinguished from the first hand by small type, and with an apparatus of notes which are chiefly textual, but also include references to other ritual books where the same prayers occur; (2) a reprint of the Irish tract, similarly treated, and of Stokes and Strachan's translation of it; (3) an Introduction of fifty-two pages, treating of the history, structure, palaeographical character, and date of the Missal, and of the character and date of the *cumdach* or casket in which it is contained; and, parenthetically, of the palaeography and date of the Latin fragments of the Fourth Gospel which are bound up with the Missal; and (4) photographic plates of the several parts of the *cumdach* and of three of the pages of the St John fragments. In dealing with the text of the Missal Sir George Warner confines himself by choice to palaeographical considerations, though happily he transgresses these limits in discussing the lists of Saints which occur, in their bearing on the date of the book. The discussions which he allows himself both on the text and on the casket seem to be exhaustive and final. And the story which results from his investigations is something like this. The Missal was written in the Monastery of Tallaght, near to Dublin, early in the ninth century, and during the reign of Echaidh, abbot and bishop, 792–812, being copied from an archetype of some fifty years earlier. Being intended to supply the young house of Tallaght with an authoritative use, it was tentative, and consequently it was almost immediately subjected to considerable correction, especially at the hands of a scribe by name Moelcaich, who made additions partly over erasures and partly on new inserted leaves. The MS remained at Tallaght for 200 years, and then was carried off by Donchadh mac Briain, king of Munster, at his invasion of Leinster in 1026, and being regarded as a sacred relic it was enshrined in a *cumdach* wrought by Dunchad O'Tagan. In about 1375 it was still in Munster, when the casket was partly reconstructed by one Domhnall

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O'Tolari. Henceforth nothing is known of the book till the end of the eighteenth century, when it was acquired on the continent by 'John Grace', who was probably either John Grace, captain of carabineers in the imperial service, who died at the siege of Belgrade in 1789, or John Dowell Grace, captain of the Würtemberg dragoons, who died in Ireland in 1811. Anyhow there is little doubt that it was Richard, the second Marquess of Buckingham, who obtained the MS from the Grace family, with which he was connected by marriage, and added it to the Library at Stowe House. The Stowe collection was sold to Lord Ashburnham in 1849 and removed to Ashburnham House, where it remained till 1883, when it was bought by the nation, and those MSS which were of Irish interest were given to the Royal Irish Academy, in the Library of which the Stowe Missal still rests. All this is here, of course, put more dogmatically than it is by Sir George Warner: the evidence for it is to be found in his Introduction. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that the contents of the Missal are, a Litany, some of the leaves of which have got displaced and are now ff. 30 sq.; the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass, in the main Roman, but with Gallican additions (especially the common prayers after the Epistle, here in the form of a Litany derived from the Byzantine rite, and interpolations in *Memento* and *Hanc igitur*, and the diptychs in *Memento etiam*); a common mass for saints, and one for the dead; an Order of Baptism; and an Order for the Visitation and Communion of the Sick.

It is twenty-five years since Dom Gasquet and Mr Edmund Bishop called attention to the Brit. Mus. MS Royal 7 B iv, and made it the point of departure of their work *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, in which also they printed a considerable part of its contents. Dr J. Wickham Legg has now printed and edited the whole text of the MS for the Henry Bradshaw Society, under the title of *Cranmer's Liturgical Projects* (1915). As every one who is interested in it knows, the text contains two schemes for a revised Divine Service, the first consisting of two offices, for morning and evening respectively; the other perpetuating the traditional order of seven day offices and a night office; while at the end there is a Kalendar, and a Table of Lessons adapted to the form of neither scheme, and possibly being all that survives of a third scheme. The MS is written in five hands: viz. hand A, that of the Kalendar and Table of Lessons of the first scheme (ff. 4–6); hand B, in which is written the first scheme down to the Fourth Lesson of March 9 (ff. 7–47); hand C, that of ff. 48–132, completing the series of Fourth Lessons of the first scheme, and ff. 133–150 containing the office of the second scheme; Cranmer's own hand, in which is written the Table of Lessons of the second scheme (ff. 151–

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156); and lastly, hand D (ff. 157–159) covering the final Kalendar and its table of lessons. Of these hands, A, B, and D may possibly be one and the same; C is the hand of Ralf Morice, Cranmer's chaplain; and the work of A, B, and C has been corrected at many points by Cranmer himself. Dr Legg divides the text into three parts: 'Part I', which contains the two-office project—Kalendar and Table of Lessons, Preface, Rules for the recitation of the Psalter and the reading of Holy Scripture, the scheme of Service, the metrical Hymns, the Collects, and the uncompleted series of Fourth Lessons for the morning of certain immovable feasts; 'Part II', containing the second project, which is arranged like the Breviary, but without the text of the Psalms, and with only the *incipit* and *explicit* of proper Lessons, and the *incipit* of Hymns, followed by a Table of Lessons for Sundays and ferias; and the third part—which Dr Legg has not marked off so definitely from 'Part II' as he has marked off 'Part II' from 'Part I'—consisting of a Kalendar and a Table of Lessons, which, as was noted above, fits neither of the two projects. Throughout, Cranmer's corrections are noted in the margin. In the Introduction, after describing the MS, and after noting and illustrating the liturgical tendencies of the period, Dr Legg discusses the structure, contents, and sources of the two schemes and their several parts; and in the result he confirms the conclusion that the longer office ('Part II') in point of structure approximates to the second recension of Quignon's *Breviarium Romanum*, while its content is almost exclusively Sarum matter; and as to the shorter office ('Part I'), after examining a number of Lutheran schemes, while he inclines to the view that none of them affected Cranmer's work, and that similarities between the German and the English schemes are sufficiently accounted for by their common derivation from the traditional rite, he concludes that, if any of the German *Kirchenordnungen* did affect Cranmer at this point, it was most probably Bugenhagen's *Pia et vere catholica ordinatio* of 1535. In the 'Notes' at the end of the volume Dr Legg traces the sources in detail and discusses other points that arise. An Appendix puts in parallel columns the Prefaces of the two recensions of Quignon, and their derivatives, viz. the Preface of 'Part I' and that of the Book of Common Prayer of 1549, i.e. our present 'Concerning the Service of the Church'; and lastly, six facsimiles, inserted after the Introduction, illustrate the several handwritings of the MS. Dr Legg has probably said nearly all that needs to be said or can be said about Cranmer's projects, at least for the present. Among what appear to be new points that he has made are these. Whereas it is commonly and naturally supposed that 'Part II' is prior in date to 'Part I', Dr Legg notices that this cannot be taken for granted, and that there are some, if inconclusive, reasons for the view that the order

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of the MS represents the order of events, and that Cranmer's unstable mind reacted from the excessive simplification of 'Part I'. Again, he has explained the Kalendar of 'Part I', with its strange assortment of Scriptural names, by noting that these correspond to one of the Lessons of the day, being in each case the name, either of the author of the book then beginning to be read, or of the subject of the story; while only a few more than half of them were to be commemorated, and then only by a Fourth Lesson at Matins in the shape of a short sermon on the moral of their lives. And again, Dr Legg points out that in these Fourth Lessons Cranmer generally uses the version of Erasmus (1519) in place of the Vulgate of the New Testament. The only section on which Dr Legg appears to have left room for any considerable addition to his notes is that of these same Fourth Lessons. He has not identified the sources of a number of them. This is only natural, and it is unimportant. But if any one wants an amusement for his leisure, he may find it in endeavouring to run to ground some more of Cranmer's quotations. Here are some contributions, and incidentally some corrections in detail. P. 54 ll. 35–41 are from Erasmus's *Paraphrase* on Acts xvi (hence delete the note on l. 36; also correct the note on p. 55 ll. 6–13, where there is no Vulgate except what Erasmus has in common with the Vulgate). P. 55 ll. 39–41 is expanded from the entry in the *Martyrologium* of Usuard. P. 57 l. 7 'Nam cum'—l. 18 'suis' is from Rufinus *Hist. Eccl.* x 36. P. 57 ll. 23 sq. 'conversus . . . Paulum' is from St Bernard *in Conv. S. Pauli Serm.* ii 1; ll. 24 sq. 'conversus . . . mundo' and p. 58 l. 31—59 l. 19 from *ibid.* i 1, 2, 5, 6; and with p. 59 ll. 20–25 cp. the popular verse 'Clara dies Pauli' &c. P. 60 ll. 15 sq. ('sic . . . recepissent') comes from Erasmus *Paraphrase* on Acts ix 10 sqq. The middle part of the Lesson on St Chrysostom, p. 62, the Gainas incident, must come from Theodoret *H.E.* v 32, not from Socrates. P. 63, nearly all that is not taken from St Jerome is from Eus. *H.E.* iii 36 (Rufinus), viz. ll. 17–19, 28–30, 36. Pp. 69 sqq., the Lesson on the XL Martyrs is not only 'based upon' St Basil's Homily, but in the main is quoted from the sixteenth-century Latin version of it, which is reprinted in Fronto Ducaeus's edition of St Basil's works, Paris, Morel, 1618. P. 73: correct the note and for 'll. 23–35' read 'll. 18–39'; for '15' read '15–17'; and delete the last two sentences as needless, since the allusion to Philo is derived from Jerome. P. 89: correct the note and for '16-21' read '18–21'. P. 89 l. 23—90, l. 21 is *wholly* taken from St Jerome (see note p. 217). P. 98 l. 33–100, l. 27 is translated from St Gregory Nazianzen *Hom.* xviii: pp. 100 l. 27—102 l. 9 is from a *Passio S. Cypriani*, which has been ascribed to Paulus Diaconus, and is only an interpolated and spoiled recension

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of the *Acta proconsularia*. P. 105 ll. 28–41 'conscripsit' is from Eus. *H. E.* iii 4 (Rufinus); the rest of the Lesson from St Jerome *Catalogus* 7. The authority for the date, vii Kal. Feb., of St Polycarp's martyrdom, which Dr Legg has failed to discover (p. 205), is *Martyrolog. Rom. Vet.* and *Martyrolog. Hieronym.* (discussed in Lightfoot *Ignatius* i p. 688); and with reference to the same page, the martyrdom was not on '*the* Great Sabbath' i.e. Easter Eve, but on '*a* great sabbath' (see Lightfoot *in loc.*). P. 110 ll. 5, 6 (not 5–8) and ll. 28–32 (not 30), and p. 111 ll. 22 sq., 25–29, 34 'confectus'–36, come from St Jer. *Catal.* 9; p. 110 ll. 7–20 from St Jer. *adv. Iovin.* i; ll. 20–27 from Anianus's Latin version of St Chrys. *in Matt.* i 3; l. 32—p. 111 l. 21 from St Chrys. *in Ioan.* ii 1–3; p. 111 ll. 23 ('Ephesi'), 24 are a conflation of St Jer. *ad Iovin.* i and Quignon; and ll. 31–33 ('columna ... recubuit') are from St Chrys. *in Ioan.* i 1. The only printed edition of the works of St Jerome which existed in Cranmer's days was that of Erasmus, Bâle 1516–1520 and Paris 1534, and of each of these prints Cranmer possessed a copy (Burbidge *Liturgies and Offices* p. xxii). It is therefore likely that Cranmer would use Erasmus's text. And in fact he did. For first, the curious reading 'ultimam Hamam Hadriani' on p. 75 l. 14 is explained by Erasmus's text; the scribe has simply included the catchword at the bottom of the *recto* of vol. i f. 120 (ulti[mam Ha]mam Hadriani). And again, Erasmus's text of the *Catalogus* is interpolated, and Cranmer has reproduced some of the interpolations: thus p. 52 l. 7 sq., p. 68 ll. 10–12, p. 95 ll. 20 sq., 32, words in p. 106 ll. 1–4, 9–12, and p. 111 l. 27 ('pertinace'), are all found in the text of Erasmus. Dr Legg holds that Cranmer is dependent on Geo. Witzel's *Hagiologium* (Mainz 1541) for some of these lessons. It may be so: but the supposition seems to me gratuitous. The points at which Dr Legg cites Witzel are p. 55 ll. 38 sqq., where there are only a few words in common and these Usuard's; p. 73, on St Mark, where Cranmer anyhow has read Eusebius further than as he is represented in Witzel; pp. 77 sqq., for Gordius, for whom St Basil is the obvious and only authority, while both Witzel and Cranmer only reproduce the sixteenth-century translation of St Basil mentioned above; pp. 83 sq., St Basil, for whom St Gregory Nazianzen is again the obvious authority; p. 94, for an obvious quotation from Eusebius; p. 95 l. 32, which, as we have seen, comes from Erasmus's Jerome; pp. 100 sqq., the Passion of St Cyprian, which Witzel marks as '*ex Cypriano*', i. e. from Erasmus's edition of St Cyprian, where it is printed before the text; and p. 105, where, as we have seen, the passage in question is an obvious quotation from Eusebius. There is in fact nothing supposed to be borrowed from Witzel which it was not quite obvious to anybody to take directly from Witzel's sources. Finally,

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there are two or three questions I should like to ask. On what principle are words obelized in the text? The obelus presumably means that the word so marked is obviously a mistake on the part of the scribe of the MS, not of the editor. But there are numberless evident mistakes left un-obelized (e. g. p. 76 'augebat' for 'angebat', p. 97 'clauculum' for 'clanculum'; p. 105 'velum . . . sumante' for 'velis . . . sinuatis'), which can scarcely be attributed to the editor. Then, why does Dr Legg apparently ignore Cranmer's correction of pp. 116 sq. and adopt as intended what surely is only a mistake of the scribe—viz. the assignment of *Pater noster* and *preces* to Sunday Lauds, and of the collect of the day to Prime? And finally, why did not Dr Legg tell us his opinion as to what Dom Gasquet and Mr Bishop took for granted, viz. that this MS is the document which was asked for by the Convocation of Canterbury in 1547?

Mr H. A. Wilson has added to his many services, notably that of his edition of the *Gelasianum*, by editing, for the Henry Bradshaw Society, *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great* (1915). As is well known, what is called the *Gregorian* is not the Roman Sacramentary in the state which it had reached in the pontificate of St Gregory the Great—whether reformed by St Gregory or not—but a composite work consisting of the papal Sacramentary as transmitted to Charlemagne by Hadrian I, then regarded as the work of St Gregory but including some matter of later date, and a supplement, compiled out of matter of the *Gelasianum*, of Hadrian's book itself, and other sources, supplying further masses both to fill up the year and for other occasions, and other matter, together with a long series of proper prefaces and of episcopal benedictions. This supplement was almost certainly the work of Alcuin, and the compiler prefixed to it a *praefatiuncula*, explaining its purpose as for optional use in the Frankish Church. In later copies the *praefatiuncula* was omitted and the book thus made continuous; and later still the book was thoroughly unified by the orderly rearrangement of its contents. Mr Wilson's edition exhibits the text in its original form as arranged by Alcuin. He uses three MSS: viz. Vatican *Reginae* 357, written in France in the ninth century and probably before 850; Vatican *Ottobon.* 313, of the first half of the ninth century and probably in use in the cathedral church of Paris before 850; and Cambrai 164, a copy of the papal book, without the supplement, written for use at Cambrai in 811 or 812, and probably derived from Hadrian's archetype by a tradition independent of that which issued in Alcuin's compilation. Mr Wilson adopts the text of *Reginae* 357, supplying the omitted *praefatiuncula* from *Ottobon.* 357; and at the foot of the page he gives the variants of the other

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two MSS, as well as the marginal Antiphonary-cues of *Ottobon.* 357. Since the final collections of proper prefaces and episcopal benedictions are different in the two Vatican MSS, and the original series is at present unrecoverable or unrecognizable, Mr Wilson prints both collections at length; and in an Appendix he has added certain masses found in the margin of *Ottobon.* 357 and some additional matter written on a blank page of it. The two Vatican MSS are those which were used by Muratori for his *Gregorianum* in *Liturgia vetus Romana* i; but, as Mr Edm. Bishop pointed out some years ago, Muratori's edition is quite misleading by reason of a serious dislocation in the order of the contents. Mr Wilson, in supplying a text, for the excellence and finality of which his name is a sufficient guarantee, has rectified the order; while he has pointed out, in a footnote, that Muratori's confusion is not, as Mr Bishop suggested, the result of the printer's mistake in numbering and binding up the leaves, but of some remoter cause. In his Introduction Mr Wilson gives an account of former editions of the *Gregorianum*—those of Pamelius, Rocca, Ménard, and Muratori; describes and discusses his MSS in detail; and compares them with one another in respect of contents, which in the *Ottobon.* and *Reginae* MSS differ quite slightly, except in the supplementary Prefaces and Benedictions. Finally there are three indexes; one of liturgical forms; a second of marginal cues; and a third of subjects. I have only noticed one thing of the nature of a misprint: if I rightly understand the structure of the paragraph, lines 19–26 of p. xxxiv ought to occupy the full width of the printed page and not to be contracted to the length of the preceding lines.

The Canticles of Holy Scripture—represented in our own rite by *Benedicite*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc dimittis*—are used, in numbers varying according to rite, in the Divine Service everywhere, and together with other hymns of later origin, like *Gloria in excelsis*, *Te Deum*, Ὁ μονογενής, and the *Cherubicon*, used whether in Divine Service or in the Liturgy, and sometimes also with the Creeds and the *Pater noster*, are commonly appended to the Psalter. In *The Canticles of the Christian Church Eastern and Western in early and medieval times* (Cambridge 1914) Mr J. Mearns has catalogued a large number of the MS collections and their contents, belonging to all rites and in all the ecclesiastical languages: Greek, Graeco-Latin, Arabic, Georgian, Persian, and Slavonic; Armenian; Coptic; Syriac (Melchite, Jacobite and Maronite, Nestorian and Chaldaean); and Latin–Roman, Milanese, Frankish, Gallican, Irish, Mozarabic, and Monastic; noticing also the usages indicated by the ecclesiastical writers; e.g. by Nicetas for the Danube lands, and by St Augustine for Africa. To each section

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Mr Mearns prefixes a short account of the community to which the following collection appertains; and he illustrates his MSS by three facsimiles, two Greek of the eleventh century, and one Syriac of about A.D. 900. He thus provides much material for the study of these collections and of the history of the use of Canticles in the several rites. Two or three points suggest a remark. Φῶς ἱλαρον (p. 16) is found also in Armenian and is used in Armenian Sunday Vespers (Conybeare *Rit. Arm.* p. 478). Ὁ μονογενής (p. 17) is primarily Byzantine, and in St James is borrowed from the Byzantine rite; and it is used also in the Syrian Jacobite Liturgy (*Litt. E. and W.* p. 77). Similarly (p. 18) the two *Cherubica*, Οἱ τὰ Χερουβίμ certainly, and Σιγησάτω probably, are Byzantine, and only borrowed in St Mark and St James respectively. The Georgian 'books' of the Psalter (p. 37) are evidently identical with the Greek καθίσματα. And the *lingua Bessa* of the *Itinerary* of Antoninus (p. 94) is surely not Abyssinian, but the language of the Bessi of the Balkan slopes, numbers of whom were to be found as monks in the Judaean desert and the Jordan valley in the fifth and sixth centuries and used a vernacular rite: see Theodore *Life of St Theodosius* (ed. Usener p. 45); Cyril of Scythopolis *Life of St Saba* 86; John Moschus *Pratum spirituale* 157 (the two latter cited by Usener in his note).

The 'Alcuin Tract' x (1913) is Mr R. M. Woolley's *The Bread of the Eucharist.* Mr Woolley's treatment falls into two parts. In the first part he deals with three points. (1) He examines once more the question of the date at which the use of unleavened bread was adopted in the West, and confirms what is, I suppose, the accepted conclusion, that unleavened bread became the general usage at earliest in the eighth century. He makes Alcuin, with some hesitation, it is true, a witness for it; but in fact Hrabanus Maurus is the first quite definite witness, and Alcuin's evidence is more than doubtful. (2) He sketches the history of the attack of the Greeks on the use of azymes in the eleventh century, and rightly emphasizes the reasonableness and tolerance of the West as against the general intolerance of the East: and here he could have cited also St Gregory VII *Ep.* viii 1. (3) He treats of English use both in the Middle Ages, and particularly in and after the sixteenth century. In the second part, Mr Woolley describes, and illustrates by photographs, the form of the altar-breads of the several Eastern Churches, and adds notes on what needs annotation in reference to each of them; and in particular he treats of the history of Armenian azymes at some length. It is not clear why, in his second part, he confines himself to the East; there are things to be said about the West as well. And in fact he might have a little enlarged his scope throughout,

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and picked up the fragments of information about the bread of the altar that are to be found scattered up and down. In general Mr Woolley's treatment is otherwise quite satisfactory; but in detail it is possible to criticize his argument now and again: e.g. he gives the impression that 'unfermented' bread was practically unknown in the Empire outside of Palestine; but Celsus *de Medic.* ii 24, 25, 28, and Pliny *H. N.* xviii 26 (quoted by Dom Cabrol *Dict. Arch. et Lit. chrétienne* s. v. 'Azymes') seem to be sufficient to shew that it was not unfamiliar; and if Tacitus calls it *panis iudaicus*—well, what of French beans, Brussels sprouts, Indian corn, American cloth, and so on? Again, he curiously takes it for granted that it is impossible to make an unleavened loaf of size sufficient to satisfy the requirement of 'one bread'. But even if St Paul meant anything so precise and exclusive, and if a conscience was made of preserving this particular symbolism, yet unleavened bread need not be a small wafer—I have myself used bread cut from a small unleavened *loaf*, and there did not seem to be any reason why it should not be of any required size. There are some points of detail which it is difficult to agree with, and points which need correction: e.g. the conclusion from the Gospels that the Last Supper was 'probably' the Paschal Supper (p. 3); the strange distinction between ἄρτος and ὁ ἄρτος as respectively 'loaf' and 'bread' (p. 7); the inference that leavened bread was used under the rite of 1549 (p. 34), which may in fact have been the case in some quarters, but the authority cited for it surely refers to the book of 1552; that the question of leavened or unleavened bread was raised at the Savoy Conference (p. 42): I cannot recollect that any such question was raised—why should it be?—and Cosin presented no book to the Conference (*ibid.*), while the passage quoted is in fact from the 'Durham Book', and does any one still suppose that the 'Durham Book' was Cosin's to present to anybody, or that in fact it existed during the sessions of the Conference? Again, it is not the case that the Greeks offer only one loaf (p. 45); for centuries the rite has formally provided for five προσφοραί, to say nothing of the oblates offered by individuals. And why are the Syrian Jacobites described as the 'Orthodox Syrians'? And if they are, why not the Copts and Abyssinians as well? They all may be and probably are and always have been materially orthodox, but to describe them as 'Orthodox' is only misleading. I may add, that I should like to see the evidence that the Armenians ever ate the 'Old Zatik' on Maundy Thursday (p. 56), before I believe it. It might have been useful if Mr Woolley would have explicitly refuted the deluded Greek argument that, as unfermented 'wine' is not wine, so unleavened bread is not bread; and it would have been for the convenience of readers if he had made his references more complete, and indicated not only his authors and documents, but where the documents are to be found in print.

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The practical purpose of Mr E. G. P. Wyatt's *The Eucharistic Prayer* (Alcuin Club Prayer Book Revision Pamphlets, V, 1914) is 'to deal with the question whether it be desirable that revision' of the English Divine Liturgy 'should take the direction of approximation to the Roman Canon or not'. To this end, Mr Wyatt seeks to supply his readers with grounds for forming their own judgement by a careful and succinct summary of 'the state of the case' with regard to the criticism of the Roman Canon. The pamphlet contains three chapters. In the first, after indicating the acknowledged incoherences and perplexities of the Roman Canon, in contrast with the continuity and intelligibility of the corresponding tract of the Gallican rite, Mr Wyatt brings out the three points: (1) that if the paragraphs *Te igitur* to *Quam oblationem* and also *Memento etiam* and *Nobis quoque* are ignored, the residuum is identical, in point of structure and drift, with the Gallican, except in so far that it lacks a *postsanctus*, i. e. a paragraph to connect the *Sanctus* with the *Qui pridie*; and in relation to this, he shews that there are features to be found here and there in the Roman rite which suggest that the Roman Canon once possessed a paragraph analogous to what is found at this point in Gallican rites; (2) that the survival in the Milanese form of the Roman Canon of a *Vere sanctus* in place of *Te igitur—Quam oblationem* on Easter Even, and the direct passage from *Post pridie* to *Per quem* on Maundy Thursday, suggest that the Ambrosian was originally identical in structure with the Gallican and the Mozarabic; and (3) that this structure is practically identical with that of the earliest anaphora still available. It is a pity that this anaphora is here described as 'the following Ethiopian Church Order'. It is true that it occurs in the Ethiopic version of the so-called *Egyptian Church Order* and is still embedded in the normal Abyssinian anaphora; but it is neither itself the 'Church Order', nor 'Ethiopian'. Both the Ethiopic and the Latin text are translations from Greek; while there is good reason to suppose that it is the work of St Hippolytus; and if so, it is even more relevant to Mr Wyatt's purpose than he realizes. In the second chapter Mr Wyatt deals with the apparently interpolated paragraphs, *Te igitur—Quam oblationem* and *Memento etiam*, and demonstrates their 'instability', i. e. that in the liturgical texts they or parts of them occur in several different positions and connexions; e. g. *Communicantes*, *Hanc igitur*, and *Memento etiam* are found with the diptychs or the offertory, and *Te igitur* and *Quam oblationem* in the *postpridie*. In the last chapter, after a speculative reconstruction of the early history of the Roman *Missa fidelium*, Mr Wyatt makes his suggestions for the reform of the English rite, deprecating any change in the position of the Intercession, and proposing only the rearrangement of the prayers of the Eucharistia with a minimum of added connecting words, as securing

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a so far satisfactory result with the least possible change, and one that would not have to be disturbed, but only supplemented, if further reform were desired in the future. The only point in the arrangement which seems to me to be unsatisfactory is the proposal to convert 'We do not presume' into an *embolismus* of the *Pater noster*. Whether on general grounds or on grounds of precedent, there might be something to be said for prefixing it to the *Pater noster* and its preface; but surely it is as wholly unfitted to be an *embolismus* as anything could be. It may be added that both text and translation of the Roman anaphora on pp. 2 sqq. leave something to be desired; and in particular, surely for 'pro quibus tibi offerimus', p. 4, should be read 'qui tibi offerunt', while 'sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam', the Leonine addition to *Supra quae*, is not the antecedent of 'quod tibi obtulit', but is in apposition to the first 'accepta', 'sicut . . . Melchizedech' being in effect a parenthesis. The argument on pp. 27–40 is not quite clear, or rather perhaps the passage is out of place and would come better after clause 7 on p. 15. Otherwise the pamphlet is straightforward, lucid, and useful, and includes a lot of matter in a short compass. Of course Mr Wyatt acknowledges his obvious debt to Dom Cagin.

F. E. BRIGHTMAN.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, January 1916 (Vol. lxxxi, No. 162 : Spottiswoode & Co.). O. C. QUICK Self-sacrifice and individual immortality—L. W. KING Recent Babylonian research and its relation to Hebrew studies—G. H. RENDALL The problem of 2 Corinthians—J. W. LEGG The Roman Liturgy and its Roman critics—A. C. HEADLAM The Holy Catholic Church—R. VAUGHAN 'After His Resurrection'—W. JENKINSON Westminster Abbey and St Margaret's—W. R. MATTHEWS Mr Balfour as a religious philosopher—The conduct of the War—G. C. RICHARDS England—A. C. HEADLAM The religion of Syria—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, January 1916 (Vol. xiv, No. 2 : Williams & Norgate). G. D'ALVIELLA On some moral aspects and issues of the present war—F. POLLOCK The 'fight for right' movement—J. W. DIGGLE Against departmental religion—A. S. PRINGLE PATTISON Mr Balfour's 'Theism and Humanism'—C. A. MERCIER Vitalism—G. T. LADD The human mind *versus* the German mind—M. E. ROBINSON The definite failure of Christianity, and how it must be retrieved—W. A. BROWN Is Christianity practicable?—E. ARMITAGE The incompetence of the mere scholar to interpret Christianity—C. HARGROVE The warlike context of the Gospels—C. R. ASHBEE Quality *versus* quantity as the standard of industry and life—J. Y. SIMPSON Religion in Russia to-day—R. H. LAW Nationalism and cosmopolitanism—Discussions, Surveys, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, January 1916 (Eighth Series, No. 61 : Hodder & Stoughton). W. A. CURTIS The New Testament and its interpretation for our time: a definition of New Testament criticism—M. JONES Dr Kirsopp Lake on the 'Stewardship of the Faith'—J. M. THOMPSON The composition of the Fourth Gospel—A. E. GARVIE The Judgment in the Fourth Gospel—W. E. BEET The map as an aid to the preaching of the Old Testament—W. F. LOFTHOUSE The Mosaic codes and popular Hebrew religion.

February 1916 (Eighth Series, No. 62). H. R. MACKINTOSH The vicarious penitence of Christ—H. A. A. KENNEDY The New Testament metaphor of the Messianic Bridal—J. B. MCCLELLAN Redemption, Salvation, and Atonement in the Old and New Testaments

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—M. JONES Dr Kirsopp Lake on the 'Stewardship of the Faith'—J. MOFFATT A popular text—J. E. MCFADYEN The Mosaic origin of the Decalogue: the ritual decalogue; Egyptian and Babylonian parallels to the ethical decalogue.

March 1916 (Eighth Series, No. 63). J. E. MCFADYEN Isaiah and War—R. HARRIS Who sent Apollos to Corinth?—A. VAN HOONACKER The servant of the Lord in Isaiah xl ff—T. H. ROBINSON A study in inverted commas—J. E. MCFADYEN The Mosaic origin of the Decalogue: the original form of the decalogue; can the original form of the decalogue be Mosaic?—B. H. TOWER St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians: a paraphrase.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, January 1916 (Vol. xx, No. 1: Chicago University Press). A. BERTHOLET The pre-Christian belief in the resurrection of the body—R. E. HUME Hinduism and War—A. H. LLOYD Incarnation: an essay in three parts—A. C. WATSON The logic of religion—C. S. PATTON Miracles and the modern preacher—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, January 1916 (Vol. xiv, No. 1: Princeton University Press). G. Vos Hebrews, the Epistle of the Diatheke—R. E. SPEER Points of contact with Christianity in the heresies of Siamese Buddhism—F. L. PATTON A theological seminary—J. R. STEVENSON Theological education in the light of present-day demands—W. L. MCEWAN The qualifications of a preacher—J. RITCHIE SMITH The place of homiletics in the training of the minister—Reviews of recent literature.

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The Journal
of
Theological Studies

JULY, 1916

DOCUMENTS

MAXIMUS OF TURIN AGAINST THE PAGANS.

CONTRA PAGANOS.

EST consuetudo seruis Dei omne opus | bonum in dicto uel in facto in nomine Christi adsumere quod perficiendum sit ad gloriam Dei, monente ita apostolo et dicente OMNIA QVAECVMQVE FACITIS IN DICTO VEL FACTO, OMNIA IN NOMINE CHRISTI FACITE | GRATIAS AGENTES DEO PATRI PER IPSVM. hodie iuuante Domino in ipsius nomine Christi saluatoris nostri **contra paganos** aciem instruimus et caelestia tela portamus, inimicos Christi ueritatis iaculis feriturі et contrarios hostes et perfidiae castra et superuacuas turres crebro ariete fidei prostraturi; sequentes Iesum ducem, Dominum scilicet Christum, qui et per Iesum filium Naue successorem Moysi Hiericho super*b*ae ciuitatis muros destruxit et per apostolos suos huius mundi ELATIONEM EXTOLLENTEM SE ADVERSVM SCIENTIAM DEI usque ad fundamenta deiecit. age nunc contemplemur istos paganos et eorum adsertiones in medium proferamus.

Aiunt pagani fato omnia fieri | et nihil preces nihil orationes ualere, et idola ad deorum honorem et similitudinem coli, uel uniuersa elementa dicunt etiam deos et deas esse et habitare in caelis et in signis | et in stellis. uidemus igitur, fratres, istos paganos et astrologos uere fatuos et astrosos inanibus telis armatos et in isto proelio sine mora casuros. putant se super*b*is et elatis adrogantiae suae armis indutos allofylorum socii aciem Dei et Israheliticam uirtutem posse turbare; et non putant Dauitico lapide se facile posse prosterni. lapis hic Christus est Dominus noster, qui et ipsi Dauid uictoriam dedit et Goliae superbam frontem fastu temeritatis erectam potenti uirtute deiecit. hic Deus noster, hic Christus est DOMINVS CONTERENS BELLA, DOMINVS NOMEN EST ILLI, qui pro suo nomine pugnantibus seruis suis et proelium pro ueritate sumentibus semper adiutor esse consueuit.

Aiunt | ergo pagani fato omnia fieri, et circa genus humanum totum

V fol. 98 *b*: V′ fol. 119 *b* CONTRA PAGANOS V*V′: INCIPIT CONTRA PAGANOS NON CHRISTIANOS V² (*saec.* viii–ix)

1. fol. 99 *a* V 3. dicentem V′ 4. fol. 120 *a* V′ 10. Nauae V′ superuae V: superue V′ 11. helationem V 14. fol. 99 *b* V praeces V 17. fol. 120 *b* V′ 19. superuis VV′ 20. allofylorum V: ollofylorum V′ 22. superuam V 27. fol. 100 *a* V

3. Col. iii 17 11. 2 Cor. x 5 24. Iudith xvi 3

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esse fixum et inmobile quidquid fatum habuerit uel decretum, et nihil preces | nihil orationes ualere. quibus primo breuiter dicimus et uelut uno aratro fidei et secure ueritatis totam erroris eorum circumabscidimus et subuertimus siluam. si nihil ergo preces uel orationes ualent, o pagani, et totum fixum est, ut dicitis, quod fatum dederit uel decretum, cur uos deos et deas colitis, cur idolis immolatis, cur preces, cur tura et uictimas, cur uniuersa dona in templis inferitis? si totum fixum est et decretum et nihil precibus nihil postulationibus indulgetur uel inpetratur, cur ergo supplicatis?

Sed dicunt Facimus ista ne noceant. quibus dicimus Quomodo possunt nocere qui non possunt praestare? et quia uere nihil nec nocere nec praestare possunt, canum custodia circa eos deos quos dicitis uestros | et custodum uigilantia contestatur; quando enim eos inueniunt fures, abripiunt adque confractos distrahunt.

Tu dicis fato omnia fieri: sed quae tu dicis fato fieri, nescio qua opinione incerta, ego dico uoluntate uel permissu Dei fieri, quia [Deus] PATER omnia POSVIT IN SVA POTESTATE, et nihil fit nisi quod Dominus ipse uoluerit | uel fieri ipse permiserit. uis uidere prophetas et apostolos nostros, quanta faciebant non fati uirtute sed fide et adiutorio summi Dei et diuina potentia Christi: ecce, et confractos restituebant quos dicitis fato uexari, pariter et infirmos curabant, mortuos suscitabant, caecos inluminabant et claudos erigebant—et nihil a fato petebant sed totum, ut dixi, sinceritate fidei et diuinis opibus et miserationibus adinplebant.

Fato dicis omnia fieri. sed STULTUS STULTA LOQVITVR ET COR EIVS VANA INTELLEGIT, et sicut ille aiebat Tullius in Hortensio dicens 'Auia mea dicebat hoc quod Stoici dicunt, fato omnia fieri; mater autem mulier sapiens non existimauit.' et nos possumus dicere in ueritate quia auia nostra, id est error antiquus et gentilis stultitia, hoc dicebat: nam mater mulier sapiens, mater scilicet aeclesia quae nos spiritali genuit partu, numquam hoc arbitrata est, quae scit filium accepisse a patre OMNEM

28. inmouilem V quiquid V′ 29. fol. 121 *a* V′ uale V brebiter V 30. circumabscimus V′* 31. *tr* siluam et subuertimus V′ silbam V praeces V 32. cur *quinquies*: quur *quinquies* V′ 33. praeces V 34. et 1°: + iam V′ 35. praecibus V potulationibus V* quur V′ 36. suplicatis V′ 37. quibus dicimus . . . distrahunt (*l.* 41) V: uana est ista excusatio nihil enim nocere possunt qui aliquid prestare non possunt (*ceteris omissis*) V′ 38, 39. prestare *bis* V 39. *fortasse transponendum* circa eos quos dicitis deos uestros 40. fol. 100 *b* V 41. distraunt V 42. que V′ nescio . . . incerta: *om* V′ 43. fieri: + omnia V′ Deus V: *om* V′ 45. fol. 121 *b* V′ profhetas V′ apostostolos V 46. fide et V: *om* V′ summi V: *om* V′ 48. fatos V 49. caecos: *praem* et V′ et 2°: e V 54. quod stoici dicunt V′: quo stoici V 55. abia VV′

44. Act. i 7 52. Is. xxxii 6 53. *ex opere Ciceronis deperdito* Hortensius *siue* De philosophia *fragmentum alias ignotum* 58. Mt. xxviii 18

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POTESTATEM IN CAELO ET IN TERRA, | dominum Christum, et quia ipse habet omnem potestatem in caelo et in terra, ideo in nomine eius tantas uirtutes fecerunt discipuli ipsius, qui et dicebat PETITE ET ACCIPIETIS, QVAERITE ET INVENIETIS PVLSATE ET APERIETVR VOBIS. utique quando hoc dicebat, ab erroribus et daemonibus, qui fata fingunt et nihil preces ualere contendunt ne deus rogetur et eorum operae dissoluantur, ideo populos Dominus ad se trahebat, ut fides in Deum plurimum posset et non diffidentia praeualeret.

Fato dicis, inpudens, | omnia fieri, et addis nihil preces nihil orationes ualere. quantum uero preces uel orationes fidelium ualeant, sacra omnium diuinorum uoluminum monumenta loquuntur, et uolentibus nosse facilis aditus conceditur ad salutem. ergo non fato quidquam geritur, sed omnia factoris mundi prouidentia gubernantur.

Nam de idolis uel de elementis, quos pagani aestimant deos, audite breuiter, | fratres, beatum prophetam nostrum paganos istos deridentem de superuacuis eorum et ita dicentem IDOLA [inquit] GENTIVM ARGENTVM ET AVRVM, OPVS MANVVM HOMINVM: OS HABENT ET NON LOQVVNTVR, OCVLOS HABENT ET NON VIDENT, AVRES HABENT ET NON AVDIVNT et cetera quae ibi sequuntur. interrogo te, pagane, si uelis talis esse quales illi quos colis, sine anima sine sensu sine motu sine aliquo uitali intellectu. hoc ergo maledictum putas: desine igitur tales colere quorum te similitudo | sollicitat et quorum conparatio dehonestat.

Sed dicunt pagani Nos solem et lunam uel stellas et uniuersa elementa colimus et ueneramur. contra quos iterum dicit sermo diuinus VANI SVNT OMNES HOMINES QVIBVS NON SVBEST DEI SCIENTIA NEQVE EX HIS QVAE VIDENTVR POTVERVNT INTELLEGERE QVID SIT AVT OPERIBVS ADTENDENTES AGNOVERVNT QVIS ESSET ARTIFEX, SED AVT IGNEM AVT SPIRITVM | AVT CITATVM AEREM AVT GYRVM STELLARVM AVT NIMIAM AQVAM AVT SOLEM AVT LVNAM DEOS PVTAVERVNT. QVORVM SI PROPTER SPECIEM HOC AESTIMAVERVNT, SCIANT QVANTO HIS DOMINVS SPECIOSIOR EST: SPECIEI ENIM CREATOR HAEC OMNIA CONSTITVIT. AVT SI IN VIRTVTE ET OPERIBVS EORVM MIRANTVR, INTELLEGANT AB IPSIS QVONIAM QVI HAEC CONSTITVIT FORTIA FORTIOR EST ILLIS. et Paulus apostolus dicit INVISIBILIA ENIM DEI A CREATVRA MVNDI PER EA QVAE FACTA SVNT

59. fol. 122 *a* V′ 60. omnem : *om* V′ 62. querite VV′ 63. ab erroribus et daemonibus VV′ (*praepositio* ab *pendet, ut uidetur, a uerbo* trahebat *l.* 65 *infra*) praeces V 64. dissolbantur V 67. fol. 101 *b* V *tr.* addis et V praeces VV′ 68. praeces V 69. locuntur V′ 73. brebiter V fol. 122 *b* V′ 74. ita V′ : *om* V inquit V′ : *om* V 75. manum V′ locuntur V′ 76. aures . . . audiunt V : *om* V′ 77. quae ibi sequuntur V : *om* V′ 80. fol. 102 *a* V 84. que V quid sit VV′ : *fortasse legendum* qui sit intendentes V′ 86. fol. 123 *a* V′ aut citatum . . . intellegant ab (*l.* 90) V : *mutilus et ad initium et ad finem linearum* V′

60. Cf. Mc. xvi 17 61. Cf. Mt. vii 7, Lc. xi 9 74. Ps. cxxxiv (cxxxv) 15-17 82. Sap. xiii 1-4 91. Rom. i 20-23

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INTELLECTA CONSPICIVNTVR, SEMPITERNA QVOQVE EIVS VIRTVS ADQVE DIVINITAS; | VT SINT INEXCVSABILES, QVIA CVM COGNOVISSENT DEVM NON VT DEVM MAGNIFICAVERVNT AVT GRATIAS EGERVNT SED EVANVERVNT IN COGITATIONIBVS SVIS ET INTENEBRATVM EST INSIPIENS COR ILLORVM. DICENTES ENIM SE ESSE SAPIENTES STVLTI FACTI SVNT ET INMVTAVERVNT GLORIAM INCORRVPTIBILIS DEI IN IMAGINEM CORRVPTIBILIS HOMINIS ET VOLVCRVM ET QVADRVPEDVM ET SERPENTIVM et cetera.

Ergo AVT IGNEM | ait AVT SPIRITVM AVT CITATVM AEREM AVT GYRVM STELLARVM AVT NIMIAM AQVAM AVT SOLEM AVT LVNAM DEOS PVTAVERVNT.

IGNEM colunt pagani, et deum dicunt qui aqua restinguitur aut terrae iactu conprimitur. ignem colunt pagani qui ligni fomento nutritur. ignem colunt pagani uero aeterno igni arsuri. [sed forte fulgura colunt. ut quid ista colunt? non enim motibus suis sed imperio Dei aguntur, sicut sol et luna, pluuiae aeque et stellarum cursus, uentorum motus et nubium transitus.]

SPIRITVM AERIS | et uentorum uenerantur. sed ista rerum Domino famulantur, sicut scriptum est FLABIT SPIRITVS EIVS ET FLVENT AQVAE, et iterum QVI PRODVCIT VENTOS DE THESAVRIS SVIS, adhuc autem ait IGNIS GRANDO NIX GLACIES SPIRITVS PROCELLARVM QVAE FACIVNT VERBVM EIVS.

GYRVM STELLARVM colunt pagani, ab artifice Deo perfectum ad mundi ornatum discriminato decore conpositum. AQVAM colunt [pagani] quae ad usum non solum hominum sed et pecorum et ceterarum rerum largitate creatoris | effunditur. SOLEM ET LVNAM colunt, cum uideamus et orientem et occidentem solem sic currere ut ei constitutum est, unde intelligitur neminem posse indesinenter currere et seruitio suo insistere nisi qui sub domino sit et qui habeat imperantem. nam neque luna crementum uel detrimentum pateretur nisi uoluntate et arbitrio conditoris; et sol si in sua potestate esset perpetua luce fulgeret | et noctis spacia occuparet et unum semper faceret diem. aut certe luna idem fecisset; occupasset diem et unam simul faceret noctem. sed non possunt a legibus discedere conditoris.

94. fol. 102 *b* V 96. intenebratu V′ insipies V 97. illo V′ 99. serpentum V 101. fol. 123 *b* V′: *a summa pagina usque ad* conprimitur ignem (*l.* 105) *mutilus* 105. ligni: ligno VV′; *fortasse legendum* ligneo 106. uero V′: *om* V sed forte . . . transitus (*l.* 109) V: *om* V′ 107. monitibus V* 108. plubiae V aeque: eque V; *fortasse legendum* aquae 110. spiritum V′: + ergo V fol. 103 *a* V 111. scribtum V′ flauit V′ 112. tesauris V ait V: *om* V′ 113. quae: que V: qui V′ 116. pagani V′: *om* V 118. fol. 124 *a* V′: *usque ad* pateretur (*l.* 122) *uel uix uel non legibilis* 123. et V: *plura habet* (*sex fortasse litteras*) V′; *sed quid, incertum* fol. 103 *b* V: *usque ad* sed non (*l.* 125) *uix legibilis*

111. Ps. cxlvii 7 (18) 112. Ps. cxxxiv (cxxxv) 7 113. Ps. cxlviii 8

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Videmus et nascentia terrae, succedentibus sibi temporibus, Dei imperio famulari, et stellas suum ordinem sequi, maria aeque suis finibus contineri. et ideo clamat propheta sanctissimus, dicens ad Dominum Deum nostrum QVAM MAGNIFICATA SVNT OPERA TVA DOMINE, | OMNIA IN SAPIENTIA FECISTI. REPLETA EST TERRA CREATVRA TVA: HOC MARE MAGNVM ET SPATIOSVM, ILLIC REPENTIA QVORVM NON EST NVMERVS, ANIMALIA PVSILLA ET MAGNA. hic est Dominus Deus noster, de quo quidam sanctorum dicebat 'Qui caelum alta sublimitate suspendit, terram deiecta mole solidauit, maria soluto liquore diffudit, et haec omnia propriis et condignis instrumentis plena et ornata digessit'. cum ergo uideris | domum magnifice per omnia comptam adque ornatam, necesse est ut intellegas esse aliquem arcitectum et eius domus eximium fabricatorem: ita uidens et considerans hunc mundum uelut amplissimam et sublimem domum ad habitationem omnium nostrum conditam, intellege sine dubio et admirare tam potentem artificem et huius operis perfectorem.

Colunt adhuc pagani et montes et arbores et fontes | et flumina, ubi et boues et oues et uniuersae bestiae depascuntur et ambulant adque lauantur. nam simulacra et idola eorum digno honore ab araneis obteguntur et a tineis uel uermibus perforantur et a muribus habitantur et a muscis conculcantur nec se ab igne uel a pluuia defendunt nec a latronibus [uel furibus] uindicant. et ideo sanctus Cyprianus ad Demetrianum paganum bene dicebat 'Pudeat te eos colere quos ipse defendis, pudeat te de eis auxilium sperare | quos tueris'; 'aut quid enim prestare colentibus se possent qui se de non colentibus uindicare non possunt?' sicut enim ad eos non pertinet quod coluntur, sic non sentiunt quod laeduntur.

Sed dicunt pagani 'Nos deos colimus uel deas quae in caelo habentur. quibus dicimus: Si deos illos dicitis uel colitis quos in uestris libris audimus recitari, id est Saturnum | Iouem Mercurium Martem Apollinem Vulcanum Ascolapium ceterosque innumeros; et deas dicitis Iunonem Mineruam Venerem Dianam Cybelen Latonam uel ceteras multas: ergo si omnes illos dicitis deos, cur aliquos in stellis ponitis et aliquos non ponitis? dicitis enim Saturnum Iouem Martem uel Mercurium in

128. aequae V′ 130. fol. 124 *b* V′: *perdita omnia usque ad* deiecta (*l.* 135) 132. numerusmerus V* 135. solidabit V 136. proprus *ut uid* V* 137. fol. 104 *a* V: *mutila omnia usque ad* uidens (*l.* 139) 140. nostrum V′: nostrorum V conditam V: *om* V′ 143. et 1° V′: *om* V fol. 125 *a* V′ 144. adque V′: *om* V 145. labantur V 146. thineis VV′ uerminibus V′ 147. pluia V* 148. uel furibus V: *om* V′ 150. fol. 104 *b* V 152. quod . . . quod V′: quo . . . quo V 153. leduntur V 156. fol. 125 *b* V′ 158. multas V′: *om* V 159. quur VV′ stellis V: celis V′

130. Ps. ciii (civ) 24, 25 134. Novatianus *de Trinitate* (*ed. Fausset p.* 2 *ll.* 1–4) 144. Cf. Ps. ciii (civ) 20 149. Cypr. *ad Demetr.* 14 (361. 15–17, 10–12)

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caelo, et Neptunum Apollinem Vulcanum Ascolapium et ceteros non dicitis. an isti forte aliquid peccauerunt, et illi nihil peccauerunt ideoque eos supernas regiones adseritis possidere? cum magis | constet omnes cum essent nefarii homines et lasciui, plus tamen in criminibus esse Saturnum uel Iouem, Martem etiam et Mercurium, et plura nefanda facinora conmisisse.

Nonne Vergilius uester, poeta, o pagani, ille praecipuus, cuius carmina hodieque ueneramini, sic clamat de Saturno | dicens

Arma Iouis fugiens et regnis exul ademtis,

unde et 'Latium de latebra eius nomen accepit', eo quod

latuisset tutus in oris

[id est fugiens in Italiae finibus latuisset]. et iterum ait

Fauno Picus pater, isque parentem
te Saturne refert, tu sanguinis ultimus auctor.

cum quo fugiens iste in Italiae finibus latuisset. 'hic litteras inprimere, et signare nummos in Italia primus instituit: inde aerarium Saturni uocatur. et rusticitatis hic cultor: inde falcem ferens pingitur.' hic cum uesano furore raperetur, filios deuorauit suos. [qui et operto capite, ne agnosceretur, effugiit, et ita in delubris uestris formatur.] Iouem eius filium, a matre occulte subtractum. |

Videte qualem deum colitis, quem latuerit *fuga* fili.

Qui et ipse quanta nefanda facinora, quanta adulteria quantosque incestus perpetrauerit, honestae linguae conueniet magis tacere †esse† melius quam inpudentius memorare. et iste in Cretensi insula habet sepulchrum ibique | despectus iacet: de isto enim et ille Vergilius dixit

Creta Iouis magni medio iacet insula ponto.

et iterum de criminibus eius breuiter conmemorauit dicens (ne tam turpia eius auribus honestis copiose ingereret)

Iouisque
et soror et coniunx.

162. *tr* forte isti V 163. fol. 105 *a* V omnes VV′: *fortasse legendum* apud omnes 164. lasciuiui V 166. commisisse V′ 168. fol. 126 *a* V′ 169. Iobis V 171. horis V′ 172. id est . . . latuisset V: *om* V′ 173. hisque V 175. cum quo . . . latuisset V′: *tr* id est fugiens in Italiae finibus latuisset *post* in oris (*l.* 171 *supra*) V 177. cultor: + fuit V 178. deborauit V qui et operto . . . formatur (*l.* 179) V: *om* V′ 180. occulte V′: *om* V subtractum: *uidetur excidisse aliquid, sensus enim claudicat* 181. fol. 105 *b* V, *sed usque ad* et ipse (*l.* 182) *legi non potest* fuga *conieci*: *quid habuerit* V′ *dici non potest* 183. esse melius VV′: *sed claudicat sensus* 185. fol. 126 *b* V′ 186. Iobis VV′ 187. brebiter VV′ conmemorauit *scripsi*: conmemorat V conmemorat** V′ ne tam . . . ingereret V′: *om* V 189. Iobisque V 190. coniunx V′: coniux V;

169, 171. Verg. *Aen.* viii 320, 323 170. Cypr. *Quod idola* 2 (20. 5) 173. *Aen.* vii 48, 49 175. hic litteras . . . pingitur: Cypr. *Quod idola* 2 (20. 5–8) 186. Verg. *Aen.* iii 104 189, 190. *Aen.* i 46, 47

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uide quam exsecrabilis habendus sit, immo potius quam detestabilis iste Iouis, qui sororem uoluerit habere uxorem. pro dolor! quae inter homines sanctos habentur pietatis nomina, inter deos paganorum facta sunt foeda sacrilegia.

Nam de Marte quid dicam, qui aput Tracias natus | ibi est defunctus, et ipse adulterii crimine maculosus, quique Venerem Vulcani uxorem inlicito amore contaminare temptauit? Mercurius autem, et ipse criminose natus, plerumque a uobis dicitur nunc in infernis sedibus cum Plutone et Proserpina habitare, nunc partem caeli dicitur | possidere. ergo iste nullas habet proprias sedes, sed ut uagus et miser incertis et nullis propriis sedibus [fixus] semper exerrat. hos dicitis et filios et filias genuisse non ex legitimis nuptiis sed de nefandis incestis et adulteriis, sicut et ipsi nati sunt.

Adhuc autem non erubuistis Solem dicere filiam habere [et Lunam amasse Dindymionem. quis fidelium ad tantam insaniam uestram non irascatur? quis uos in talibus perseuerantes non omni poena dignos existimet? sicut et Saturnum filium dicitis Caeli et Iouem eius filium iterum dicitis (uel potius mentimini) Mineruam ex capite genuisse | et Liberum e femore et multa alia stulta iactantes.]

Nam et deae uestrae, o! quanta turpitudine detinentur; et miror cur eas colatis, nisi quia uideri uultis turpitudinum amatores. ex quibus omnibus unam solam Venerem dicitis esse in caelo et in astris ponitis: cur non (interrogo) et Iunonem et Mineruam uel Dianam uel ceteras? an, quia Venerem dicitis speciosam, ideo eam in caelo habitare memoratis, et istas causa foeditatis terrenis sedibus deputatis? quid illa una inpudentissima femina inter tot uiros facit in caelo? quid sibi uindicat? uxor est alicuius, an mater, an soror, an filia? sed si nihil horum | est, et propter pulchritudinem tantum eam dicitis esse in caelo quae fuerit fornicaria, uide quam nefarium sit criminosam pulchritudinem dicere esse in caelo et Mineruam non dicitis, quam dicitis castam et sapientem. apparet uos quia CARNALES estis potius quam SPIRITALES | qui Venerem

+et rapti, inquid, Ganymedis honores (*Aen.* i 28) V 192. Iobis V uxorem: +ut de ceteris eius criminibus taceamus V que V 194. feda V 195. fol. 106*a* V ibi est *scripsi*: ibi et V: ibique V′ 196. et ipse: *om* V* quique V′: qui V 199. fol. 127 *a* V′ 201. propriis *ut uid* V: *om* V′ fixus *scripsi*: fisus V; *om* V′ 202. genuisse: +et quod peius est (*uel aliquid simile*) V′, *fortasse recte* 204. erubuistis V′²: erubistis V′*: erubesicitis et V habuisse V et Lunam . . . iactantes (*l.* 209): *om* V′ 208. Minerbam V fol. 106*b* V 210. et: *om* V o quanta . . . amatores V′: ipsae quas adseritis uenerandas obscenitatis uitio continentur V quur V′ 212. omnibus: *om* V 213. quur VV′ *tr* et interrogo V′ Minerbam V 214. eam V: *om* V′ 215. feditatis VV′ una V′: *om* V 216. sibi: si ibi *ut uid* V 217. fol. 127*b* V′ 218. pulcritudinem (*et l.* 222) V 220. Minerbam V 221. fol. 107*a* V qui Venerem . . . infamant (*l.* 226) V′: *omnia ob defectum codicis* (*nisi initia aliquarum linearum*) *perierunt in* V

221. Cf. 1 Cor. iii 1

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propter pulchritudinem et non Mineruam propter sapientiam in caelo esse uolueritis. nonne ista est Venus quam clamant uestri poetae et Vulcani et Ancisis et Adonis et ceterorum criminosam inpudicam adulteram potius quam pudicam unius uxorem?

Sed si ista falsa sunt de diis uestris, et uestrorum deorum infamant religionem, cur non exuruntur a uobis antiqui libri et prisca uolumina conburuntur? cur in picturis et signis [et in sacrariis uestris] talibus delectamini? cur hodieque in theatris ad adclamationes uestras inpurissimi striones exprimunt | ipsam inpudicam Venerem et adulterum Martem, Iouem illum principem uitiorum in terrenos amores cum suis fulminibus id est prauis desideriis ardentem nunc in plumis oloris magiis inmutatum albescere nunc aureo imbre defluere? | et cum ista geruntur fit adclamatio uestra, et ideo deos uestros quos ueneramini imitamini. fiunt uobis miseris etiam religiosa delicta. sed isti omnes dii paganorum detestandi et ridendi sunt potius quam colendi.

Homines et ad iudicium uenturi sunt Christi, et sicut scribtum est QVI SINE LEGE PECCAVERVNT SINE LEGE PERIBVNT ET QVI IN LEGE PECCAVERVNT PER LEGEM IVDICABVNTVR. et non erubescunt pagani tot deos et deas dicere Saturnum genuisse et Iouem uel ceteros. sed si tunc 'nati sunt dii, cur non hodieque nascuntur? nisi forte', ut [iterum] sanctus Cyprianus dicebat, 'aut Iuppiter senuit aut partus in Iunone defecit'.

Item pagani uolatus auium obseruant et uoces coruorum | uel cornicularum, et in fibris et in | uisceribus pecorum fata inquirunt, et in pullis et ouis euenta et uitae cursus rimantur, et filacteria et ligaturas et incantationes et sortes faciunt. quod si totum fixum est et immobile, ut dicunt, circa genus humanum, et iam non potest praeteriri quod decretum est, et nihil precibus nihil orationibus indulgetur, cur ista perquirunt? sed dicunt: Nosse uolumus quod cauere, et instantes praeterire necessitates, uel si qua inminent uitae pericula declinare. quibus dicimus: Si ergo uitari possunt per obseruantiam quae futura sunt, iam ergo non sub fati sorte agitur homo aut inmobilis decreti, quia arbitrio suo et cautela poterit declinare quod inminet. sed dicunt: Non poterit declinari. dicamus ad eos iterum: Cur ergo inquiritis? cur frustra sacrificia celebratis? cur uoces auium, cur uolatus adtenditis? | cur in fibris et ui-

227. quur VV′ 228. et in sacrariis uestris: *om* V′ 229. quur VV′ 230. striones VV′: *scilicet* histriones fol. 128 *a* V′ 232. id est prauis desideriis V: nunc aureo igne V′ magiis VV′: *sc* magicis artibus 233. nunc aureo imbre defluere V: *om* V′ (*cf. l.* 232) fol. 107 *b* V: *deficiunt omnia usque ad* (ho)mines (*l.* 237) 237. homines: +****unt V′ 239. eruuescunt V 241. quur VV′ iterum V: *om* V′ 242. Iupiter V 243. obserbant V fol. 128 *b* V′ 244. in 2°: *om* V′ fol. 108 *a* V: *mutilus usque ad l.* 249 *tr* pullis et in ouis V′ 247. preteriri V′ 248. praecibus V′ quur V′ 249. preterire V′ 252. immouilis V quia arbitrio V: qui arbitrio *ut uid* V′ 254–257. quur VV′ 255. fol. 108 *b* V, 129 *a* V′

238. Rom. ii 12 242. Cypr. *Quod idola dii non sint* 3 (21. 2)

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sceribus pecorum, cur in pullis et in ouis, cur in filacteriis et ligaturis et incantationibus confiditis? cur lapides et ligna adoratis? cur elementa colitis et elementorum Dominum ignoratis, qui dicit per prophetam suum INVOCA ME IN DIE TRIBVLATIONIS TVAE ET EXIMAM TE ET GLORIFICABIS ME; et iterum dicit SI CONVERSVS INGEMVERIS, TVNC SALVVS ERIS?

Vis scire quantum preces ualeant, quantum inpetrent a Domino Deo orationes fidelium? inquire in libris nostris clara ueritate perspicuis: inquire de Noe, inquire de Moyse, inquire de Iesu filio Naue, inquire de Helia [uel Elisseo], inquire de Iona uel ceteris sanctis prophetis et beatis apostolis Christi discipulis, quibus totum Dominus dedit quidquid eorum fidelis oratio postulauit. inde ergo inuenies quantum preces uel orationes fidelium de Domini pietate potuerint | inpetrare: iste est Noe sanctissimus quem dicimus, | qui in illo diluuio, in illo totius mundi naufragio, inter furentes fluctus et strepitus conlidentium undique procellarum, per marina discrimina, per extollentium se aquarum metuenda cacumina, fretus de Domini pietate feliciter inuocabat, quique precibus fusis ad Dominum meruit incolumis cum suis omnibus reseruari, ut miraretur et ipsa tempestas omnibus ubique pereuntibus unum solummodo cum suis superstitem euasisse. dicant pagani, si possunt, quid hic fatum facere potuit; numquid omnes in illo diluuio fatum occidit? aut isti uni fatum uitam donauit? si omnes fatum occidit, cur non et istum? si huic fatum uitam donauit, cur non et omnibus? sed uere uirtus et potentia omnipotentis Dei haec sine dubio fecit, qui peruicacibus et contemnentibus tribuit poenas, et iustis et sua praecepta seruantibus salutem | incolumitatemque | largita est. quid et de sancto Moyse dicam, qui precibus Aegyptum uicit et decem plagis adfecit et filios Israhel exinde ereptos pelago famulante transiecit, ut sicco pede populus Dei inter fluitantes muros undarum et gelantium montes aquarum cum hymnis et canticis et diuinis laudibus pertransisset? quid de glorioso Iesu filio Naue dicam, qui a magistro Moyse in nullo uirtutis merito degenerasse cognoscitur, quique ad debel-

258. profhetam VV' 259. suum V *ut uid*: *om* V' me: *om* V 260. et V *ut uid*: *om* V' 263. in libris nostris in libris V 264. Noe V: Noae V' de Iesum V' 265. uel Elisseo V, *cf. infra l.* 294: *om* V', *cf. l.* 294 profhetis VV' 266. quiquid V' 267. quantum . . . potuerint (-runt V') V': quantate potuerint V, *omissis uerbis* tum preces uel orationes fidelium de dñi pie, *scilicet* 36 *litteris, quae uel uni uel duabus archetypi lineis ueri simile est respondere* 268. piaetate V' fol. 109*a* V 269. fol. 129*b* V' diluuuio V: dilluuio V' in 2° V': *om* V 272. piaetate V' inuicabat *ut uid* VV' 276. dilluuio V 277. quur (*et l.* 278) VV' 280. precepta V' 281. fol. 109*b* V, *sed usque ad* gelantium (*l.* 284) *uix legibilis* fol. 130*a* V' sancto *ut uid* V' 282. praecibus V' 283. pelagu V' 286. qui de *ut uid* V 287. quique V: qui V'

259. Ps. xlix (l) 15 260. Esai. xxx 15 271. Cf. S. Maximi *Serm.* xv *l.* 5 (*J. T. S.* xvii 228)

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landam Hiericho ciuitatem profectus precibus suis uelut quodam fulmine Hiericho muros sine mora deiecit, et usque ad fundamenta prostrauit; qui etiam solis citatissimos cursus supra Gabaon orando tenuit et lunae uias supra Faranga sua interdictione conpressit, usquequo omnes aduersarios superaret? quid de Helia sanctissimo dicam, qui merito fidei clauem imbrium gestabat in labiis, de qua clausum | triennio | et sex mensibus caelum iussione iterum sui sermonis aperiret? quid de beato Iona dicam, qui inmanis ceti limosis faucibus raptus, cum portam ferini uentris intrasset, inter indigestos *b*eluae cibos et semensa corpora naufragorum ab oratione non destitit, et totum a Domino quidquid postulauit accepit? cui uelut nauis fidelis illa *b*elua fuit, et perductum ad ripam sicut acceperat integrum representauit. omnes etiam sancti prophetae merito fidei suae, ut diximus, multas uirtutes et multa mirabilia perfecerunt: beati etiam apostoli et confractos [uiribus] restituebant, et infirmos curabant et mortuos suscitabant, et nihil a fato petebant sed omnia Dei uirtute et Christi auxilio adinplebant. |

Ergo reiectis et spretis diis paganorum, fratres dilectissimi, dicamus quod uerum est et fidei nostrae sacramenta loquamur.

'Unus est igitur omnium | Dominus Deus,' sicuti et sanctus Cyprianus confessus est, 'neque enim illa sublimitas potest habere consortem, cum sola omnem teneat potestatem.' hunc unum Deum nouit et ueneratur ecclesia, qui omnia 'quaecumque sunt uerbo iubet, sapientia format, ratione dispensat, uirtute consummat. hic nec uideri potest (uisu clarior est), nec conpraehendi (tactu purior est), nec aestimari (sensu maior est), et ideo sic eum digne aestimamus dum inaestimabilem dicimus.' hic est, inquam, Dominus Deus noster, quem et ipsi ratione superati paganorum philosophi, etsi non uenerantur, tamen agnoscunt Deum. ideo quidem non uenerantur, quoniam in iniuriam ipsius creatoris multos adserunt deos | et honorem, ut diximus, creatoris deferunt creaturae. ergo hunc Dominum Deum nostrum, uelint nolint, et ipsi philosophi [ueritate conpressi] et inuisibilem adserunt et omnium | praepotentem.

288. praecibus V′ 293. fol. 110 *a* V: *dimidium linearum singularum mutilum usque ad l.* 295 cibus raptus fol. 130 *b* V′ 294. aperire *ut uid* V′: *sequitur in* V *ut uidetur clausula de Helisei miraculis*: quid de Elis*seo dicam qui* miracula . . . . . lis memo . . . . . defunct . . . . . *uitam mor*tuo prestit*it* 296. ueluae *ut uid* VV′ ciuos V semensa VV′, *sc* semesa 298. uelua VV′ 299. presentauit V′ prof hetae VV′ 300. suae V: *om* V′ 301. uiribus V: *om* V′ 303. adinplebant V: inplebant V′ 304. fol. 110 *b* V dilectissimi V: *om* V′? 306. fol. 131 *a* V′ 307. confessus est: + dicens V 308. omnem teneat V′: habeat V 309. aeclesia V′ 314. philofhi V* philosofhi V′ 316. fol. 111 *a* V 317. philophi V* 318. ueritate conpressi V: *om* V′ fol. 131 *b* V′ prepotentem V

290. Ios. x 12 (κατὰ Γαβαών . . . κατὰ φάραγγα Αἰλών) 307. Cypr. *Quod idola* 8 (25. 14, 15) 309. quaecumque . . . dicimus (*l.* 312): Cypr. *Quod idola* 8, 9 (26. 7–11) 317. Cf. Rom. i 25

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in quo 'praecipuus Ostenes formam huius ueri Dei negat conspici posse, et angelos ueros sedi eius dicit adsistere. in quo et Plato pari ratione consentit et unum deum praedicans ceteros angelos uel daemonas dicit. Hermes quoque Trimegistus unum deum fatetur, eumque inuisibilem adque inconpraehensibilem confitetur.' hunc ergo nos in ueritate [confitemur et] nouimus et fatemur omnipotentem Deum, cuius opus est mundus, qui CAELVM SVSPENDIT VT CAMERAM, qui TERRAM FVNDAVIT SVPER aquam, maria soluto liquore diffudit, et miro libramine ex omni parte conpositam totam huius mundi molem ipse continet fabricator, ipse solis uaporiferos | dirigit cursus, ipse lunae globum lactea puritate conpletum agit legibus suis, ipse caelum diuersorum siderum speciosa uarietate depinxit, ipse montes et colles, campos et ualles, ipse | diuersa animalia cum uniuersis fetibus suis, benigne utiliterque praeparauit, ipse fontes et flumina concauosque torrentes, ipse spatiosum mare et liquentes undarum campos marmoreis fluctibus longe lateque diffudit, et uisibilia et inuisibilia cuncta in Christo filio suo Domino nostro perfecit, sicut scribtum est quia IN Christo CREATA SVNT OMNIA, adtestante apostolo Paulo, QVAE SVNT IN CAELO ET QVAE SVNT IN TERRA, VISIBILIA ET INVISIBILIA.

Ergo unus Deus, fratres, adorandus est solus, sicut scribtum est DOMINVM DEVM TVVM ADORABIS ET IPSI SOLI SERVIES. ipse diligendus est, dicente scribtura DILIGES DOMINVM DEVM TVVM EX TOTO CORDE TVO ET EX TOTA ANIMA TVA | ET EX OMNI MENTE TVA ET EX OMNI SENSV TVO.

Sequitur PROXIMVM TVVM SICVT TE IPSVM: quis praecipue, rogo, PROXIMVS nobis quam Dominus noster Iesus Christus, QVI CVM IN FORMA DEI ESSET CONSTITVTVS FORMAM SERVI ACCEPIT? et VERBVM CARO FACTVM EST | ET HABITAVIT IN NOBIS, qui dicitur EMMANVHEL ID EST NOBISCVM DEVS, ut perditum et diu iacentem hominem restauraret et in semetipso regnis caelestibus sociaret, QVIA PER HOMINEM MORS ET PER HOMINEM RESVRRECTIO MORTVORVM: SICVT ENIM IN ADAM OMNES MORIVNTVR, ITA IN CHRISTO OMNES VIVIFICANTVR. ipse est qui dicebat

319. precipuus V 321. predicans V demonas V 322. trimegistus V′: triomegistus V cumque V 323. confitentur V confitemur et V: *om* V′ 325. fundabit V′ 326. maria ... diffudit V: *om* V′ 328. fol. 111 *b* V lunae: *post* lunae *euanuit in* V′ *uocabulum sex litterarum, quarum ultimae* -um 329. suis V′: *om ut uid* V 331. fol. 132 *a* V′ 332. preparabit V 334. cuncta V: +que V′ 341. ex V: *om ut uid* V′ fol. 112 *a* V et ex omni mente ... sensu tuo V: ex omni uirtute tua V′ 342. praecipuae V′ 345. fol. 132 *b* V′ qui dicitur ... ipse est (*l.* 349) V′: *om* V 347. sociare *ut uid* V′ 349. ipse est qui V′: quique V

319. praecipuus Ostenes (Ostanes Cypr.) ... confitetur (*l.* 323): Cypr. *Quod idola* 6 (24. 1–6) 325. Is. xl 22 Ps. xxiii (xxiv) 2 335. Col. i 16 339. Matt. iv 10, Luc. iv 8 (Deut. vi 13) 340, 342. Luc. x 27 (Deut. vi 5, Lev. xix 18) 343. Phil. ii 6, 7 344. Io. i 14 345. Matt. i 23 347. 1 Cor. xv 21. 22

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HAEC EST VITA AETERNA VT COGNOSCANT TE [SOLVM] VERVM DEVM ET QVEM MISISTI IESVM CHRISTVM.

Iste Iesus Christus filius Dei, qui IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBVM APVT DEVM, a Sybilla ιχθυc greco nomine quod significat Piscis appellatus est, eo quod mundi uel saeculi huius mare ingressurus esset. nam et litterarum ipsarum grecarum considera ingens mysterium : ιχθυc, ι iota hoc est Iesus, χ chi id est Christos, θ theta Theu, υ Ios, c sigma Soter, quod latine explanatur 'Iesus Christus Dei filius saluator': in capite istae litterae continentur grecae, ιχθυc. harum quinque litterarum grecarum mysterium hoc est.

Quaeri ergo magno | opere debet ueritatis agnitio, quam nemo alius potest adsignare nisi uerus iste propheta 'Iesus Christus Dei filius saluator'. haec enim porta est uitae uolentibus ingredi, et iter operum bonorum pergentibus ad ciuitatem salutis. et sancti apostoli Petri prosecutionem 'contra paganos' factam huic exiguo nostro operi inseramus.

Audite: ita adseruit de Domino Christo ipse beatus Petrus dicens: 'Si quis sane audiens sermonem ueri prophetae uelit recipere aut nolit, et amplecti onus eius, id est mandata uitae, habet in sua potestate: liberi' inquid 'sumus arbitrii. si hoc esset, ut audientes eum iam non haberent in potestate aliud facere quam audierant, uis erat quaedam naturae per quam liberum non esset ad aliam migrare sententiam: aut si rursus ex audientibus nullus omnino reciperet, et hoc naturae uis erat quae unum aliquid fieri cogeret et alteri | parti non daret locum. nunc autem quia liberum est animo in quam uelit partem declinare iudicium suum, et quam probauerit eligere uiam, constat euidenter inesse hominibus arbitrii libertatem.' 'propter quod consilium do unicuique discentium libenter prebere aurem uerbo Dei et cum amore ueritatis audire quae dicimus, ut mens optimo semine suscepto per bonos actus laetos adferat fructus.' 'ab initio' enim 'duo regna statuit Deus, et potestatem dedit unicuique hominum ut illius regni fiat portio cui se ad obediendum ipse subiecerit. et quia definitum est aput Deum non posse unum hominem utriusque regni esse seruum, omni studio date operam in boni regis foedus ac iura concurrere. propter hoc denique uerus prophetа, cum esset presens nobiscum et quosdam ex diuitibus neglegentes erga Dei

350. solum V : *om* V' 351. christum : *desinit* V', *ita ut abhinc usque in finem secundum solum* V *constituatur textus noster* 356. sigma : symma *ut uid* V 357. iste littere . . . grece V 360. fol. 112 *b* V 361. profheta V 363. petrus *ut uid* V 366. si quis sane audiens : *om* V*, *supplet supra lineam manus prima* profhetae V 367. amplecti onus V : amplexiones Recogn. ed 368. si : *praem* nam Recogn. ed 372. fol. 113 *a* V 376. preuere V audite *ut uid* V 377. homine suscepta *ut uid* V 382. profheta V 383. neclegentes *ut uid* V

350. Io. xvii 3 352. Io. i 1 353. Orac. Sibyll. viii 217 366. Recognitiones S. Clementis interprete Rufino Aquileiensi *lib* v *cap* 6 *ed. Cotelier-Le Clerc, Amstelaedami* A. D. 1724, *tom* I *p.* 548 375. *ib* v 8 (I 549) 378. *ib* v 9, 10 (I 549)

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cultum uideret, huius rei ita aperuit | *ueritatem*; NEMO POTEST inquid DVOBVS DOMINIS SERVIRE. NON POTESTIS DEO SERVIRE ET MAMONAE; MAMONA patria eorum uoce diuitias uocans. hic ergo est uerus propheta, qui in Iudaea nobis apparuit, qui stans publice sola iussione faciebat caecos uidere, surdos audire: fugabat daemones, aegris sanitatem reddebat et mortuis uitam. cumque nihil ei esset inpossibile, etiam cogitationes hominum peruidebat, quod nulli est possibile nisi soli Deo' et reliqua. usque hic prosequitur Petr*us*.

Christus ergo dicebat HAEC EST VITA AETERNA VT COGNOSCANT TE SOLVM VERVM DEVM ET QVEM MISISTI IESVM CHRISTVM. in hac agnitione, fratres, EST VITA AETERNA: nam audi*te*, scribtura sanctorum euangeliorum referente de summo Deo patre et filio eius Iesu Christo: IN PRINCIPIO inquid ERAT VERBVM, id est filius, ET VERBVM ERAT APVT DEVM, aput genitorem suum, | unus aput unum, deus *aput deum*. ergo et VERBVM ERAT APVT DEVM et DEVS ERAT VERBVM dei filius: VERBI nomine nunc u*tamur*. erat IN PRINCIPIO

OMNIA PER IPSVM FACTA.

SVNT dicis in de rationis lege
hoc capitulum dicens ET VERBVM CARO
FACTVM EST ad uelamen fulgoris sui
interpretem sermonis sui edocuit
uolumtatem patris, ipsumque summum deum credendum tradidit; et sic passione conpleta ipsum quem adsumserat hominem sacrificium obtulit patri, totius mundi faciens redem*p*tionem.

Iterum sancti Petri interponimus expositionem. 'Agnoscite' inquid 'ueritate*m* et separamini | a seductionibus nociui serpentis qui callidis fraudibus decipere homines quaerit.' 'interserit ergo ille sensibus uestris opiniones quorumcumque deorum, ut uos ab unius Dei reuocet fide, sciens peccatum uestrum suum esse solacium.' 'ex ipso sunt omnes errores et ambiguitates quibus a ueri Dei credulitate conturbamini.'

Alii autem dicunt paganorum: 'Unum esse et nos dicimus Deum qui est omnium dominus: sed et isti, inquid, dii sunt. sicut enim unus est Caesar et habet sub se multos iudices, uerbi gratia prefectos consules tribunos et ceteras potestates: simili arbitramur modo, cum unus sit

384. fol. 113*b* V 385. serbire V 386. mamone V 391. petri *ut uid* V 394. audi *ut uid* V scribtura... referente *ut uid* V: *fortasse legendum* scribturam ... referentem 395. aeuangeliorum V 397. fol. 114*a* V 404. interpretem V: *fortasse legendum* interpretationem 407. redemtionem V 408. agnoscite ... quaerit (*l.* 410): *sensum ad initium cap.* xvii Recogn. ed, *uerba tamen non inuenio* 409. ueritate *ut uid* V fol. 114*b* V 410. ille: *om* Recogn. ed 411. ut V *ut uid*: *praem* tantum Recogn. ed 412. ex ipso V: +ergo Recogn. ed 413. a uer(i di cre)dulitate V *ut uid*: ab unius Dei fide et credulitate Recogn. ed 414. Alii autem dicunt *suppleui*: *mutilus* V

384. Mt. vi 24 392. Io. xvii 3 396. Io. i 1 410, 412. Recogn. S. Clem. v 17 (I 550) 414–437. *ib* v 19, 20 (I 551)

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maior omnium Deus, etiam istos ad similitudinem earum quas diximus potestatum ordinatos esse in hoc mundo deos, illi quidem maiori subiectos, nos tamen et quae in hoc mundo sunt dispensantes. | audite ergo ad haec', uos pagani, 'quomodo in his ipsis quae ad deceptionem proponitis ueritatis rationibus confutemini. dicitis quia locum Caesaris teneat Deus, iudicium uero eius et potestatum speciem seruent hii qui dicuntur dii. seruate ergo, ut proposuistis, exemplum Caesaris et scitote quia sicut nulli ex iudicibus uel administratoribus, id est prefectis uel proconsulibus uel ducibus uel tribunis fas est Caesaris nomen inponi—alioquin et ille, si susceperit, et illi qui detulerint pariter interibunt—ita et de hoc debetis aduertere, quod si qui nomen dei alicuiquam preter ipsum inposuerit et ille receperit, unum eundemque sortientur interitum, multo deteriorem forte quam ministri Caesaris. hic enim qui delinquit in Caesarem interitum suscipiet temporalem, qui uero in unum qui solus est uerus Deus delinquit in saeculum | luet poenas. et merito, qui nomen quod est unicum iniuriosa conditione uiolauerit. quamuis hoc ipsud "deus" non nomen sit Dei, sed hominibus interim uocabulum istud quasi pro nomine eius concessum est. quod tamen, ut dixi, cum contumeliose tractatur, ad ueri eius nominis refertur iniuriam.' 'sed Caesaris quidem nomen nulli alii audetis inponere, quia reum suum statim punit, Dei uero audetis quia reum suum punire propter penitentiam differt.'

Alii pagani dicunt: 'Nos adhuc melius facimus, qui et ipsi' summo Deo 'et omnibus cum ipso gratias agimus'. quibus dicendum est: 'Tale est hoc quale si quis aeger ad medellam sui et medicum et uenenarios uocet, cum illi nocere quidem possint uenenarii et curare non possint, uerus autem medicus uenenis illorum recuset sua medicamenta miscere, ne aut pernicies bono aut | sanitas nocentibus adscribatur. dicis: Ergo indignatur aut inuidet Deus, si cum ipse bene faciat, aliis gratiae referantur? etiam si non indignetur, non uult tamen erroris

419. maioris *ut uid* V 421. fol. 115 *a* V uos pagani: *has uoces inserit noster* 425. administratoribus V: + Caesaris Recogn. ed 427. si *ut uid* V: qui Recogn. ed 428. qui V: quis Recogn. ed alicuiquam *pro uno uocabulo habendum*: alicui quam *distinxit* Recogn. ed 430. deteriorem forte V: deteriore sorte Recogn. ed 431. delinquid V: deliquit Recogn. ed 432. solus est uerus V: solus et uerus est Recogn. ed delinquid V fol. 115 *b* V luet: luit *ut uid* V 433. qui *ut uid* V: ut qui Recogn. ed condicione *ut uid* V 434. ipsud *ut uid* V: ipsum Recogn. ed nomen: *fortasse legendum* proprium 438. qui *ut uid* V: quia Recogn. ed 439. difert *ut uid* V 440. nos . . . facimus V: sed melius inquit facimus nos Recogn. ed summo deo: *addidit noster* 441. quibus dicendum est: *nostri sunt uerba* 442. eger V et medicum V: medicum pariter Recogn. ed 443. uocet V: inuitet Recogn. ed nocere quidem *scripsi cum* Recogn. ed: quidem nocere quidem V uenenarii et V: *om* Recogn. ed 445. fol. 116 *a* V 447. erroribus *ut uid* V

437–439. *ib* v 22 (I 552) 440–450. *ib* v 26 (I 552)

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auctor existere, ut sui operis benefici inani idolo fides detur.' Deus uero 'animam sibi gratias agentem proximam sibi et familiarem facit, ingratam uero malus possidet d*a*emon'. 'et quamuis in presente saeculo Dei bonitas aequaliter piis et impiis mundi lucem ac terrae ministeria largiatur, tamen non absque dolore sui lucem sol impiis pr*a*ebet, ceteraque elementa ex*h*ibent seruitutem. denique interdum etiam, contra bonitatem conditoris, fatigata sceleribus impiorum uincuntur elementa: exinde est quod aut terrae fructus corrumpitur, aut aeris temperies temeratur, aut supra modum ardor solis incenditur, uel imbrium aut rigorum uis inmensa diffunditur. | inde lues et fames et mortis facies diuersa percurrit; festinat enim creatura in impios mouere uindictam. Dei tamen bonitas reprimit eam et ab indignatione improborum refrenat, ac suae misericordiae cogit oboedire magis quam peccatis hominum et sceleribus inflammari: expectat enim patientia Dei, dum in hoc corpore sunt, hominum conuersionem. quod si usque ad exitum uitae in impietate perstiterint, tunc iam discedens anima quae inmortalis est pro impietatis suae perseuerantia luit poenas inmortales.' 'nos uero', ait ipse sanctus Petrus, cuius hanc adsumsimus disputationem d*e* historia beati Clementis eius discipuli et nostris in adiutorium sociauimus dictis, 'nos' ergo ait 'ad hoc missi sumus ut prodamus uobis latebras' antiqui serpentis 'et ABSOLVENTES INIMICITIAS RECONCILIEMVS | uos DEO, ut ad ipsum conuertamini et placeatis illi in operibus bonis'.

'Sed fortassis aliqui ex uobis dic*e*nt: Nihil curae est Deo de rebus humanis; et cui ne ad notitiam quidem possumus peruenire, quomodo ad amicitias perueniemus? quod Deus curam gerat humanarum rerum ipsa mundi gu*b*ernatio testis est, cui sol cottidie deseruit, cui imbres ministrant, cui fontes flumina uentique et omnia famulantur elementa. quae quanto potiora hominibus uidentur, tanto curam Dei esse erga homines indicant: nisi enim potestate excelsi numquam potiora inferioribus ministrarent. et per hoc non solum curam Deus erga homines

448. benefici V?: beneficio Recogn. ed 450. demon *ut uid* V 452. doloris *ut uid* V prebet V 453. exibent V 455. exhinde V et inde Recogn. ed 456. aut rigorum *ut uid* V: ac frigorum Recogn. ed 457. fol. 116 *b* V 459. eam V: ea Recogn. ed improborum *ut uid* V: impiorum Recogn. ed 460. *tr* obedire cogit Recogn. ed 462. si usque *ut uid* V: si qui Recogn. ed impiaetate V 463. tunc V: tum Recogn. ed 464. luit V: luet Recogn. ed inmortales: *cum praecedentibus coniungit* V, *cum sequentibus* ('inmortales ... animae') *rectius* Recogn. ed 465. de: di V 466. nos ergo V: sed nos Recogn. ed 467. antiqui serpentis V: eius (*se* serpentis) Recogn. ed 468. fol. 117 *a* V 469. illi V: ei Recogn. ed 471. cui V: cuius Recogn. ed 473. ipsa *ut uid* V: ipsius Recogn. ed guuernatio V 474. aelementa V 475. potiora V: notiora *minus recte* Recogn. ed cura *ut uid* V 477. dī *ut uid* V

450–464. *ib* v 27, 28 (I 552, 553) 464–469. *ib* v 28 (I 553) 468. Cf. Eph. ii 14, 16 470–479. Recogn. S. Clem. v 29 (I 553)

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sed et grandem quendam habere docetur affectum, quorum ministerio tam praeclara mancipauit elementa.' 'sed dices: Quid enim *a*editur Deus, si et ista coluntur a nobis? si quis uestrum honorem | patri debitum, a quo plurima beneficia consecutus est, alteri deferat, et alienum adque extraneum quasi patrem colat, non tibi uidetur impius existere in patrem et exheredatione dignissimus?'

Sed et alii dicunt pagani: 'Illum' Deum 'cognoscere non potuimus, istos autem ceteros et nouimus et in affectu habemus. esto, non potueris cognoscere quid sit deus; quid tamen non sit deus, perfacile scire potuisti. nam quomodo latere potuit hominem quod lignum aut lapis aut aes uel alia huiusmodi materia deus non sit? quod si in his quae facile deprehendere potuistis animum ad discutiendum noluistis intendere, certum est quia et in agnitione Dei inpediti estis non inpossibilitatis sed ignauiae uitio. nam si uoluissetis, ex his ipsis inutilibus simulacris profecto accepissetis intellegentiae uiam. | certum est enim quia per ferrum facta sunt simulacra, ferrum uero per ignem confectum est, qui ignis aqua extinguitur, aqua autem per spiritum mouetur, spiritus autem a Deo initium habet. sic enim dicit pro*p*heta Moyses SPIRITVS DEI ERAT SVPER AQVAS'. usque hic in posterum diem

ad nocendum seducentibus *homines* daemonibus, ut quasi mira*cula haec* inutilia perficerent. nam *quid pro*de est ambulare statuas, *latrare* canes *a*ereos et lapides *uolare* per aerem, ignis effici, mutari per uarias figuras, et cetera quae Simonem illum magum uel ceteros fecisse accepimus? nam et Iamnes et Mambres fac*i*ebant magias contra | Moisen in Aegypto. permissum est enim diabolo in hoc saeculo ad tempus aliqua facere ad seducendum infideles, ut magis in fide enitescat fidelium mens et persistat in dilectione et timore Dei nec uincatur a malo neque consentiat ei. et p*y*th*o*nes futura uel occulta lo*qu*untur, et non sunt omnino colendi. aliquotiens d*a*emonici spiritus et futura et occulta dicunt: faciunt quidem haec non diuinitate sed malignitate et curiositate, ideo (sicut dictum est) ut sedu-

479. leditur V 480. coluntur V: colantur Recogn. ed fol. 117 *b* V 481. alteri *ut uid* V: alii Recogn. ed 484. sed et alii: *ad lacunam supplendam conieci* deum V *ut uid*: *om* Recogn. ed 485. ceteros V *ut uid*: *om* Recogn. ed 490. et V: *om* Recogn. ed 492. fol. 118 *a* V 495. profheta V *tr* Moyses propheta Recogn. ed spiritus V: *praem* in principio . . . super abyssum et (*e* Gen i 1, 2) Recogn. ed 501. latrare . . . uolare: *in* V *legi non possunt, collatis* Recogn. ed iii 60, x 66 *suppleui* hereos *ut uid* V 504. facebant *ut uid* V fol. 118 *b* V 507. pitones V 508. locuntur V 509. demonici V

479–483. *ib* v 29 (I 553) 484–496. *ib* vi 6, 7 (I 556) 495. Gen. i 2 501. Cf. Recogn. S. Clem. iii 60 (I 535) x 66 (I 601)

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cant *et* decipiant. 'spiritus sunt uagi et insinceri', peruolantes et perscrutantes.

Nam uere illi sunt sancti famuli, et uere illi ministri Dei, qui signa faciunt salutis et uitam mortuis tribuunt *et* daemonas fugant—unde et uere ad Deum pertinere noscuntur, cuius lumine inluminant caecos, uirtute sanant infirmos, misericordia mortuos suscitant, qui in nomine Christi ad similitudinem eius multas et fecere uirtutes. horum fidem sectemur, horum caritate*m* sequamur, horum opera facere enitamur, innocentiam et mansuetudinem eorum seruemus: et sempiterno adque inuisibili Deo per aeternum et beatum filium eius semper honorem deferamus, laudes et gratias praemittamus, adorantes et confitentes ipsum in Spiritu sancto, cui est gloria et maiestas in saecula.

AMEN.

DEO GRATIAS SEMPER.

A. SPAGNOLO.
C. H. TURNER.

511. et 1°: ut *ut uid* V 513. sancti: *fortasse praemittendum* spiritus (sps sci) 514. et 1° *suppleui*: *om* V 517. fol. 119*a* V multas et facere et fecere V 518. caritate *ut uid* V

511. spiritus . . . insinceri: Cypr. *Quod idola* 6 (23. 12) 514–516. Cf. Recogn. S. Clem. x 66 (I 601) 519. Cf. 1 Tim. i 17

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NOTES AND STUDIES

THE PAPAL CHRONOLOGY OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

§ 1. *The 'dies natalis' or 'natalicia' of bishops.*

THE *dies natalis*, or anniversary of the ordination of the pope, was solemnly observed in the Roman Church at least from the beginning of the fifth century. Felix III held a council in 487 on March 13, apparently the day of his ordination four years earlier. His penultimate predecessor Hilarus, in his letter to the bishops of Tarraconensis *Postquam litteras*, speaks of their epistle to him having been read 'in conventu fratrum quos natalis mei festivitas congregarat'; and in his letter to Gallic bishops *Quamquam notitiam* he uses similar language 'praesidente fratrum numeroso concilio, et ex diversis provinciis ad diem natalis nostri in honorem beati Petri apostoli per Dei gratiam congregato'. Four sermons of St Leo the Great (those numbered from 2 to 5 in the Ballerini text) were delivered on the anniversary of his accession, 'hunc servitutis nostrae natalitium diem', when a great muster took place both of the faithful of Rome and of the bishops of the surrounding towns, 'de die provectionis nostrae quasi de proprio honore gaudere'. Leo's predecessor, Xystus III, writing to Cyril of Alexandria at the time of the union with John of Antioch, expresses the joy of the 'holy and venerable synod' 'quam natalis mihi dies favente Domino congregarat'. And the observance is taken back right to the beginning of the century by the evidence of Paulinus of Nola, who tells us that though still a presbyter he had by special favour been invited by pope Anastasius to the birthday gathering; 'ad natalem suum, quod consacerdotibus suis tantum deferre solet, invitare dignatus est'.

Bearing in mind the conservative character of the Roman Church in the matter of such customs, we should in any case have regarded it as probable that the date of each pope's ordination to the episcopate—the anniversary of which was thus solemnly observed in the fifth century—was carefully recorded from a much earlier period. But the evidence of St Augustine shews us that the custom of observing a bishop's 'birthday' by a gathering of his episcopal brethren was current also among the Donatists[1]: and any custom observed by Donatists and

[1] Aug. *Ep.* cviii 5 (ed. Goldbacher C.S.E.L. xxxiv, 616. 18) 'multi coepiscopi vestri, cum frequentissima numerositate Thamugadensis Optati natalicia celebrarent'. Note that the popes appear to prefer *natalis* to *natalicius*: was this because it was the phrase used of the imperial accession-day?

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Catholics alike was presumably part of the common heritage derived by both from the times that preceded the schism.

§ 2. *Papal chronology in the fourth and fifth centuries: the length of the vacancy and the day of ordination.*

From the time of the conversion of the Empire there is in fact no difficulty in establishing a practically exact chronology throughout the papal series: at the one point where the figures admit of real doubt, in the case of the successive popes, Siricius, Anastasius, and Innocent, it is rather the years than the months and days which are uncertain. The 'Leonine list' of A. D. 447 and the *Liber Pontificalis*, and for the first half of the fourth century the 'Liberian list' of A. D. 354,[1] give us the years, months, and days of the duration of each pontificate: that groundwork can be filled in with various other historical *data* from different quarters: the results can be checked by the application of two tests, and it is these to which I wish to call special attention, (1) the brevity of the vacancy, and (2) the week-day of the ordination.

It will be convenient to start by presenting in tabular form the Roman succession from the time of the Peace of the Church under Constantine for the next two centuries.

	Vacancy before.	Consecrated.	Died.	Duration.
Silvester	21 d.	31 Jan. 314	31 Dec. 335	xxi. xi.
Marcus	18 d.	18 Jan. 336	7 Oct. 336	viii. xx.
Julius	4 months	6 Feb. 337	12 Apr. 352	xv. ii. vi.
Liberius	1 m. 5 d.	17 May 352	24 Sept. 366	xiiii. iiii. vii.
Damasus	7 d.	1 Oct. 366	11 Dec. 384	xviii. ii. x.
Siricius	4 d. ?	15 Dec. 384 ?	26 Nov. 399 ?	xiiii. xi. xi. ?
Anastasius	1 d. ?	27 Nov. 399 ?	18 Dec. 401 ?	ii. xxi. ?
Innocent	4 d. ?	22 Dec. 401 ?	12 Mar. 417	xv. ii. xxi.
Zosimus	6 d.	18 Mar. 417	26 Dec. 418	i. viiii. viii.
Boniface	3 d.	29 Dec. 418	4 Sept. 422	iii. viii. vi.
Celestine	6 d.	10 Sept. 422	27 July 432	viiii. x. xvii.
Xystus III	4 d.	31 July 432	19 Aug. 440	viii. xviiii.
Leo	41 d.	29 Sept. 440	10 Nov. 461	xxi. i. xi.
Hilarus	9 d.	19 Nov. 461	29 Feb. 468	vi. iii. xi.
Simplicius	3 d.	3 Mar. 468	10 Mar. 483	xv. vii.
Felix III	3 d.	13 Mar. 483	28 Feb. 492	viii. xi. xvii.
Gelasius	2 d.	1 Mar. 492	20 Nov. 496	iiii. viiii. xviiii.
Anastasius II	4 d.	24 Nov. 496	18 Nov. 498	i. xi. xxiiii.
Symmachus	4 d.	22 Nov. 498	19 July 513	xiiii. vii. xxvii.
Hormisdas	2 d.	21 July 513	6 Aug. 522	viiii. xvi.

[1] For the fuller description of these three documents I must be content to refer to Lightfoot's excellent account of them, *S. Clement of Rome* i 246, 303, 311. I retain the name 'Leonine' for convenience' sake, but Mommsen is very likely right in preferring to call it by the non-committal name of 'the Index', on the ground that the original redaction may be as old as or older than the Liberian list (*Liber Pontificalis* [M.G.H., A. D. 1898] I xxix).

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§ 3. *Antiquity of the rule of Sunday ordination.*

The rule of Sunday ordination is absolute from Silvester onwards, and is so treated by all the scholars who have dealt with the chronology of the fourth and fifth century popes. With similar unanimity they all throw over the rule for the previous pontificates. It is my main object in this paper to ask whether there is any justification for the assumption that the Sunday rule was introduced at the ordination of Silvester, and was not an inherited and traditional rule from a much earlier period.

It must indeed seem rash to assert the existence of a factor in the computation of these dates which has been neglected by scholars so illustrious as Lipsius, Duchesne, Lightfoot, and Mommsen.[3] Yet the probabilities are enormous that the rule of Sunday ordination was no invention of the fourth century, but was observed during the whole of the preceding century, if not indeed from the very beginning of things.

1. As time went on, the calendar of the Church, and of each local church, became gradually fuller and more elaborate. The commemoration of saints and martyrs, as well as of events in our Lord's life, came to be observed on fixed days, and these greater feasts, red-letter days as we call them, are appropriate occasions for such solemn functions as

[1] i.e. Santa Maria in Trastevere.

[2] i.e. San Lorenzo in Lucina.

[3] Mommsen, however, definitely excludes from the scope of his work any verification of the papal chronology; 'ipse etsi vitas edere mihi proposui, chronologiam pontificum Romanorum nequaquam suscepi pertractandam' *Liber Pontificalis* (M.G.H., A.D. 1898) p. lviii.

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Of these twenty names the dates of those at the beginning are securely established from the contemporary notices in the Liberian list published in A. D. 354,[1] and the dates of those at the end are similarly guaranteed by contemporary notices in the *Liber Pontificalis*. The intermediate dates are less absolutely certain taken by themselves, but they are trustworthy enough as a whole. Anyhow the certain dates give us our first rule, that an ordination must be always on a Sunday, and the mass of dates from Damasus onwards our second rule, that the vacancy should be as brief as the observance of the first rule would permit, so that when possible the ordination of the new pope would take place on the Sunday following the death of his predecessor. In the case of the sixteen popes from Damasus to Hormisdas there are not more than two occasions on which we know for certain that the vacancy was longer: in the case of Hilarus the vacancy was one of nine days, in the case of his predecessor St Leo of about forty-one days.

Obviously this second rule was one that on occasions it might be impossible to observe: and fortunately we happen to know so much about St Leo that what in the persons of obscurer popes might have escaped our notice has been as a matter of fact recorded for us through two separate channels. Leo's own sermon, preached on the occasion of his consecration (*S. Leonis opera*, ed. Ballerini i col. 7), tells us that he had been absent on a long journey 'ut praesentem me crederet vestrae Sanctitatis affectio quem fecerat necessitas longae peregrinationis absentem'. And Prosper writes in his Chronicle under the year 440 (ed. Mommsen *Chronica Minora* M.G.H. i 478) 'Defuncto Xysto episcopo xl amplius diebus Romana ecclesia sine antestite fuit, mirabili pace atque patientia praesentiam diaconi Leonis expectans, quem tunc inter Aetium et Albinum amicitias redintegrantem Galliae detinebant . . . igitur Leo diaconus legatione publica accitus et gaudenti patriae praesentatus xliii Romanae ecclesiae episcopus ordinatur'. From this account it is clear that so long a vacancy was regarded as something quite exceptional: and how quickly election could follow on vacancy we learn from the singularly interesting tract known as the *Gesta inter Liberium et Felicem* (ed. Günther C.S.E.L. xxxv pp. 2 sqq.), which gives us the view of the party of Ursinus in the contested election after the death of Liberius. Liberius died on the 24th (or according to a less probable account the 23rd) of September 366. The 24th was a Sunday, and that section of the Roman Church which had clung to Liberius in his exile and had never recognized the intruder Felix lost no time in holding a meeting for the election of a new bishop in the

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basilica of pope Julius.[1] Ursinus the deacon was elected, and apparently consecrated on the spot by Paul bishop of Tivoli. The other party had also met 'in Lucinis'[2]; their choice fell on Damasus, but presumably they had none of the suburbicarian bishops at hand, for it was not till the next Sunday, October 1, that Damasus was consecrated in the Lateran basilica. No doubt party rivalry would account for some haste on this occasion: but the evidence as a whole places it beyond doubt that after the middle of the fourth century the election was seldom postponed beyond the Sunday immediately succeeding a vacancy.

Why the four vacancies at the election of Liberius and his three immediate predecessors were so prolonged, it is difficult with our imperfect information to say. But whatever the reason, they represent the exception and not any earlier rule; for we shall see that—apart from suspension of the episcopate in the three great persecutions of Decius, Valerian, and Diocletian—the length of the few vacancies in the third century which we can fix with tolerable certainty rarely exceeded ten days.

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consecration to the episcopate. In the present use of the Church of England, for instance, consecrations take place normally on a Saint's day, and only rarely either on a Sunday or on a week-day that does not coincide with a greater festival. But in the third century there were as yet no such thing as Church festivals apart from Sundays. They began to grow up in the fourth century; and it would have been far more likely that in that century episcopal consecrations should have abandoned Sunday for other feasts, rather than have abandoned other feasts for Sunday. And if it is suggested that these consecrations were held without any regard to festivals at all, but on any mere ordinary day, the suggestion overlooks the strongly liturgical character of the action. Nothing more severe could be said of a disputed consecration, than that the laying on of hands was conveyed 'in a hole and corner'. A proper consecration was effected in face of the united Church, bishops, clergy, and faithful being all present, and as part of the great act of common worship in the Eucharist, the service of the Lord's day. Any other occasion than a Sunday is for the early ages of the Church hardly conceivable. One must suppose that only an absolute impossibility of collecting the faithful in their solemn assembly would excuse any departure from this rule.

2. But in fact we are not left to conjecture in this matter. The earliest Manual of Church Order which we possess (apart from the *Didache*) is one which was composed in Greek somewhere about A. D. 225, but which except for some fragments embedded in the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* has come down to us only in translations. Of these translations the most important, though unfortunately not the most complete, is that contained in the Verona palimpsest edited by E. Hauler in 1900.[1] In its original form this MS was a *corpus* of 104 leaves, consisting of (*a*) foll. 1–86, a Latin version of the Didascalia, the third-century document underlying books i–vi of the *Apostolic Constitutions*; (*b*) foll. 87–103, a Latin version of a document or rather at least two documents, of which the more important includes the rites for Ordination, for the Eucharist (in connexion with the ordination of a bishop), and for Baptism. This Manual used sometimes to be cited as the 'Canons of the Egyptians', because it was first known in Sahidic and Ethiopic versions: but now that it is found

[1] It cannot be too strongly emphasized that this discovery has rendered quite obsolete nearly all that was written before 1900 about the so-called *Canons of Hippolytus*. These *Canons* are only Hippolytean in so far as they depend on and reproduce the Hippolytean 'Church Order', and of this latter the Latin version appears to be, as far as it goes, an extraordinarily faithful representation. What is independent in the *Canons* belongs more probably to the fourth century than to the third.

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to be extant, and in a purer form, in Latin, such a title is obviously misleading. Dr Frere employs the label 'First Church Order', which has the merit of prejudging no questions of place or authorship. But the evidence is accumulating to the point of demonstration that the place of its composition was Rome, and that its author was Hippolytus: arguments for a Roman origin and arguments for a Hippolytean origin serve mutually to support and confirm one another.

Now this Hippolytean Church Order directs that the consecration of a bishop shall be held on a Sunday: 'Episcopus ordinetur, electus ab omni populo, quique cum nominatus fuerit et placuerit omnibus, conveniet populus una cum praesbyterio et his qui praesentes fuerint episcopi die dominica'. And this Latin version corresponds to the Greek of *Apost. Const.* (VIII iv 2), which we therefore see has here preserved the original phraseology of Hippolytus: *ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονεῖσθαι . . . ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐκλελεγμένον, οὗ ὀνομασθέντος καὶ [πᾶσιν] ἀρέσαντος συνελθὼν ὁ λαὸς ἅμα τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐπισκόποις ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κυριακῇ* κτλ. In the pages that follow I shall therefore assume that in the Roman Church of the third century (and I do not doubt that a similar rule prevailed in other churches) episcopal ordinations necessarily took place on a Sunday.

§ 4. *From Pontianus to Fabian*, A.D. 230–250.

The bishops whose ordination dates are the special problem we are attempting to solve are those from Pontianus to Miltiades, in other words from A.D. 230 to A.D. 314. I begin by giving a list of them in order (*col.* 1); then their ordination-day wherever that is noted in the Liberian list (*col.* 2); next the day and month of their 'depositio' or burial in the catacombs, so far as those are contained in the calendar of commemorations called 'Depositio episcoporum' in the collection of 354,[1] adding the days of the two popes who fell victims to the persecutions respectively of Decius and Valerian, Fabian and Xystus, and of Anteros also specially mentioned in the Liberian catalogue (*col.* 3); and lastly the length of tenure according to the same catalogue (*col.* 4).[2]

1. *Name.*	2. *Ordination-day.*	3. *'Deposition'-day.*	4. *Duration-numbers.*
Pontianus			v. ii. vii.
Anteros	Nov. 21	Jan. 3	i. x.
Fabian		Jan. 20, A.D. 250	xiiii. i. x.

[1] The earliest recorded in this series is pope Lucius, the latest pope Julius; the period covered being just about a century, A.D. 254–352.

[2] I have of set purpose omitted the consulships, which the Liberian catalogue also supplies for the ordination and death of each pope, because they are admitted not to have been added earlier than A.D. 336 (Lightfoot, p. 301), and because I believe that they are largely incorrect.

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	1. *Name.*	2. *Ordination-day.*	3. '*Deposition*'-*day.*	4. *Duration-numbers.*		
		[Persecution of Decius: interval.]				
	Cornelius			ii.	iii.	x.
5]	Lucius		March 5	iii.	viii.	x.
	Stephen		August 2	iiii.	ii.	xxi.
	Xystus II		August 6, A. D. 258	ii.	xi.	vi.
		[Persecution of Valerian: interval: ends July 21.]				
	Dionysius	July 22	Dec. 27	viii.	ii.	iiii.
	Felix		Dec. 30	v.	xi.	xxv.
10]	Eutychianus		Dec. 8	viii.	xi.	iii.
	Gaius	Dec. 17	April 22	xii.	iiii.	vii.
	Marcellinus	June 30	Jan. 15[1]	viii.	iii.	xxv.
		[Persecution of Diocletian: interval.]		vii.	vi.	xxv.
	Marcellus			i.	vii.	xx.
	Eusebius	April 18	Sept. 26		iiii.	xvi.
15]	Miltiades	July 2	Jan. 10 [A.D. 314]	iii.	vi.	viii.

1–3. Our fixed date for the early part of the period with which we are now dealing is the martyrdom of pope Fabian on Jan. 20 = a. d. XIII kal. Feb. (L wrongly gives a. d. XII[2]), A. D. 250, at the beginning of the persecution of Decius. L allots him a duration-number of XIIII. I. X, which would take us back to Dec. 10, A. D. 235. But his predecessor died early in January, and therefore the month must be omitted (it was always so tempting to copyists to invent some number, or to repeat a neighbouring number, wherever a place was empty: ann. XIIII d. X became so easily ann. XIIII m. I d. X), and the accession-date brought forward to Jan. 10, A. D. 236. That day is a Sunday, and is therefore the correct date. The vacancy had lasted for exactly a week.

Anteros, the previous pope, died on a. d. III non. Jan. = Jan. 3, the year being fixed, as we have just seen, by reckoning back from St Fabian's martyrdom, to A. D. 236. All our authorities (L, the Leonine list, Eusebius both in *H. E.* and in *Chron.*) agree in assigning one month to Anteros, though while L gives the days as X, *L. P.* (with the Leonine list[3]?) has XII. But L also records Anteros's ordination day, XI kal.

[1] This date is given to Marcellinus in the *Depositio*, and I have adhered to its evidence in the text. But the names of Marcellinus and his successor are perpetually confused, and in fact in the later calendars we find that it is Marcellus who is commemorated Jan. 15 or 16, while Marcellinus is on or near April 25.

[2] I cite the Liberian chronographer of A. D. 354 as L, and the *Liber Pontificalis* as *L. P.*

[3] Lightfoot gives XVIII as the Leonine number, Mommsen (*Liber Pontificalis* p. xxxiv), more correctly I think, XII. [The caution should be given that Mommsen gives the chronology of the Leonine list twice, pp. xxxiii sqq. and xliii sqq.: the first form is that of the list as originally drawn up, the second that of the list as the author of *L. P.* knew and used it. For my purpose it is of course the *first* one that chiefly matters.]

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Dec. = Nov. 21; the interval between Nov. 21 and Jan. 3 is forty-three days. This is the furthest point to which researches on the lines hitherto laid down could carry the matter. Our Sunday test supplies just what was lacking before, a means of controlling the results tentatively reached on the evidence of one or other of our documents. We find in fact that Nov. 21, 235, fell on Saturday, and the true ordination-day was therefore Sunday, Nov. 22 = a. d. x kal. Dec., and the duration of office one month and eleven or twelve days.

Anteros's predecessor was Pontianus, the starting-point of our list, who had been exiled to Sardinia and there resigned his office, 'discinctus est', on a. d. IIII kal. Oct. = 28th September. But *L. P.* has the notice 'defunctus est III (IIII) kal. Nov.', and it can hardly be doubted that this notice is fundamentally only a repetition of the notice in L, *discinctus* being (wrongly) interpreted as equivalent to *defunctus*, so that our authorities give us really two alternative dates, of which we are at liberty to choose that which the rest of the evidence makes most suitable. Now the shifting of the end of Pontianus's term from Sept. 28 to Oct. 29 or 30 has the double advantage, first, that it reduces the vacancy from eight weeks to between three and four (we must allow in any case for a longer vacancy than usual as the news had to be brought to Rome, and resignation was probably an unprecedented occurrence in the history of the Roman See); and, secondly, that the new date satisfies what the old date does not, the Sunday test. For when we reckon back the duration-number according to L,[1] v. II. VII, as Lightfoot does, from Sept. 28, A. D. 235, we arrive at July 21, A. D. 230, and that fell on Wednesday: whereas if our *terminus a quo* is moved on a month to Oct. 29, A. D. 235, the *terminus ad quem* becomes Aug. 22, A. D. 230, and the day is Sunday. This then was, we may conclude, the date of Pontianus's entry on office; the date of his 'discincture', a. d. IIII kal. Nov., has been correctly preserved in *L. P.*, while it has been pushed back a month too early in L by the substitution of Oct. for Nov.—an easy blunder when the date was in fact in October.

§ 5. *From the death of Fabian to the death of Xystus, A. D. 250–258.*

4–7. The next group of popes cover with four names a period of only eight years, between the dates of the two well-known martyrdoms, that of Fabian under Decius, Jan. 20, 250, and that of Xystus II under Valerian, Aug. 6, 258. The period being largely one of persecution, our enquiry into the succession-dates is hampered by having to allow

[1] It must be admitted that these numbers for Pontianus in L differ seriously from those of the Leonine list (VII. X. XXII) and the Leonine list again from *L. P.* (VIIII. V. II): no two of the three authorities agree either in the years or the months or the days of this pontificate. The *accession* of Pontianus is therefore less certain than that of the succeeding popes.

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for the special likelihood of vacancies of unknown but abnormal length intervening between the different pontificates. On the other hand we have 'deposition' dates, giving us month and day of the death or burial of two of the three popes between Fabian and Xystus, namely Lucius on a. d. III non. Mart. = March 5, and Stephen on a. d. IIII non. Aug. = Aug. 2: and we have also the correspondence of St Cyprian which, as it happens, covers exactly the period with which we are now dealing, A. D. 250–258.

After Fabian's death it is certain that the Roman See remained vacant for some considerable time. From L we learn that the Roman presbyter Moses died in prison after an incarceration of eleven months eleven days. We do not know the exact starting-point of this reckoning; but as the execution of Fabian appears to have been the first overt signal of the persecution, Moses can hardly have been imprisoned before it, i. e. before Jan. 20, 250, so that his death takes us to the end of the year, and it seems to be implied in L that Cornelius was not consecrated in Moses's lifetime. The same result emerges even more clearly from St Cyprian's letters: the vacancy in the Roman See was not filled till the early spring of A. D. 251.[1] How are the seven years and a half between that date and August 258 to be distributed among the four popes Cornelius, Lucius, Stephen, and Xystus?

The figures in L are respectively (1) II. III. X, (2) III. VIII. X, (3) IIII. II. XXI, (4) II. XI. VI, or a total of over thirteen years; it is clear therefore that the years at least require drastic alteration. The Leonine list is practically the same for Cornelius and Lucius, but its figures (and those of *L. P.*) are wholly different for Stephen and Xystus: the years however are no better, save that Xystus is reduced from II to I. Eusebius comes so far to our assistance that for Lucius the years drop out entirely in both *H. E.* 'not eight months' and *Chron.* 'eight months': while for Xystus the term is in *H. E.* 'eleven years', and the same figure probably stood in the *Chronicle*, since the Armenian version gives it, though no notice of Xystus appears at all in Jerome.[2] But eleven is the figure for the months of Xystus in L (X in the Leonine list and *L. P.*), and as in the case of Eutychian (see p. 13 n. 1 *infra*), where the converse has happened and the years are changed into months, the conclusion is forced upon us that Eusebius had before him a list in which the distinction between months and years was imperfectly and incorrectly made.

Eusebius's evidence then suggests that the years should be entirely dropped for Lucius and Xystus: we save thereby five years. Further he gives to Stephen only two years in *H. E.*, only three in *Chron.*, while

[1] See my *Studies in Early Church History* p. 118.

[2] I have little doubt that Jerome omitted the notice because he saw what havoc it made in the papal chronology.

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the VI for the same pope in the Leonine list and *L. P.* can have been easily corrupted out of III, but not so easily out of IIII: the evidence of our other witnesses thus encourages a third reduction in the swollen figures of the Liberian list, by which its IIII years for Stephen are changed into III. Let us see how these revised year-figures work out.

Cornelius (unchanged) II. III. X: Lucius m. VIII. X: Stephen III. II. XXI: Xystus m. XI. VI: total seven years, one month, seventeen days. We are on the right track, and we can at once go on to say that, if Xystus ruled for less than a year, Stephen's *depositio* on August 2 must belong to A.D. 257, and consequently Lucius's *depositio* on March 5 to A.D. 254. If the duration-numbers for months and days of the three later popes are correct, their respective consecrations should fall about June 25, A. D. 253, May 12, A. D. 254, Aug. 31, A. D. 257; while if the numbers are correct also for Cornelius, his consecration, reckoned back from June of 253, cannot fall later than the first half of March, A. D. 251.

These results are entirely satisfactory and consistent with the *data*, but they are so far only in the rough. They must be verified by the Sunday test. If we know the date of death (year, as well as month and day), and the duration of the pontificate, we know also the date of ordination: if that is found to fall on a Sunday, the different elements in the case confirm one another.

Assuming that Lucius died on March 5, 254, after a term of eight months ten days, his consecration should have fallen on June 25, A.D. 253. That day was a Saturday, and the consecration must belong to the following day, Sunday June 26. We might bring the figures into harmony by substituting a. d. II non. Mart. (March 6) for a. d. III non. Mart. (March 5) as the date of the *depositio*. But it ought not to be overlooked that L gives the number of days in the case of four successive popes, from Anteros to Lucius inclusive, as X, and one cannot help suspecting that some of these are consciously or unconsciously assimilated to the rest. If the cypher X for the days of Lucius is wrong, we cannot fix his accession within narrower limits than by saying that he must have been ordained to the episcopate on Sunday, July 3, 293, or on one of the Sundays of the preceding month. But the Leonine list has X also; so that it remains on the whole probable that Sunday, June 26, is correct.

Stephen's date of consecration can similarly be fixed (reckoning back III. II. XXI from Aug. 2, A. D. 257) to May 12, A. D. 254. But that day was a Friday: and if Lucius died on March 5, we know of no historically attested ground for so long a vacancy as nearly ten weeks. One way of harmonization would be to substitute IIII for II as the figure for the months, and to push back Stephen's consecration to Sunday, March 12, A. D. 254, leaving exactly a week for the vacancy. The true figures for

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Stephen would then be III. IIII. XXI, instead of the IIII. II. XXI of L. But the Leonine list gave only V days: and an alternative date would therefore be Sunday May 28, A. D. 254, with the figures III. II. V.

Stephen died on August 2, A. D. 257; the ordination of his successor Xystus calculated back by the term number of L (omitting its false years), eleven months six days, from his martyrdom on Aug. 6, A. D. 258, brings us to Aug. 31, A. D. 257, and the vacancy would be about four weeks. Sunday fell on Aug. 30, which we may accept as the most probable day. But the months and days of the Leonine list and *L. P.* are X. XXIII (or XXVI): and the figures X. XXIII, calculated back from Aug. 6, 258, bring us to Sept. 13, 257, which is a Sunday. We shall be prudent if we do not attempt to define further than that Xystus was consecrated on some Sunday in August or September, A. D. 257.

§ 6. *From the death of Xystus to the death of Gaius, A. D. 258–295 or 296.*

8–11. Four popes, Dionysius, Felix, Eutychianus, and Gaius, fall wholly within the period of peace that intervened between the close of the persecution of Valerian and the outbreak of the persecution of Diocletian. To the first of these, Dionysius, L gives, what it has so far done for no pope except Anteros, day and month of both ordination (July 22) and death (Dec. 26), with the figures VIII. II. IIII for the duration of his pontificate. The date given for his death differs by one day from the date assigned to him in the list of 'depositions', Dec. 27: either the burial did not take place till the day after death, or one of the two dates is wrong, the confusion between VII kal. Jan. and VI kal. Jan. being an easy one. But the figure for the months, II, does not square with the interval from July to December: and once more the Leonine list comes to our assistance, with the correct duration-number VIII. V. IIII. No corruption of cyphers is easier than that from V to II (VI to III &c.) or *vice versa*.

So far so good. But we have not yet settled from what year we are to reckon the commencement of Dionysius's pontificate. Persecution caused an interval after the death of his predecessor in August 258: but apart from the consulships—which throughout this enquiry are excluded from consideration—L gives us no information of the length of the interval during which 'presbyteri praefuerunt', and so does not shew whether Dionysius was consecrated in the July of 259 or 260 or any succeeding year—though naturally we shall prefer to assume as brief a vacancy as possible.

Here is a plain case for the application of our Sunday test: and July 22 in A. D. 259 was not Sunday, but Friday. The Roman date, a. d. XI kal. Aug., might be confused with a. d. XII, or conceivably with

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a. d. x: but the Sunday was on a. d. viii, a figure too remote from xi for any likelihood of confusion. And since the duration-number and the day of death as fixed above combine so well with a. d. xi kal. Aug. as to exclude any large alteration of month and day, the alternative that forces itself on us is to alter the year. We cannot alter it backwards, for in July, A. D. 258, Xystus was still pope. But we can move it forwards, and in fact July 22 was a Sunday in A. D. 260, and the duration-numbers of L, as corrected for the months by the Leonine list, viii. v. iiii, will run from July 22, A. D. 260 to Dec. 26, A. D. 268. Lightfoot arrives at the same result as far as the date of death is concerned, but as he accepts the *datum* of the consulships (as in almost every other case) and so fixes the accession-year to A. D. 259, he has to alter the cypher for the years in the duration-number given by both Liberian and Leonine lists from viii to viiii,[1] with the result that the consecration falls on a Friday. Our result preserves the year-number of the two lists, and at the same time gives a Sunday consecration. It is a striking instance of the worthlessness of the dating by consulships.

9. The next pope was Felix, to whom L allots v. xi. xxv. In the *depositio* his burial is marked on a. d. iii kal. Jan. = Dec. 30. Reckoning back from this *terminus ad quem*, the *terminus a quo* of the duration-number will fall in the first week of January, and with that agrees the evidence as to the death of Dionysius in the last week of December. The months of Felix are therefore certain enough, m. xi of L being established as correct against the m. i of the Leonine list, and m. iii of *L. P.* The days are xxv in all three authorities, which would fix the consecration-day to Jan. 5. As Dionysius died at the end of 268 we have to ask which was the first Sunday in January 269, and we find it was Jan. 3. This then is to be assumed as the starting-point for Felix's tenure, and his death should therefore fall on Dec. 28. The cypher in the *depositio* may be an error for a. d. iiii kal. Jan.: or the burial may have fallen (exceptionally) two days after death.

The year of death raises a more serious difficulty. The Leonine list and *L. P.* both give iiii as the cypher for the years in the duration-number of Felix; and though the preservation of the true month-number in L alone gives some presumptive weight to its year-number v, yet the total v of Eusebius (*H. E.* and *Chron.*) agrees much more nearly with iiii. xi than with v. xi. It is possible therefore that we ought to date the death of Felix rather in Dec. 273 with Leonine list and *L. P.* than in Dec. 274 with L. We must see which works out best for the succeeding popes.

[1] Lightfoot appeals, in part support of this change, to the number viiii given as the years of Dionysius in Eusebius (*H. E.* vii 30, and *Chron.* Ann. Abr. 2282). But the round number viiii is practically as near to viii. v as to viiii. v.

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10. Eutychianus's duration-number is VIII. XI. III in L, which alone merits to be taken into account on this occasion, since both Leonine list and *L. P.* have I. I. I, figures obviously inserted to fill up a hiatus.[1] In the *depositio* his day is a. d. VI id. Dec. = Dec. 8, while L gives his death as a. d. VII id. Dec. = Dec. 7. Reckoning back XI. III for the months and days we arrive at Jan. 4 for his ordination, if the day of death of L be accepted as correct, the 'deposition' having followed on the next day. In Jan. 274 the first Sunday of the year fell on Jan. 4, in Jan. 275 on Jan. 3: in either case this would be the first Sunday after Dec. 28–30, the limits of possible days for the death of Felix. Eutychianus's figures are therefore more favourable to the term Jan. 4, 274—Dec. 7, 282, but they cannot be said to exclude the alternative term Jan. 3, 275—Dec. 7, 283.

11. In the case of Gaius our documents, especially L, supply more *data*. His duration-number is XII. IIII. VII in L, XI. IIII. XII in Leonine list and *L. P.*, the two sets of numbers being obviously not independent: the XV years of Eusebius (both *H. E.* and *Chron.*) is more likely to be a corruption of XII than of XI, and so far supports the year-number of L against the other two. The accession-day is given in L as XVI kal. Jan., Dec. 17 (we have seen that his predecessor's death fell not earlier than Dec. 6), and the day of death as X kal. Mai., April 22, which coincides with the *depositio*. Clearly the four months on which our authorities are agreed are correct, and the seven days of L are nearer the mark than the twelve of the others: even seven is, if our other *data* are correct, slightly too high, though it is probably open to us to count not from (Dec.) 17 to (April) 22, but from XVI kal. (Jan.) to X kal. (Mai.). Here is just a case where the Sunday test comes to our help. The possible years being 282 and 283, Dec. 17 fell in the former year on Sunday, in the latter on Monday. In the former case the accession-day, a. d. XVI kal. Jan., is correct, but we must alter the days in the duration-number from VII to VI. In the latter case the days in the duration-number, VII, are right, but the accession-day must be changed from a. d. XVI to a. d. XVII kal. Jan., Dec. 16. Either change is a very simple one. In either case the vacancy is one of about ten days.

Once more, we have more difficulty with the years than with the months and days. The two years open for the death of Eutychianus, and therefore for the accession of his successor, are 282, 283: twelve years and four months will take us to either April 295 or April 296, the much less probable alternative for Gaius's tenure of eleven years and four months to either April 294 or April 295. As a matter of fact the

[1] By exception the frescoes in the Basilica of St Paul come to the assistance of L, with VIII. X. III. And the 'eight months' of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius-Jerome is presumably a corruption (in its ultimate source) from 'eight years'.

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least probable of these three years for the death of Gaius is ruled out, as we shall see in a moment, by what we know of the chronology of his successor Marcellinus: so that we can confidently reduce the extent of the doubt to the two years 282, 283 for Gaius's accession, and the two years 295, 296 for his death.

§ 7. *The popes of the great persecution, A. D. 295 or 296 to 314.*

12. With Marcellinus we approach the era of the great persecution, for he was in office as Eusebius expressly tells us (*H. E.* vii 32) when it broke out, and the stories of his lapse that loom so large in the Donatist controversy and find their echo in the *Liber Pontificalis* all bring him into direct relations with it. His *terminus ad quem* falls accordingly after at least the first of the persecuting edicts, that of Feb. 303: and as his duration-number is eight years and something over (VIII. III. XXV in L, VIII. IIII. XVI in *L. P.*: the Leonine list omits him altogether), and his accession-day according to L is June 30, it follows that, if these *data* can be trusted, he cannot have been consecrated earlier than A. D. 295.

As between the two years left open for his accession, 295 and 296, the day given in L, 30 June, favours the former year, since it fell on Sunday in that year, on Tuesday in 296. But it must not be overlooked that a very slight change, prid. kal. Iun. for prid. kal. Iul., would give us Sunday, May 31, 296, and this change has also the advantage of reducing the length of the vacancy between the death of Gaius on April 22 and the accession of Marcellinus from ten weeks to less than six. Accordingly two alternatives are open for the consecration of Marcellinus, Sunday, June 30, 295, and Sunday, May 31, 296.

From these two alternative accession-days—the only two that on the *data* before us seem at all possible—the duration-numbers in L, VIII. III. XXV, would bring us to 25 October, 303, and 25 September, 304, respectively; while if we prefer to experiment with the figures of *L. P.*, VIII. IIII. XVI, we arrive at either 16 November, 303, or 16 October, 304. No one of these four possibilities is however reconcileable with the date of the *depositio* on Jan. 15, and we seem as far from a satisfactory synthesis as ever.

We may however profitably look on to the end of the persecution period, in order to see whether it may not be possible to find some *terminus ad quem* from which we may work backwards towards Marcellinus. And in fact the chronology of the last pope on our list, Miltiades, can be established with practical certainty. The interval between the outbreak of the persecution and the consecration of Miltiades has to cover what remained of the papacy of Marcellinus, the

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papacies of Marcellus and Eusebius, and any 'cessations' of the episcopate which the persecution may have brought about.

15. From the death of Miltiades and accession of Silvester in Jan. 314 the Liberian list assumes the character of a contemporary record, and all the *data*, duration-numbers, accession-day, deposition-day, consulships, Sundays, are absolutely consistent with one another. Silvester's ordination on Sunday, January 31, 314, followed at an interval of just three weeks the *depositio* of Miltiades on a. d. IIII id. Jan. = Jan. 10, 314. The duration-numbers of Miltiades are III. VI. VIII in L, IIII years (months and days having dropped out) in the Leonine list, IIII also in Jerome's *Chronicle*. L being therefore our only precise guide, we start from its figures, and reckoning back from January 10, 314, we arrive at July 2, 310. Now a. d. VI non. Jul., = July 2, is actually the accession-day given in L: and in 310 it did fall on a Sunday. Of the correctness of this date there can therefore be no reasonable doubt; and if L gives the consulships of 311 as those of the accession, so much the worse for the consulships. Once more we have reason to repeat the caution inculcated in this paper, that the consulships of the Liberian list ought to be, if not entirely neglected, at least only used as a quite subsidiary argument. The Sunday test, the duration-number in L, the year-number in Jerome and the Leonine list, all combine against them.[1]

There remains over, then, a period of not more than some seven years—reckoning back from July 2, 310—within which room has to be found for the close of Marcellinus's term, the 'cessatio episcopatus', and the tenures of Marcellus and Eusebius.

On another occasion I hope I may be able to attack the problem of the chronology of Roman Church affairs during these seven years A. D. 303–310. But the problem is not an easy one. We are extraordinarily ill informed about the effects of the persecution upon the internal economy of the Church; we have only to compare the data with those available for the decade of the Decian and Valerian persecutions, A. D. 250–260, in order to be at once conscious of the difference. It is certain that the attitude towards the Church of the emperors who happened to be successively masters of the city must have affected the history of the Roman episcopate: the chronology in particular of the ecclesiastical policy of Maxentius is a necessary preliminary. Mommsen (*Liber Pontificalis* p. lv) has started this enquiry on right lines, and he is right also, I think, in giving more credit than other scholars have sometimes given to the traditions of the

[1] It should be mentioned that Lightfoot, though he follows Duchesne in the dating 311–314, expresses a good deal of hesitation (*S. Clement* i 285, 298). Mommsen assumes the year 311 without discussion, *Lib. Pontif.* p. liv.

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fall of Marcellinus, of the disciplinary attitude of Marcellus and Eusebius, and of the exile of the latter. But his own solution of the difficulties does not seem to me to be altogether happy.

Meanwhile I append a table embodying the results at which we have so far arrived.

	Name.	*Ordination-day.*	*Duration.*	*End of term.*	*Vacancy.*
	Pontianus	Sunday 22 Aug. 230?	[v. ii. vii.]	29 Oct. 235	24 d.
	Anteros	,, 22 Nov. 235	i. xi (xii).	3 Jan. 236	7 d.
	Fabian	,, 10 Jan. 236	xiiii. x.	20 Jan. 250	
	[Persecution of Decius : interval of rather over a year.]				
	Cornelius	Sunday {6 / 13} Mar. 251?	ii. iii. x.	{16 / 23} June 251?	{10 d. / 3 d.}
5]	Lucius	,, 26 June 253	viii. x.	5 Mar. 254	7 d.
	Stephen	,, 12 Mar. 254?	iii. iiii. xxi.	2 Aug. 257	{7 to / 28 d.}
	Xystus	a Sunday in Aug. 257	xi. ?	6 Aug. 258	
	[Persecution of Valerian : interval of nearly two years.]				
	Dionysius	Sunday 22 July 260	viii. v. iiii.	26 Dec. 268	8 d.
	Felix	,, 3 Jan. 269	{iiii. / v.} xi. xxv.	{28 / 29} Dec. {273 / 274}	about 6 d.
10]	Eutychianus	,, {4 Jan. 274 or 3 Jan. 275}	viii. xi. iii.	7 Dec. {282 or 283}	{9 or / 10 d.}
	Gaius	,, {17 Dec. 282 or 16 Dec. 283}	xii (xi). iiii. vi. vii.	22 Apr. {295 or 296}	{69 or / 36 d.}
	Marcellinus	,, {30 June 295 or 31 May 296}	viii. vi. ? / vij. vi. ?	[15 Jan. 304?]	
	[Persecution of Diocletian : interval of ?]				
	Marcellus	?	i. vii. xx.	?	
	Eusebius	?	iiii. ?	?	
15]	Miltiades	Sunday 2 July 310	iii. vi. viii.	10 Jan. 314	

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L'ÉGLISE CATHÉDRALE DE PARIS AU VI^e SIÈCLE.

La première pierre de l'église actuelle de Notre-Dame de Paris fut posée en 1163 : pour parler moins précisément, les travaux de construction furent commencés cette année-là. L'évêque qui les entreprit, Maurice de Sully, était évêque de Paris depuis le 12 octobre 1160. La nouvelle église, dont le chevet fut construit d'abord, — il était à peu près terminé en 1177, et le maître-autel fut consacré le 19 mai 1182, — était construite en arrière de la cathédrale préexistante, qui allait rester debout tant que la nouvelle ne serait pas encore habitable.[1] Mais on dut démolir de bonne heure (peut-être avant 1170) une église qui était au chevet de la vieille cathédrale et qui portait le vocable de Saint-Étienne.[2]

Le miracle serait grand que l'église primitive eût subsisté sans avoir jamais été rebâtie depuis ses origines jusqu'en 1163. Si, vers 1110, on l'appelait *nova ecclesia* (comme l'a relevé l'abbé Lebeuf), et si vers 1150 Suger lui donna un vitrail célèbre, qui plus tard fut utilisé dans la rose nord du transept de la cathédrale de Maurice de Sully, apparemment elle n'était plus la basilique du temps de Grégoire de Tours et de Fortunat. On a de bonnes raisons de croire, en effet, que la cathédrale de Paris fut reconstruite au commencement du XII^e siècle, donc dans le style roman de l'Ile-de-France.[3] La cathédrale romane dut être élevée sur les fondations de l'édifice antérieur. M. Mortet, qui a mis une érudition très attentive à étudier la préhistoire de Notre-Dame, pense avoir trouvé trace, trace bien fugitive, il est vrai, d'une réfection de la cathédrale dans les premières années du IX^e siècle.[4] Nous aurions eu

[1] M. Aubert, *La cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris* (1909), pp. 6–7. V. Mortet, *Étude hist. et archéol. sur la cathédrale et le palais épiscopal de Paris du VI^e au XII^e siècle* (1888), pp. 41–44.

[2] Mortet, p. 39 : 'L'église de Saint-Étienne était, à cette époque, une église en ruines : les termes par lesquels elle est désignée dans le règlement royal de 1110 ["*muros veteris ecclesiae sancti Stephani . . . portas veteris ecclesiae, . . . a capite fracti muri veteris ecclesiae . . .*"] ne permettent guère d'hésitation à ce sujet.'

[3] Mortet, pp. 22–32. On a conjecturé que le tympan de la porte droite de la façade actuelle représentant la Vierge assise sur un trône sous un dais, couronnée, nimbée, et l'enfant Jésus sur ses genoux, était le tympan de la porte unique de la cathédrale du XII^e siècle. Mais cette théorie paraît controuvée.

[4] Mortet, pp. 16–17.

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de la sorte une église romane au XII^e siècle, une église carolingienne au IX^e, toutes deux sur les mêmes fondations que l'église primitive.

Notre sujet ainsi se limite, puisque c'est l'église antérieure au IX^e siècle, seule, qui retiendra notre attention.

Nous possédons, des environs de l'an 700, le testament d'une dame nommée Ermenthrude, testament par lequel sont faits des legs à diverses églises de Paris. Je cite :

> *. . . baselicis constitutis Parisius, id est : baselicae sancti Petri . . ., baselicae domnae Mariae . . ., baselicae domni Stefani . . ., baselicae domni Gervasi . . ., baselicae sancti Sinfuriani . . ., sacrosanctae ecclisiae civitatis Parisiorum . . ., baselicae sancte Cruces vel domni Vincenti . . .*[1]

Dans cette énumération, la cathédrale, qui hérite d'un plat d'argent de cinquante sols, est désignée par la formule *sacrosancta ecclisia civitatis Parisiorum*, l'église par excellence, l'église qui n'a pas besoin d'être désignée par le nom des saints ses patrons, comme on fait pour la basilique de Saint-Pierre, la basilique de Saint-Gervais, la basilique de Saint-Symphorien, la basilique de la Sainte-Croix ou de Saint-Vincent.[2] Notez l'emploi du terme *basilica* ; la cathédrale seule est appelée *ecclesia.* On a inféré de cette terminologie que la *basilica domnae Mariae* et la *basilica domni Stefani* n'avaient rien de commun avec la cathédrale, et — ceci est beaucoup plus hasardé — devaient être les petites églises de la rive gauche qui portèrent dans la suite le vocable de Notre-Dame-des-Champs et le vocable de Saint-Étienne-des-Grés.[3] Nous ne croyons pas que cette distinction soit recevable.

En effet, on n'a pas la preuve que ces deux églises de la Vierge et de Saint-Étienne aient existé sur la rive gauche au VII^e siècle ni au VIII^e. Nous connaissons, par contre, dans la Cité, une église de Saint-Étienne, celle-là même qui disparut à la fin du XII^e siècle, quand Maurice de Sully construisit Notre-Dame et qui était située approximativement sur l'emplacement du transept actuel (le portail sud du transept porte le nom de saint Étienne). Cette église de Saint-Étienne est tout indiquée pour être la *basilica domni Stefani* du testament d'Ermenthrude.

Or, dans un document daté de 690, contenant les donations faites par un fidèle nommé Vandemir et sa femme nommée Ercamberte à diverses églises de Paris, il est fait mention entre autres églises de la

[1] R. de Lasteyrie, *Cartulaire général de Paris*. t. i (1887), p. 21.

[2] Saint-Pierre ou basilique des Saints-Apôtres est la basilique où fut enterrée sainte Geneviève et qui portera plus tard son nom ; Saint-Vincent est la basilique qui deviendra Saint-Germain-des Prés ; Saint-Symphorien est une église conjointe à Saint-Vincent et dans laquelle saint Germain, qui l'avait fait construire, a été enterré d'abord.

[3] Mortet, p. 3.

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'*basilica domne Vincente*' dans laquelle '*(vir vene)rabilis Audcharius abba praeesse veditur*', et, en tête de toutes les églises qui reçoivent des donations, de la '*basilica domnae Stefanae in Parisius ubi domnus Sigofridus pontefex praeesse veditur*'.[1] Cette *basilica domnae Stefanae*, comme écrit incorrectement l'acte de donation de 690, a toute apparence d'être la même que la *basilica domni Stefani* d'Ermenthrude, et ce n'est pas une petite église de la rive gauche, mais bien l'église où siège l'évêque de Paris.[2]

Une difficulté se pose aussitôt : comment expliquer que l'évêque ait sa *cathedra* dans une église autre que la cathédrale (*sacrosancta ecclisia civitatis Parisiorum*) et que la *basilica domnae Mariae* d'Ermenthrude? Nous cherchions la cathédrale, et nous en trouvons trois. — On a beaucoup écrit sur ce petit problème, dont nous n'avons pas de solution décisive. Tout bien considéré, j'incline à penser que l'évêque Sigofridus avait sa *cathedra* simultanément dans la *basilica domni Stefani* et dans la *basilica domnae Mariae*, et que les deux basiliques voisines, réunies peut-être, n'en faisaient théoriquement qu'une qui était la *sacrosancta ecclisia civitatis Parisiorum*, l'*ecclesia matrix*. A l'appui de cette hypothèse on peut faire valoir le fait de l'existence, non pas de trois basiliques, mais de deux, sur l'emplacement de la Notre-Dame de Maurice de Sully, fait archéologiquement certain. On peut faire valoir cet autre fait que, y ayant deux édifices, le vocable fut, du moins à la fin du VIII^e^ siècle, ramassé en un seul, auquel s'ajouta le nom de saint Germain. Un jugement de Charlemagne de 775 désigne la cathédrale sous le vocable de '*ecclesia sancti* (sic) *Mariae vel sancti Stephani et sancti Germani*'.[3] Il y eut ensuite flottement. Un diplôme de Louis le Pieux, en 814, la désigne par la formule '*ecclesia sanctae Mariae semper virginis et sancti Stephani protomartyris atque sancti Germani confessoris, in quorum honore ipsa sedes Parisiaca dicata est*'.[4] Puis, au cours du IX^e^ siècle, le nom de saint Germain disparaît. Enfin, dans un diplôme de 867, la Vierge est devenue seule patronne : '*Ecclesia sanctae Dei genetricis et semper virginis Mariae.*'[5] Les variations du vocable de la cathédrale, entre 690 et 867, évoluent dans le sens de l'élimination de saint Étienne.

On objecte que la *basilica* qui n'était pas proprement *sancti Stefani* ne portait pas avant la seconde moitié du VIII^e^ siècle le vocable *sanctae*

[1] De Lasteyrie, p. 17.

[2] On pourra voir dans Lebeuf, *Histoire de la ville et de tout le diocèse de Paris*, t. i (édit. de 1883), p. 6, l'opinion ancienne, qui conclut de là que saint Étienne a été le patron primitif de la cathédrale de Paris.

[3] De Lasteyrie, p. 31 (diplôme original). Le texte dans *P. L.* t. xcvii, pp. 945-946.

[4] De Lasteyrie, p. 40 (original).

[5] *Ibid.* p. 64 (original). Mortet, pp. 4-6.

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Mariae. On nous dit : Vous invoquez un diplôme de 528 dans lequel Childebert Ier parle de la *mater ecclesia Parisiaca* dédiée '*in honore sanctae Mariae matris Domini nostri Ihesu Christi*',[1] et un passage de la *Vita sancti Clodoaldi* qui parle de '*matri ecclesiae eiusdem civitatis videlicet sanctae Mariae*'. Or la *Vita sancti Clodoaldi*, loin d'être contemporaine de saint Cloud († 560), parle de la cathédrale de Paris dans le style du xe siècle.[2] Il en est de même, sans doute, du diplôme de 528, qui n'est connu que par des copies du xe et du xiie siècle.[3]

Mais il serait inouï que l'église cathédrale de Paris fût demeurée sans patron jusque dans la seconde moitié du viiie siècle. Toute église avait un saint éponyme, c'est une loi liturgique qui, à dater du ve siècle, est sans exception. Au vie siècle, la Vierge Marie était un vocable aimé en pays gallican : l'*Historia Francorum* de Grégoire de Tours nous fait connaître une *basilica sanctae Mariae* à Poitiers, une à Toulouse, une à Tours ;[4] l'*In gloria confessorum*, une *basilica sanctae Mariae* à Lyon.[5] Si donc la cathédrale de Paris est, à l'époque carolingienne, dédiée à la Vierge, le vocable ne date pas nécessairement de cette époque.

[1] Ce diplôme est le plus ancien du cartulaire de Paris. De Lasteyrie, p. 1.

[2] E. Le Blant, *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIIIe siècle*, t. i (1856), pp. 300-301, donne l'inscription funéraire de saint Cloud, qui est en même temps l'inscription dédicatoire de l'église par lui édifiée à Novigentum (Saint-Cloud) où il était enterré :

Artubus hunc tumulum Chlodoaldus consecrat almis,
editus ex regum stemmate perspicuo,
qui vetitus regni septrum retinere caduci
basilicam studuit hanc fabricare Deo,
aecclesiaeque dedit matricis iure tenendam
urbis pontefici quique foret parisi.

On conclura de là que, à la date où cette épitaphe fut composée, l'église cathédrale de Paris était désignée par l'expression *ecclesia matrix*, l'église-mère. C'est l'interprétation de Le Blant, *loc. cit.* — La *Vita Clodoaldi* (n. 12, éd. Krusch, p. 356) dépend de l'inscription ci-dessus. Elle dit : '. . . monasterium (pour *basilicam*) . . . aedificavit, atque matri ecclesiae (pour *ecclesiae matrici*) eiusdem civitatis, videlicet sanctae Mariae, perpetuo habendum testamento delegavit.' Hincmar, qui connait le fait, écrit : 'Villam . . . matri aecclesiae Parisius civitatis . . . donavit'. *Vita Remigii*, 20 (éd. Krusch, p. 313).

[3] Mortet, p. 2.

[4] *Histor. Francor.* x 31 (éd. Omont-Collon, p. 461) pour Tours, où la construction de la *basilica sanctae Mariae infra muros urbis* est entreprise par l'évêque Ommatius, au commencement du vie siècle. La *basilica sanctae Mariae* de Poitiers a été construite par sainte Radegonde, donc dans la seconde moitié du vie siècle (*ibid.* ix 42, p. 404). Sur la *basilica sancte Mariae Tholosa*, voyez *ibid.* vii 10 (p. 260).

[5] *In glor. conf.* 64 (éd. Arndt, pp. 785-786).

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Grégoire de Tours mentionne à plusieurs reprises la cathédrale de Paris, grâce à lui nous savons quelque chose de ce qu'elle était à la fin du VI^e^ siècle.

En 585, un violent incendie dévora la Cité de Paris. Le feu prit, par l'imprudence d'une femme, dans une maison attenant au pont du petit bras de la Seine: '*Erat domus haec prima secus portam, que ad mediam diem pandit egressum.*' Le feu gagna les prisons, dont les prisonniers, à qui saint Germain apparut miraculeusement, s'échappèrent sur son ordre, et allèrent se réfugier '*ad basilicam sancti Vincenti, in qua sepulcrum habetur beati antestitis*'. Le feu s'étendit à toute la Cité, '*per totam civitatem*', et jusqu'à l'autre porte (celle du pont donnant accès à la rive droite) où est une chapelle de saint Martin, '*ad aliam portam, in qua beati Martini oraturium habebatur.*' Là l'incendie s'arrêta, grâce à la protection de saint Martin. L'incendie avait donc pris au pont (du midi) et consumé toutes les maisons jusqu'à l'autre pont. Mais l'église fut épargnée et ses maisons avec elle: '*Verumtamen ecclesia cum domibus suis non sunt aduste.*' Et Grégoire ajoute: '*Agebat enim hac urbem quasi consecratam fuisse antiquitus, ut non ibi incendium praevaleret, non serpens, non glerus aparuisset.*'[1]

Je lis *ecclesia cum domibus suis*, quitte à accorder *ecclesia cum domibus suis* avec *adustae* au pluriel. *Agebat* est apparemment pour *Aiebat*, c'est-à-dire *Aiebant*. J'hésite à lire *hanc urbem* dans un récit où la moitié de la Cité vient de flamber. Faut-il entendre: *Aiebant hac urbem quasi consecratam fuisse* dans ce sens que la ville aurait été consacrée par la présence de sa cathédrale, *hac* [*ecclesia*]? Ce serait fort séduisant, trop peut-être. Abstenons-nous de traduire! Mais je crois sûre la lecture *ecclesia cum domibus suis*: on a ainsi lieu de penser que Grégoire désigne les édifices qui font partie de l'*ecclesia*, comme doivent être la maison de l'évêque, les maisons des clercs, et sans doute le baptistère, peut-être un xenodochium. Du moins on conclura de ce texte que l'*ecclesia* en 585 était dans la partie orientale de la Cité, à l'est de la voie transversale qui joignait les deux ponts de l'île. L'*ecclesia* formait un groupe d'édifices.[2]

Un texte plus explicite de Grégoire de Tours se trouve au livre VI de l'*Historia Francorum* et se rapporte à un événement de l'année 583.

[1] *Histor. Francor.* viii 33 (pp. 330–332). L'édition Arndt, p. 349, lit: 'Verumtamen aeclesiae cum domibus suis non sunt adustae. Aiebat enim, hanc urbem quasi consecratam fuisse antiquitus, ut non ibi incendium praevaleret, non serpens, non gliris apparuisset.' (Glis, gliris, glerus = *loir.*)

[2] Fortunat, *Vita Sancti Germani*, xiv (éd. Krusch, p. 15), mentionne un *oratorium* qui faisait partie de l'habitation de l'évêque de Paris. Plus loin (xxi p. 16), il fait mention d'un *baptisterium*, et d'un malade qui se roule 'per baptisterii pavimentum'. Plus loin (xxiii, p. 16), la résidence de l'évêque est appelée *domus ecclesiae*, ou encore (lxxv, p. 27) *domus* pour la distinguer de l'*ecclesia*.

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Le comte Leudaste, espérant rentrer en grâce auprès de la reine Frédégonde, se présente devant elle un dimanche dans l'église sainte de Paris et se jette à ses pieds en lui demandant pardon: '. . . *regi Parisius revertenti, die dominico in ecclesia sancta reginae pedibus provolvitur, veniam depraecans.*' La reine le repousse avec horreur et on le jette hors du lieu saint: '*Tunc repulso eo a loco sancto, missarum sollemnia celebrata sunt.*' Quand la messe est finie, le roi et la reine sortent de l'église: '. . . *egresso rege cum regina de ecclesia sancta.*' Leudaste les suit sur la place: '. . . *Leodastisque ad plateam est prosecutus.*' Sur la place donnent des maisons de marchands, dont les boutiques sont ouvertes: Leudaste va et vient de l'une à l'autre, '*domus negutiantum circumiens*', examinant les marchandises, surtout les plus précieuses[1]: 'J'achèterai ceci, et cela, car j'ai beaucoup d'or et d'argent', affecte-t-il de dire. A ce moment surviennent les serviteurs de la reine, '*reginae pueri*'; ils entourent Leudaste et veulent le ligoter; Leudaste dégaine, les autres aussi et foncent sur lui, un des assaillants lui porte un coup violent sur la tête. Leudaste prend la fuite, '*cumque per pontem urbis fugiret*', il fait un faux pas au milieu du pont, il tombe et il est fait prisonnier.[2]

Grégoire de Tours a tracé là un croquis d'une rare finesse, une description du cœur de Paris en 583, une topographie où se situe admirablement la cathédrale, et aussi la description d'une matinée de dimanche, le roi et la reine venant assister à l'office du matin, l'évêque célébrant les *missarum sollemnia* en leur présence et en présence de tout le peuple chrétien. Puis, devant la cathédrale, la *platea*, avec ses boutiques de luxe, dont Leudaste fait le tour: '. . . *domus negutiantum circumiens, species rimatur, argentum pensat atque diversa ornamenta prospicit, dicens: Haec et haec conparabo, quia multum mihi aurum argentumque resedit.*'

L'année d'après, 584, le roi Chilpéric a été assassiné à Chelles. La reine Frédégonde accourt aussitôt se réfugier à Paris avec ses trésors. '*Parisius advenit*, écrit Grégoire de Tours, . . . *ad ecclesiam confugit adque a Ragnemundo fovetur episcopo.*'[3] L'*ecclesia* est la cathédrale, où l'évêque donne asile à la reine. Cependant Chilpéric, assassiné à Chelles et aussitôt abandonné de tous les siens, n'aurait eu personne

[1] Dans le récit de l'incendie de 585 il est fait mention de ces boutiques. Car l'incendie a été prédit par une femme qui en a eu révélation dans la basilique de Saint-Vincent: elle a vu lui apparaître un homme tenant un cierge à la main et mettant le feu l'une après l'autre aux maisons des marchands, '*domus necutiantum ex ordine succendentem*' (p. 330). Grégoire de Tours n'aurait pas rapporté cette prophétie si elle n'avait pas été accomplie à la lettre.

[2] *Histor. Francor.* vi 32 (pp. 235-236).

[3] *Ibid.* vii 4 (p. 257). Cf. vii 15 (pp. 265-266).

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pour lui rendre les derniers devoirs, si l'évêque de Senlis, Mallulfus, ne s'était trouvé là: l'évêque lava le corps, le revêtit d'habits convenables, et, après une nuit de prières, le ramena à Paris, où on l'enterra '*in basilica sancti Vincenti*', pendant que Frédégonde continuait à s'abriter dans la cathédrale, '*Fredegundae regina in eclesia derelicta*'.[1] On voit là, le plus clairement qu'il est désirable, comment la cathédrale est l'*ecclesia* tout court, l'*ecclesia* par excellence. En 584, sa rivale est Saint-Vincent: Childebert Ier, le fils de Clovis, y a été enterré (en 568),[2] tandis que Clovis et Clotilde ont été enterrés dans la basilique de Saint-Pierre ou *basilica sanctorum Apostolorum*.[3] Saint Germain, quand en 576 il meurt, est enterré à Saint-Vincent.[4] On n'enterre pas encore, semble-t-il, dans la cathédrale.[5]

A ces premiers textes, on peut en joindre un autre, pris à l'*In gloria confessorum* de Grégoire de Tours. On y lit:

> *Tumulum erat in vico Parisiorum, haud procul a loco in quo senior, ut aiunt, eclesia nuncupatur, nullo operto tegumine; ibique in lapide habebatur scriptum*: HIC REQUIESCIT CRISCENTIA SACRATA DEO PUELLA.[6]

Vicus Parisiorum, terme qui s'oppose à *Civitas Parisiorum*, désigne chez Grégoire de Tours le territoire immédiatement au delà des portes de la ville, la *Civitas* étant à l'intérieur des portes.[7] La présence d'une sépulture chrétienne, l'inscription funéraire de cette vierge Crescentia inconnue d'ailleurs, fait aussitôt penser au cimetière Saint-Marcel.[8] En effet, écrit M. de Pachtère, 'il n'est qu'un endroit où l'on ait enseveli régulièrement les chrétiens avant l'époque mérovingienne, c'est le cimetière Saint-Marcel. C'est aussi le seul où l'on ait trouvé jusqu'ici

[1] *Histor. Francor.* vi 46 (p. 249).
[2] *Ibid.* iv 20 (p. 122).
[3] *Ibid.* ii 43 (p. 75).
[4] *Ibid.* v 8 (p. 161).
[5] La *Vita Genovefae virginis parisiensis*, 12 (éd. Krusch, p. 219) mentionne le *baptisterium* de Paris où, à l'approche d'Attila, Geneviève fait prier les matrones de Paris. On y retrouve aussi la *platea* (n. 18, p. 223), l'*ecclesia* (n. 23, p. 225). Mais cette pièce hagiographique ne paraît pas antérieure au VIIIe siècle.
[6] *In glor. conf.* 103 (éd. Arndt, p. 813).
[7] *Histor. Francor.* viii 33 (p. 331).
[8] Ce point est bien mis en lumière par F. G. de Pachtère, *Paris à l'époque gallo-romaine* (1912), pp. 131–133. Sur le cimetière Saint-Marcel, *ibid.* pp. 137–139. Le cimetière, écrit M. de Pachtère, avait une très grande étendue: au sud, on l'a repéré sur le terrain de la manufacture des Gobelins, au nord, rue du Petit-Moine, au voisinage même de la Bièvre, à l'est jusqu'à la rue Scipion, à l'ouest jusqu'à la rue Pascal. Voyez encore E. Le Blant, *Inscriptions chrétiennes*, t. I, p. 277, commentant l'épitaphe chrétienne (fin du Ve siècle) de *Domina Barbara* trouvée en 1753 'derrière l'église parochiale de Saint-Martin du cloître Saint-Marcel avec soixante-quatre sarcophages de pierre sans épitaphes'. Cette inscription est à la Bibliothèque Nationale. Les sarcophages et autres restes retrouvés du cimetière Saint-Marcel sont au musée Carnavalet (section romaine et mérovingienne).

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des inscriptions chrétiennes. On est donc invité à placer là le bourg où fut enterrée Crescentia.' On devra placer dans ce bourg, et dans le voisinage de ce cimetière à ciel ouvert, l'église qui, au temps de Grégoire de Tours, à la fin du VI^e^ siècle, portait le nom de 'la vieille église', *senior ecclesia*. M. de Pachtère croit qu'on peut prendre le vocable en rigueur, et entendre 'la vieille église' au sens de 'la vieille cathédrale', par contraste avec la cathédrale plus jeune alors existante. Cette opinion, qui n'est pas nouvelle (elle a été proposée par Launoy), est motivée et séduisante.

Les origines chrétiennes de Paris se rattacheraient à la *senior ecclesia* et devraient être localisées dans la région qui, à travers tout le moyen âge, a conservé le nom de l'évêque de Paris, saint Marcel.[1] La cathédrale qui supplanta la *senior ecclesia* dut être élevée dans la Cité vers ce même début du V^e^ siècle. M. de Pachtère croit pouvoir avancer qu'elle était construite 'sous le bas côté méridional de l'église (actuelle) de Notre-Dame'. Il est obligé de convenir néanmoins qu'on n'en a découvert aucun vestige. Cette cathédrale gallo-romaine, supposée distincte de la cathédrale mérovingienne, est donc purement hypothétique. Et, en fait, les fouilles du parvis n'ont révélé qu'une cathédrale.

Ces fouilles, les premières du moins, datent de 1847. Elles ont révélé l'existence d'une basilique chrétienne, qui avait la même orientation que Notre-Dame, sinon exactement le même axe, et dont le seuil était à 35 mètres environ en avant de la façade actuelle[2]: son extrémité orientale, qui n'a pas été repérée, a dû être noyée dans les fondations des tours. Les fouilles de 1847, d'après l'inspecteur des fouilles, Wacquer, sont décrites par Albert Lenoir, dont nous citerons, en l'abrégeant à peine, le texte.

'Pendant l'hiver de 1847, une tranchée ouverte sur le parvis Notre-Dame, pour l'établissement d'un égout, ayant amené la découverte de quelques antiquités, les fouilles furent étendues sur la presque totalité de la place, et de nombreuses constructions de diverses époques sortirent de ces déblais . . .

'Les constructions romaines se divisaient en deux groupes distincts; les unes, situées vers la rue Neuve-Notre-Dame; là devait être un édifice public important... Le second groupe de constructions romaines était

[1] Gregor. *In glor. conf.* 87 (éd. Arndt, p. 804): 'Marcellus vero Parisiacae urbis episcopus . . . nunc in ipsius civitatis vico quiescit.'

[2] Mortet, p. 15. M. Lesprit, *Le Jeûneur de Notre-Dame* (Paris, Champion, 1912), p. 36, publie une lettre écrite au nom de l'inspecteur général des ponts et chaussées de Paris par l'ingénieur Legendre, où on lit: 'D'après nos plus anciens itinéraires, le mesurage des routes nationales commence à un point situé sur l'axe de Notre-Dame et à 30 mètres de la façade principale sur le parvis.' De quand date le mesurage des routes aboutissant à Paris? Il serait bien curieux que leur point de départ fût le seuil de l'ancienne cathédrale.

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plus rapproché de la cathédrale . . . Là étaient évidemment des habitations.

'On reconnaissait que ces dernières constructions avaient été détruites en partie pour élever un édifice qui en couvrait toute l'étendue et qui était d'origine chrétienne à en juger par la manière dont était faite la maçonnerie. La grande surface occupée par les murailles, leur forte épaisseur, la régularité de leurs dispositions en quatre lignes parallèles, formant une large nef et des bas côtés, précédés de fondations qui n'ont pu appartenir qu'à un porche et à ses distributions accessoires, tout contribuerait à faire admettre que ces ruines étaient celles de la basilique élevée par Childebert[1]; des fragments de la mosaïque de cet édifice, publiés à la planche XXI, des colonnes en marbre d'Aquitaine, de 70 centimètres de diamètre, un chapiteau qu'on verra plus loin à la planche XIX, confirment cette attribution.'[2]

Lenoir dit plus loin:

'Des colonnes en assez grand nombre, mais très mutilées, ont été trouvées au parvis Notre-Dame, au milieu des ruines dont le plan est gravé à la planche XVII; elles sont en marbre noir et blanc dit *grand antique*. Le profil des astragales ou moulures qui ornent le haut indique qu'elles ont été exécutées à une époque de décadence. De nombreux fragments de colonnes semblables ont été trouvés jusque dans les substructions de l'église de Notre-Dame; elles décoraient la basilique construite en ce lieu par Childebert. Un seul chapiteau en marbre blanc, qui paraît avoir appartenu au même édifice, a été trouvé auprès de ces colonnes: la planche en présente le dessin; il est très mutilé, et la rudesse de la sculpture, les détails mal dessinés et mal composés qui le décorent, indiquent son origine mérovingienne; il est, ainsi que deux colonnes, déposé au musée de Cluny.'[3]

Et encore:

'Au nombre des fragments découverts dans les fouilles du parvis Notre-Dame se trouvaient ceux de plusieurs pavés en mosaïque offrant trois sujets de dessins variés. Ils ont été reproduits sur la planche XXI, et sont placés de manière à faire connaître les diverses combinaisons qui ornaient ces pavés. La fabrication était imparfaite; des croix et des

[1] Nous nous expliquerons plus loin sur cette attribution, qui n'est pas fondée, on le verra.

[2] A. Lenoir, *Statistique monumentale de Paris* (Imprim. impériale, 1867), pp. 20–21. F. de Guilhermy, *Itinéraire archéologique de Paris* (1855), p. 22, donne un dessin du chapiteau corinthien conservé à Cluny.

[3] Lenoir, p. 23. E. du Sommerard, *Catalogue et description des objets d'art exposés au musée* [de Cluny] (1884), p. 39, décrit trois 'colonnes en marbre antique trouvées dans les fouilles du parvis Notre-Dame en 1848', sous les nos 410–412, et un 'chapiteau antique en marbre blanc trouvé au même endroit la même année', sous le no 413. Ces restes sont exposés dans la grande *salle des thermes* de Cluny.

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triangles placés au milieu de plusieurs compartiments doivent faire admettre qu'ils étaient d'origine chrétienne,[1] bien qu'ils fussent exécutés dans un système analogue à celui qu'employaient les Romains. Ces mosaïques ont donc pu servir de pavé à la basilique de Childebert . . . La nef principale, les bas côtés et le sanctuaire de la basilique chrétienne de la Cité devaient avoir des pavés différents.[2] De là peut-être la cause des trois motifs de dessins variés reconnus dans les fragments de mosaïque publiés sur la planche XXI.

'Le premier dessin . . . est formé de cercles enlacés offrant des tons blancs et noirs combinés de manière à former une série de fleurons s'enlevant sur le fond blanc du pavé. Au centre de chaque cercle est figurée une croix grecque ménagée en blanc au milieu de tons rouges et noirs. Ce dessin porte sa bordure composée de cercles tangents les uns aux autres et contenant alternativement une croix, puis un triangle ; la croix dessinée en blanc sur un fond noir, le triangle en noir sur un fond blanc.

'Le (second) dessin . . . est formé de courbes enlacées d'une façon ingénieuse, un tracé le fait mieux comprendre qu'une description ; un ton blanc compose le fond sur lequel un large trait noir indique les contours variés des courbes.

'Le troisième dessin . . . formait la bordure d'un motif central qui a disparu presque entièrement. Ce pavé offrait trois tons différents, le rouge et le blanc servant alternativement de fond à de larges traits noirs, dessinant des cercles enlacés. Une large ligne en terre cuite d'un ton jaune foncé encadrait l'ensemble de cette mosaïque, dont l'effet était plus riche et plus grave que celui des précédentes. Ces fragments sont au musée de Cluny.'[3]

Des fouilles nouvelles, pratiquées en 1907 et en 1914, ont confirmé les résultats des fouilles de 1847, et ont donné quelques nouveaux fragments de colonnes et un remarquable débris de mosaïque.[4]

[1] Le triangle, pour figurer la Trinité, est un symbole rare ; encore se retrouve-t-il en Afrique, à Rome, en Gaule. Voyez l'art. 'Dreieck' de la *Realencyklopädie der christl. Alterthümer* de Kraus, t. i (1882), pp. 378-379. Pour la Gaule, Le Blant, *Inscript. chrét.*, t. i, p. 107.

[2] Les fragments de mosaïque décrits par Lenoir et celui du musée Carnavalet paraissent avoir appartenu à des bordures.

[3] Lenoir, pp. 25-27. Du Sommerard, *Catalogue*, p. 375, nos 4762-4766, mosaïques, ne mentionne pas les fragments que lui attribue Lenoir. M. Haraucourt, conservateur de Cluny, m'a confirmé oralement (24 mai 1916) la non-existence de ces fragments dans le musée dont il est conservateur. On ne les connaît ni au musée Carnavalet, ni au musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye. — Les trois fragments de Lenoir sont décrits dans l'*Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique* (publié par l'Académie des Inscriptions), t. i, fasc. ii, p. 47, n° 908. Ledit inventaire ignore où sont aujourd'hui les trois fragments.

[4] *Commission municipale du Vieux Paris, année 1907, procès-verbaux* (Paris, 1908), pp. 219-222 : Rapport présenté par M. Charles Sellier, sur la découverte de quel-

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Les éléments que les fouilles ont révélés permettent de concevoir notre cathédrale mérovingienne comme une église à plan basilical : une nef (de 25 mètres de largeur) à deux bas côtés (chacun de 5 mètres de largeur), la nef séparée de ses bas côtés par un alignement de colonnes de marbre veiné blanc et noir, surmontées de chapiteaux de marbre blanc à feuilles d'acanthe : le pavement était de mosaïque, tout au moins les bordures étaient à dessins géométriques en rouge et noir sur fond blanc, où revenaient comme motif principal des croix et des triangles. Des quelques morceaux de minces plaques de marbre retrouvés dans les fouilles, on peut conclure à l'hypothèse de revêtement de marbre pour les murs à l'intérieur de la basilique. Quelques débris de tuiles à rebords font penser à une toiture de tuiles. La disposition des murs de fondation de la façade suggère que l'église avait un narthex. Il serait invraisemblable qu'elle n'eût pas possédé une

ques vestiges de la basilique mérovingienne de la Cité, au parvis de l'église Notre-Dame. — En avril 1907, au cours de la construction d'un égout au droit de la façade ouest de la cathédrale, on a retiré les vestiges de quatre murs supposés mérovingiens, et entre le troisième et le quatrième quelques vestiges de maçonnerie romaine. Ces derniers faisaient partie d'une *murette* qui suivait à peu près la même direction que les murs précédents, et que M. Sellier suppose être le reste d'une 'construction antique démolie pour faire place à un édifice dont faisaient partie les quatre gros murs dont nous venons de parler'. A $2^{m},40$ de profondeur, partant du troisième gros mur pour joindre la *murette* romaine, une aire de béton, qui apparemment 'formait le fond d'un dallage disparu ayant appartenu à l'édifice antique dont la susdite murette faisait partie'. M. Sellier estime que les gros murs par lui repérés 'correspondent en grande partie à ceux découverts par Vacquer, lesquels, jusqu'à présent, d'éminents archéologues ont admis comme appartenant à la basilique élevée par Childebert I^er', et que les résultats des fouilles de 1907 corroborent ceux des fouilles de 1847. Parmi les objets trouvés dans les fouilles de 1907, M. Sellier signale : deux fragments de tambours de colonnes en marbre veiné blanc et noir, dit *grand antique* ; un fragment de mosaïque ; quelques morceaux de marbre, en plaques minces ayant pu appartenir à un revêtement ; quelques débris de tuiles à rebords. M. Sellier joint à son rapport un plan où est reporté le tracé des fouilles et des découvertes de 1847. — J'ajouterai que les fragments de colonnes en marbre *grand antique*, au nombre de trois, sont exposés en bonne place dans la section romaine et mérovingienne du musée Carnavalet (8^e travée). M. Georges Cain et M. Ch. Magne ont eu l'extrême obligeance de faire chercher dans les magasins du musée et de me présenter le fragment de mosaïque signalé par M. Sellier. Ce fragment est exactement dans la manière du troisième fragment de Lenoir : le dessin est d'une bordure et fait de cercles enlacés : ils sont tracés en noir sur fond soit blanc soit rouge. Ce fragment, bien conservé, est un spécimen très intéressant, que M. Georges Cain a l'intention de mettre en bonne place dans une vitrine de la section romaine et mérovingienne. M. Magne a fait le relevé des fouilles de 1914, qui confirment les données de 1907, et dont le rapport paraîtra incessamment dans les procès-verbaux de la *Commission municipale du Vieux Paris* (juin 1916).

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abside, mais on ne saurait dire si cette abside était ou n'était pas flanquée de deux absidioles.[1]

Albert Lenoir vient de prononcer le nom du roi Childebert, Childebert Ier (511–558), le fils de Clovis, en supposant incontesté que la cathédrale parisienne a été bâtie par ce prince. Cette assertion est tirée d'une pièce de vers de Fortunat intitulée *De ecclesia parisiaca*, où est décrite une somptueuse église bâtie par Childebert en effet, mais que, actuellement, on identifie avec la basilique parisienne de Saint-Vincent, non avec la cathédrale. Alors que, sur la rive gauche, Clovis (481–511) avait construit la basilique de Saint-Pierre ou des Saints-Apôtres à l'instigation de sainte Geneviève, on ne comprendrait pas que la Cité n'eût pas possédé déjà une cathédrale. Si fragile que soit l'autorité de la *Vita Genovefae*, on peut noter qu'elle parle d'un baptistère situé dans la Cité, à l'occasion de l'approche des Huns (448) : un baptistère ne va pas sans une cathédrale. On a donc lieu de croire que la cathédrale primitive était antérieure à Childebert et à Clovis. Il faut citer cependant les vers de Fortunat *De ecclesia parisiaca*.[2]

'Si l'on vante la magnificence du temple de Salomon, celui-ci, où l'art est égal, doit à la foi une beauté supérieure. Les vérités sublimes cachées jadis sous le voile de l'ancienne loi s'offrent ici sans voile aux regards des hommes. Les murs du temple de Jérusalem étaient revêtus de métaux précieux ; ceux-ci, teints du sang du Christ, brillent d'un plus vif éclat. L'or, les marbres, le bois de cèdre contribuèrent à la décoration du Temple : l'Église a la croix, ornement et plus riche et plus vénérable.

'Le Temple, élevé à prix d'or, était destiné à périr : l'Église, qui a racheté le monde, repose sur des fondements inébranlables. Celle-ci, dont la splendide nef s'élève sur des colonnes de marbre,

Splendida marmoreis attollitur aula columnis,

parce qu'elle reste pure a une grâce plus grande. Par ses fenêtres de verre elle reçoit les premiers rayons du jour et la main de l'artiste a enfermé le jour dans son arche :

Prima capit radios vitreis oculata fenestris,
artificisque manu clausit in arce diem.

'Dès le lever de l'aurore la lumière l'inonde et remplit ses charpentes (*laquearia*) : elle brille pareillement de ses propres rayons et elle étincelle quand le soleil manque.

[1] On calcule que la longueur d'une grande nef basilicale est, soit le double, soit le triple de sa largeur : la longueur de la grande nef aurait donc été de 50 à 75 mètres.

[2] Fortunat, *Carm.* ii 10 (éd. Leo, p. 39). Nous citons, en la retouchant, la traduction française de Nisard.

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'Le pieux roi Childebert a donné à son peuple ce gage impérissable de son amour. Dévoué de toute son âme au service de Dieu, il a ajouté de nouvelles richesses au trésor inépuisable de l'Église. Véritable Melchisédech de ce temps, à la fois prêtre et roi, laïque il a fait une œuvre de religion.

Complevit laicus religionis opus.

'Tout en gouvernant les peuples, sans quitter son palais royal, il a été la gloire et le modèle du sacerdoce. Il est parti d'ici, là-bas il vit dans l'honneur de ses mérites, mais ici même immortelle sera la louange de ses vertus.

Hinc abiens illic meritorum vivit honore:
hic quoque gestorum laude perennis erit.'

La basilique de Saint-Vincent, construite par Childebert Ier (511–558), était le lieu de sa sépulture: les vers de Fortunat louent Childebert de son œuvre et font allusion à sa sépulture, *hinc abiens*. La basilique étant dédiée à la sainte croix[1] en même temps qu'à saint Vincent, on comprend tout le sens du vers

Hinc venerabilior de cruce fulget honor.

Si le titre *DE ECCLESIA PARISIACA* pose une petite énigme dont on n'a pas le mot, le contenu de la pièce ne laisse pas de doute sur l'intention de Fortunat, qui est de glorifier la basilique de Saint-Vincent et le roi qui la construisit.[2]

Il ne sera pas dit pour autant que Fortunat n'a pas parlé de la cathédrale de Paris, car Fortunat a écrit une pièce intitulée *AD CLERUM PARISIACUM*,[3] qui dut combler de plaisir les destinataires, et qui est pour nous érudits pleine de traits instructifs. Elle s'ouvre par cet envoi: 'Illustre compagnie, l'honneur et le sommet d'un ordre très ample, pères que je vénère dans mon cœur, dans ma foi, dans ma religion . . .' Ce clergé est celui de la cathédrale de Paris.

Coetus honorifici decus et gradus ordinis ampli,
quos colo corde fide religione patres . . .

Suivent quatorze vers dans lesquels le versificateur s'excuse de la rouille de ses doigts à manier le plectre et la lyre: c'est un peu long, du moins y apprenons-nous que les gens qu'il loue sont ses amis:

Artis ad officium vester adegit amor.

[1] Cf. Fortunat, *Vita sancti Germani*, xlii (éd. Krusch, p. 20): 'Item cum Parisius ad basilicam beatae crucis vir Dei procederet . . .'

[2] Cette interprétation est acquise depuis Le Blant, *Inscriptions chrétiennes*, t. i, pp. 295–299, qui résume la controverse.

[3] Fortunat. *Carm.* ii 9 (pp. 37–39).

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Ce clergé est le génie, la gloire, la parure, et l'honneur de l'*ecclesia*, où il s'acquitte de la douce tâche du *cursus* assidu, c'est-à-dire du chant des psaumes, à l'office des vigiles nocturnes :

Celsa Parisiaci clerus reverentia pollens,
ecclesiae genium gloria munus honor,
carmine dauitico divina poemata pangens,
cursibus assiduis dulce revolvit opus.

Ce clergé se compose de prêtres et de diacres :

Inde sacerdotes, leviticus hinc micat ordo.

Les prêtres sont des vieillards chenus, les diacres sont décorés de l'étole, insigne distinctif des diacres gallicans :

Illos canities, hos stola pulchra tegit.

Les uns blancs des frimas de l'âge, les autres de l'étole qu'ils portent (*vestibus albent*), les uns pâles, les autres rougissants :

Et candunt rutilis lilia mixta rosis.

Au milieu des prêtres et des diacres est l'évêque Germain :

In medios Germanus adest antistes honore.

Et voici une rapide description de l'entrée processionnelle de l'évêque et de son clergé : ' Il est précédé des diacres et suivi de l'*ordo* grave des prêtres . . . ; lui-même s'avance lentement, comme un autre Aaron '. Fortunat fait valoir qu'il ne porte pas de costume spécial comme Aaron :

Non lapides coccus cidar aurum purpura byssus
exornant humeros, sed micat alma fides.[1]

Sitôt que la cloche sonne (*signum mox tinnit in aures*), il s'arrache au sommeil, il arrive le premier à l'église (*advolat ante alios*), et chacun arrive pour y prendre la place à chacun assignée.

L'église se remplit de peuple. On chante l'office nocturne, de la nuit à la première pointe du jour, on chante en chants qui alternent :

Pervigiles noctes ad prima crepuscula iungens,
construit angelicos turba verenda choros.[2]

[1] Fortunat. *Vita s. Germ.* lxxii (p. 26) ' . . . frequenter contentus una casula vel tunica quidquid erat residui nudum pauperem vestiebat, ut inops calefieret largitore algente.' Et *ibid.* xxiii (p. 16) : ' . . . sancti palliolum ', petit manteau : il n'est pas question de *pallium*.

[2] Fortunat. *Vita s. Germ.* xii (éd. Krusch, p. 14) : ' Denique adeptus gradum curae pastoralis episcopus, de relico vero monachus persistebat. Hinc se frequentantibus exercebat vigiliis, inde continuatis macerabat inediis. Pernoctabat

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On hésitera à prendre à la lettre ce qui suit. Le poète énonce que l'enfant accorde sa voix aux flûtes exiguës, fait de sa gorge une flûte, tandis que les vieillards donnent à leur gorge une sonorité de trompette. Nisard traduit : 'Les enfants adaptent leurs voix aux sons les plus faibles de l'orgue, les vieillards aux sons les plus forts.' Mais il n'y a pas ombre d'orgue dans le texte latin.[1] Fortunat a écrit :

Hinc puer exiguis attemperat organa cannis,
inde senis largam ructat ab ore tubam.

Fortunat a entendu comparer la voix des enfants à des flûtes, la voix des vieillards à des trompettes. On ne donnera pas un autre sens aux vers qui suivent :

Cymbalicae voces calamis miscentur acutis
disparibusque tropis fistula dulce sonat :
tympana rauca senum puerilis tibia mulcet,
atque hominum reparant verba canora lyram.

Fortunat développe et s'édifie : quelles vertus, quelle foi ! Toute l'assemblée chante les psaumes, clercs, peuple, enfants, sous la conduite de Germain :

Pontificis monitis clerus plebs psallit et infans.[2]

Heureuse cette armée qui marche avec Germain pour chef. O Moïse, tends-lui la main et aide ce camp qui est digne du tien.

Fortunat parle d'une église auprès de laquelle habite l'évêque de

algida senectus per hiemem sustinens dupliciter frigus aetatis et temporis . . .' Il s'agit là de vigiles privées. Cf. *ibid.* xxiii (p. 16) : 'Nox in oratorio vigiliis ducitur' ; xxv (p. 17) ; lxxv (p. 26). — Mais Fortunat n'oublie pas de parler des vigiles célébrées avec le clergé : 'Tertia noctis hora ingreditur in ecclesiam, non est egressus ulterius psallentium ab ordine, donec clariscente die decantatus sollemniter cursus universus consummaretur ex canone' (*ibid.* lxxv, p. 27). Dans certaines occasions les vigiles solennelles sont célébrées dans d'autres églises que la cathédrale. *Ibid.* lv (p. 23) : 'Item cum ad basilicam beatissimorum Gervasi et Protasi vigilaturus accederet. . . .'

[1] Il faut dire cependant à la décharge de Nisard que Mabillon avait vu dans ces vers une preuve que l'église-cathédrale de Paris avait un orchestre. *De liturgia gallicana*, p. 412 : 'Neque tantum vocum, sed etiam musicorum instrumentorum usum in Parisiaca ecclesia tunc fuisse subdit idem Poeta'. — On sait que l'orgue, au moins rudimentairement, est un instrument signalé au v^e^ siècle. Saint Augustin a écrit, *Enarr. in ps.* lvi 16 : 'Organa dicuntur omnia instrumenta musicorum. Non solum illud organum dicitur, quod grande est, et inflatur follibus ; sed quidquid aptatur ad cantilenam et corporeum est, quo instrumento utitur qui cantat, organum dicitur.' Mais le chant d'église dans l'antiquité chrétienne s'interdisait tout accompagnement instrumental. Voy. A. Gastoué, *Les origines du chant romain* (1907), p. 45.

[2] Fortunat. *Vita s. Germ.* li (p. 22) : 'Andulfus ecclesiae Parisiacae clericus. . . .'

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Paris Germain, et dans laquelle l'évêque et ses clercs célèbrent l'office nocturne au chant des psaumes. Il y a de grosses voix sonores comme des trompettes, et des voix flûtées d'enfants : ce dernier trait va s'éclairer.

Le même Fortunat, en effet, à la demande de saint Germain de Paris, consentit à écrire une *Vita sancti Marcelli*, qui nous est parvenue avec, en titre, cette adresse : DOMINO SANCTO ET MERITIS OBTINENTIBUS APOSTOLICO VIRO IN CHRISTI CARITATE FUNDATO, MEO LUMINI PRAEPONENDO, DOMINO ET DULCI PATRI GERMANO PAPAE FORTUNATUS.[1] On n'a pas lieu de douter que cette composition hagiographique ait été écrite par Fortunat du vivant de saint Germain, donc avant 576, et tel est le sentiment très ferme de B. Krusch, à l'encontre de Tillemont. Fortunat, n'ayant aucune source ancienne où puiser, s'est contenté de raconter quelques miracles que la voix populaire attribuait à saint Marcel, celui-ci notamment :

Il y avait un clerc, Nonnicius, âgé de dix ans environ, qui avait une très belle voix, et qui, quand il chantait, faisait les délices du peuple. Un jour il arriva que l'archidiacre lui donna l'ordre de chanter ; quand l'enfant eut fini, l'évêque le fit fouetter, parce qu'il avait, lui évêque, ordonné qu'un autre chantât. L'enfant à la belle voix fut donc fouetté, mais sitôt qu'il commença de crier sous le fouet, l'évêque, puni pour sa jalousie, '*quia vocibus invidebat*', devint aphone. Il resta trois ans complètement muet. Heureusement que dans son clergé il avait Marcel, alors sous-diacre, qui guérit par un miracle l'évêque, après ses trois ans de mortification. Ce cas de jalousie épiscopale n'est pas très édifiant, aussi l'hagiographe a-t-il soin de taire le nom de l'évêque. On ne peut penser cependant qu'à un évêque de Paris, puisque Marcel est son sous-diacre, et que l'hagiographe explique que Marcel était clerc de l'Église de Paris avant d'en devenir à son tour l'évêque. La légende aussi bien n'a-t-elle d'autre intérêt historique pour nous que de parler du chant à Paris au temps de Germain et de Fortunat :

> Igitur quidam clericus Nonnicius nomine annorum circiter decem propter suavissimae vocis tinnibulum et dulcedinis organum de fauce prolatum, qua contingebat animos populi delectari, cum repercussa in auribus solita esset aura blandire, iussus est ab archidiacono mellita teneritudine decantare. Quo facto praecepit ipsum puerum episcopus flagellari ob hoc, quia alterum iusserat ipse cantare. Itaque . . . qui puerum cantare prohibuit, pertulit vocis dipendia quia vocibus invidebat.[2]

Un dernier trait sera pris par nous à Fortunat, qui se rattache

[1] Fortunat. *Vita sancti Marcelli* i (éd. Krusch, p. 49).
[2] *Ibid.* viii (p. 52).

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à l'Église de Paris. Il est pris à la *Vita sancti Germani*, écrite par Fortunat encore, et qui est si pauvre d'éléments locaux! Fortunat a quelques lignes sur l'éloquence de Germain, que je citerai comme le témoignage d'un contemporain sur la prédication :

> Quis vero digne repetat quanta virtus verborum ab ore rotabatur, cum praedicaret in populum, ut omni litteraturae nasceretur stupor et fieret in commune generalis conpunctio, atque ex ore dicentis crederes ut verba formarentur ab angelo, dum plus quam homo loqueretur translatus in mentis excessu, cum abrasis maculis sinceritate dogmatis pectora plebis cogeret divinis efflagrare pigmentis? [1]

Une éloquence qui roule comme un torrent, qui stupéfie les auditeurs lettrés, qui produit la componction, qui s'en prend aux vices au nom de la foi, et embrase les cœurs du peuple de divines ardeurs. Cet éloge de l'éloquence de saint Germain sera une transition toute naturelle à l'étude des quelques pages qui nous sont parvenues, croit-on, de lui, et qui ne sont rien de moins qu'une description des usages liturgiques de son église cathédrale.

PIERRE BATIFFOL.

[1] Fortunat. *Vita s. Germ.* lxxiii (p. 26). Rapprocher l'épitaphe de saint Germain, qui était dans l'église Saint-Vincent, et qui nous a été conservée. Le Blant, t. i, pp. 285-287.

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I.

THE DISCIPLE WHOM JESUS LOVED.[1]

THIS description is found only in the Fourth Gospel, where it occurs with slight variations five times (xiii 23 εἷς ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ . . . ὃν ἠγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς: xix 26 τὸν μαθητὴν . . . ὃν ἠγάπα: xx 2 τὸν ἄλλον μαθητὴν ὃν ἐφίλει ὁ Ἰ.: xxi 7 ὁ μαθητὴς ἐκεῖνος ὃν ἠγάπα ὁ Ἰ.: *ibid.* 20 τὸν μαθητὴν ὃν ἠγάπα ὁ Ἰ.). It is usually held that the same person is intended by the ἄλλος μαθητής . . . γνωστὸς τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ who introduced Peter into the courtyard of the High Priest's house (John xviii 15).

The phrase is used only in John xiii–xxi, the chapters which relate the events and discourses connected with the Passion and the Resurrection, appearing for the first time in the account of the Last Supper. The person indicated by it is anonymous. There is nothing to suggest that he bore the name of John beyond the statement in John xxi 24, that he wrote the Gospel which early tradition has assigned to St John. In xxi 2 the sons of Zebedee are mentioned, but the writer adds καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ δύο. It is obvious that the disciple whom Jesus loved may have been one of these two who are not named.

We turn to the passages where the Beloved Disciple appears, to see if we can learn from them anything which may lead us to identify him with one of our Lord's known followers. The following facts emerge.

(*a*) He was present at the Last Supper, when he reclined on the Lord's right, in a position which gained for him afterwards the title of ὁ ἐπιστήθιος. Thus he occupied a place at the table inferior to that of Simon Peter, but above that of any other Apostle—a place where we should have expected to find Andrew, the πρωτόκλητος of the Apostolic college. On the supposition that the disciple in question was John the son of Zebedee, it is difficult to account for an order at the Supper which would almost certainly have created friction at a time when friction was especially to be deprecated. The sons of Zebedee had already roused the indignation of the Ten by their request that they might sit on the Lord's right and left. It is inconceivable that He should have risked the re-opening of this struggle for precedence by placing John above Andrew, his senior in the Apostolate. (*b*) If the ἄλλος μαθητής of John xviii 15 ff is the disciple whom Jesus loved, the latter was an acquaintance of the High Priest, and on such terms of

[1] The writer of this note has not read Dr Delff's book on the same subject, nor were Dr Zahn's and Dr Sanday's discussions before him when he wrote it.

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intimacy with him that he could enter the αὐλή of the High Priest's official residence himself, and gain admission to it for a friend. But it is scarcely conceivable that a Galilean disciple, drawn from the fishermen of the northern lake, could have stood in this relation to the head of the exclusive aristocracy which virtually ruled the Jewish people. This disciple, whoever he was, must have been a person of some wealth and influence, possibly ἐκ γένους ἀρχιερατικοῦ (Acts iv 6). It was perhaps some confused reminiscence of his early days that gave rise to the tradition that John of Ephesus once served as a Jewish priest.[1] (*c*) The Beloved Disciple is next seen standing by the cross, not with the Apostles, who do not seem to have rallied after their flight from Gethsemane (Mark xiv 50, Matt. xxvi 56), but with the women, and next to Mary the mother of the Lord. The Lord, seeing them there, commits His mother to the care of this disciple, who forthwith takes her to his own home and keeps her there (ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ὥρας ἔλαβεν ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτὴν εἰς τὰ ἴδια). Τὰ ἴδια does not necessarily mean more than 'his own quarters', i. e. his lodging (cf. John xvi 32); but both A.V. and R.V. interpret it here as the disciple's 'own home', and they are doubtless right; for the Mother could not have been taken to any but a private dwelling-house, where she would have found a women's quarter ready for her use. It is reasonable, then, to suppose that this disciple had a home either in Jerusalem or in the neighbourhood. If in Jerusalem, was it the house where the Last Supper was eaten?[2] Was the Beloved Disciple the οἰκοδεσπότης (Mark xiv 14), and therefore the host? and does this explain his place at the Supper? (*d*) The editorial note appended to the Fourth Gospel (xxi 24 f) identifies this disciple with the author of the Gospel (οὗτος ὁ μαθητὴς . . . ὁ γράψας ταῦτα).

Was this enigmatical person one of the Twelve? That he is called a μαθητής must not, of course, be taken to disprove this. The Fourth Gospel does not use ἀπόστολος as a title,[3] and almost constantly describes the Apostles as οἱ μαθηταί. Judas is εἷς τῶν μαθητῶν (John xii 4), and the Beloved Disciple is introduced (xiii 23) in nearly identical terms. Moreover, it is in favour of his apostolical character that we find him on more than one occasion in company with St Peter (John xiii 24, xviii 15, xx 2, xxi 20 ff), and that the Apostles Peter and

[1] ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκώς (Polycrates *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* iii 31). Bishop Westcott remarks that James of Jerusalem is also said to have worn the πέταλον. But in the latter case the story comes from Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxxviii 14), and not from a second-century Bishop of Ephesus.

[2] The Cenaculum is often identified with the home of Mary the mother of John Mark; see Dr Sanday's *Sacred Sites* p. 83 f.

[3] John xiii 16 is no exception.

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John are closely associated in Acts (iii 1, 3 f, iv 13, 19, viii 14).[1] All these facts must be allowed to have weight in determining the position of the disciple whom Jesus loved. But here the evidence for his identification with John the son of Zebedee ends, and into the other scale must be thrown the facts already produced, which seem to shew that the Beloved Disciple was not a Galilean, but a well-to-do inhabitant of Jerusalem or its vicinity, who belonged to a class socially superior to that from which the Galilean disciples of Christ were drawn. The belief that he was a Jerusalemite is to some extent confirmed by the contents of the Fourth Gospel. While it does not altogether neglect events and teaching which belong to the ministry in Galilee (cf. John ii 1–12, iv 43–54, vi, vii 1–9, xxi), the bulk of the Gospel is concerned with a ministry in Judaea and Jerusalem, of which the Synoptists seem hardly conscious. The locality of the events and discourses, doubtless, is not the factor which determines their presence in the book; yet the impression is certainly given that the Evangelist was more interested in the Judaean than in the Galilean work and teaching of Christ. And it is significant that the teaching of the last night, at which the Beloved Disciple was present, is told with more than ordinary fullness.

But if the disciple was not a Galilean, and not one of the Twelve, who was he? Is there any one among the disciples named either by the Synoptists or in the Fourth Gospel for whom our Lord may be said to have shewn a special affection? As we know, He loved all His own to the end (John xiii 1), and especially those whom He had chosen to be His Apostles (John xiii 34 f, xv 12). But was there one among these who was pre-eminently the Beloved Disciple? Or if there was, can we say that it was the Apostle John? John was one of the three whom the Lord took with Him to the scenes of the Transfiguration and the Agony, and one of the four who questioned the Master privately about the sign of His Coming (Mark xiii 3; cf. Matt. xxiv 3). But this is merely to say that he was among the first four members of the Apostolic body. Nor does either of the sayings attributed to John (Mark ix 38, Luke ix 54), or the request which came from the two sons of Zebedee (Mark x 37), indicate any special affinity to the mind of Christ. All the depth of insight and fervour of love which we connect with the name of John belong to the Beloved Disciple and not, so far as we know, to the son of Zebedee.

Of a specializing love for individuals who are named in the Gospels we have only two examples. (*a*) Jesus loved the family of Bethany, and every member of it (John xi 3 ὃν φιλεῖς ἀσθενεῖ· *ib.* 5 ἠγάπα

[1] See also Gal. ii 9.

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ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν Μάρθαν καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς καὶ τὸν Λάζαρον). (*b*) He loved the rich young ruler who sought Him out on the way to Jerusalem (Mark x 21 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐμβλέψας αὐτῷ ἠγάπησεν αὐτόν). Could the Beloved Disciple of the Fourth Gospel have been one of these?

Some of the conditions are satisfied by Lazarus. He lived within two miles of Jerusalem; his family were in good circumstances (so we may gather from John xii 1 ff); it is not impossible that he was acquainted with the High Priest; and his house at Bethany would have formed a suitable home for the Mother of Jesus. But it is difficult to believe that, if the Beloved Disciple had been the subject of our Lord's greatest miracle, the fact would have been passed by without notice either in the Fourth Gospel or in early Christian tradition. Nor is it easy to conceive of any chain of circumstances which would have converted Lazarus of Bethany into the θεολόγος, the leader of Greek Christianity who survived under the name of John to the end of the first century.

The other disciple whom Jesus loved answers better to the requirements of the case. The man was rich, even very rich (ἔχων κτήματα πολλά Mt. Mk.; πλούσιος σφόδρα Lk.); he was an ἄρχων (Lk.), i.e. probably a member of the Sanhedrin (cf. Lk. xxiii 13, xxiv 20, John iii 1, xii 42), and in A.D. 29 was still relatively young (νεανίσκος Mt.), though he had passed his first youth (ἐκ νεότητος Mk.). He ran up to our Lord as Jesus started afresh on His journey to Jerusalem (ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ εἰς ὁδὸν [cf. x 1, 32] προσδραμών Mk.), hastening to seize the opportunity of putting to the Master the most vital of all questions. The Lord's answer disappointed him, at least for the moment; he went away with clouded brow, a sadder man. But who shall say that Christ's love did not avail to bring him back? or that on his return he may not have attached himself to Jesus with a fervour and wholeheartedness which justified the Lord's immediate recognition of his worth?

Was it he who wrote the Fourth Gospel? Was he the John of tradition who was laid to rest at Ephesus in the days of Trajan? It is one of the many questions arising out of the history of early Christianity which are more easily raised than answered: τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς θεὸς οἶδεν.

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II.

JOHN OF EPHESUS.

CHRISTIAN tradition of the second century speaks of a certain John who lived at Ephesus until the time of Trajan (98–117), and was buried there. He had been a personal follower of the Lord, and is almost invariably styled ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ κυρίου, *Domini discipulus*; it is usual to identify him with the Beloved Disciple who wrote the Fourth Gospel. From the middle of the second century this person is occasionally described as an Apostle or associated with the Apostles; and a little later on he is freely identified with John the son of Zebedee and brother of James. The question of his identity is further complicated by the statement that more than one John resided at Ephesus toward the end of the Apostolic age.

The purpose of this paper is to bring together afresh the chief points of the evidence in the hope that some light may be thrown upon the problem.

1. In a fragment often transcribed and discussed, Papias of Hierapolis, an ἀκουστὴς Ἰωάννου (Iren. v 33. 4), relates that it was his practice, when he met any one who had followed the elders, to ask what they had said: τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν, ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος, ἤ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν· ἃ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταί, λέγουσιν. Eusebius who has preserved this fragment (*H. E.* iii 39) draws the inference that Papias here mentions two Johns, both 'elders', but the former an Apostle, the latter not of Apostolic rank; and though this conclusion has been disputed, it is certainly the obvious and natural interpretation of the words.[1]

2. The Muratorian fragment on the canon appears to contrast the author of the Fourth Gospel as a disciple with Andrew as an Apostle: 'quarti evangeliorum Iohannis ex decipolis (*sic*: = ὁ μαθητής) . . . eadem nocte revelatum Andreae ex apostolis (τῷ ἀποστόλῳ).'

3. With Irenaeus John of Ephesus is always 'the disciple of the Lord' (ii 22. 5, iii 3. 4); indirectly, however, he seems to class John with the Apostles (ii 22. 5, iv 26. 2, v 5. 1).[2]

4. The Valentinians reckoned the Evangelist as an Apostle, e.g. Ptolemaeus *ad Floram* 1. 6; Heracleon *ap.* Origen *in Ioann.* t. vi 2.[3]

[1] See Lightfoot *Supernatural Religion* p. 144.

[2] The passages are collected by Lightfoot, *S. R.* p. 218.

[3] See Zahn *Intr.* iii p. 199.

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5. In a rhetorical passage of his *De Antichristo* (Lagarde, p. 17) Hippolytus addresses John in the words Ἰωάννη, ἀπόστολε καὶ μαθητά.

6. Writers from the end of the second century onwards assume the identity of John of Ephesus with the Apostle John; e.g. Clement of Alexandria *Quis dives* 42 ἄκουσον μῦθον οὐ μῦθον, ἀλλὰ ὄντα λόγον περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου παραδεδομένον: Tertullian *adv. Marc.* iii 14 'apostolus Iohannes in Apocalypsi': *ibid.* iv 5, where the 'Iohannis alumnae ecclesiae' are reckoned among the 'ecclesiae apostolorum'.

7. A similar tendency to pass from 'disciple' to 'apostle' shews itself in the Latin prologues to St John. Thus while the Monarchian prologue (Wordsworth-White, p. 485 sq.) contents itself with saying 'Hic est Iohannes evangelista unus ex discipulis Dei', the Toletan boldly announces the identity of the Beloved Disciple with the Apostle: 'Iohannes Apostolus, quem Dominus Iesus amavit plurimum . . . scripsit evangelium'.

8. I have reserved to the last the one weighty testimony to this identity. Justin expressly numbers the author of the Apocalypse[1] among the Apostles (*Dial.* 81 παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνήρ τις ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἷς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένῃ αὐτῷ κτλ.). Justin was at Ephesus in the early years of the fourth decade of the second century, and for the last year or two of his residence there he was a Christian[2]; but what his relations with the Christian Society at Ephesus were, or how far he can be regarded as a trustworthy exponent of Ephesian ecclesiastical tradition, we do not know. All that can reasonably be inferred from his statement is that at Ephesus the title of Apostle had begun to be attached to John as early as 130, i.e. within little more than thirty years after his death. How loosely, however, the title could be used and was used by Justin himself is clear from other passages in his writings, where the Gospels are called the ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων (*Apol.* i 66; *Dial.* 101, 103).

9. The position held in the Ephesian church by John of Ephesus is not very clearly defined. Irenaeus is careful to say that he was not its founder, and claims for him only the influence which comes from a long abode in the same place (iii 3. 4 ἡ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησία ὑπὸ Παύλου μὲν τεθεμελιωμένη, Ἰωάννου δὲ παραμείναντος αὐτοῖς κτλ.). There is nothing to shew that he was in any sense, like Timothy, the delegate of the Apostolic founder; his rôle is rather that of an itinerant who elected to settle down in a great centre of Christian life (cf. *Didache* 13). But whether by force of character or length of service or both he acquired a position of quite exceptional authority throughout the

[1] I assume that Justin, like Irenaeus (*Haer.* iv 20. 11), identifies the author of the Apocalypse with the *Domini discipulus*.

[2] See Harnack *Chronologie* i p. 284.

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province of Asia. It is thus described by Clement of Alexandria *Quis dives* l. c. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ . . . μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον, ἀπῄει παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἁρμόσων, ὅπου δὲ κλήρῳ ἕνα γέ τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημαινομένων. As we see it in this summary, John's work during the last few years of his life was more than episcopal; indeed, if we may trust Tertullian, he was the founder of the Episcopate (*adv. Marc.* iv 5 'ordo episcoporum ad originem recensus in Iohannem stabit auctorem'). Was he then an Apostle? Not necessarily. In the yet fluid state of Church organization one of the few surviving disciples of the Lord, a great Christian teacher and prophet,[1] who was the acknowledged leader in his own neighbourhood of Christian thought and life, would doubtless have taken precedence of the local church officers, and exercised the authority of the Church. It is noticeable that Clement, though he calls him an Apostle, does not represent him as using apostolic authority, but as acting on the invitation of the churches (παρακαλούμενος). A similar account is given of his action in adding a fourth Gospel to the three already in circulation; he did this not on his own initiative but (says the Muratorian canon) 'cohortantibus condiscipulis et episcopis suis', or, as Clement has it (*ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vi 14), πρατραπεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων. In neither of these two great activities of his later life does John lay claim to Apostolic independence.

10. John of Ephesus was buried at Ephesus (Polycrates *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v 24 Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ κυρίου ἀναπεσών . . . οὗτος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεκοίμηται). The Acts of John give a singular account of his descent into the grave and subsequent disappearance, which is evidently an attempt to realize the conviction, Ὁ μαθητὴς ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἀποθνήσκει. The story is given in a slightly different form by the writer of the Monarchian prologue (Wordsworth and White, p. 486): 'descendens in defossum sepulturae suae locum, facta oratione, positus est ad patres suos, tam extraneus a dolore mortis quam a corruptione carnis invenitur alienus.'[2]

The death of John of Ephesus occurred after the beginning of Trajan's reign (Iren. ii 22. 5 παρέμεινεν γὰρ αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων), and therefore not before the year 98, when any personal follower of the Lord who survived must have been of advanced age.

[1] Of the prophets the *Didache* says (*c.* 13), αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν. It is just possible that this accounts for the story of the πέταλον, though I have suggested in the previous paper another explanation and think it preferable.

[2] Dionysius of Alexandria (*ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vii 25) had heard that there were at Ephesus two tombs bearing the name of John: cf. Eus. *H. E.* iii 39. But the fact, if it be such, does not help us; there might have been in the first and second centuries many Jewish residents at Ephesus of the name of John.

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Tradition, moreover, represents John as having ended his long life in peace. But according to a statement attributed to Papias, John the son of Zebedee was, like his brother James, slain by the Jews. A fragment printed by De Boor from an Oxford MS of the seventh or eighth century (Barocc. 142), which probably forms part of an epitome of the *Chronicle* of Philip of Side (v), says: Παπίας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθησαν. Similarly one of the MSS of Georgius Hamartolus (ix) states that John the son of Zebedee μαρτυρίου κατηξίωται,[1] adding Παπίας γὰρ ὁ Ἱεραπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, αὐτόπτης τούτου γενόμενος, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων φάσκει ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθη. If these MSS are strictly independent witnesses, it is difficult or wellnigh impossible to doubt that Papias used the words Ἰωάννης . . . ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθη or the like. Neither Lightfoot's restoration of the text,[2] nor Zahn's supposition that John the Baptist is intended,[3] has much probability. But it is possible that Papias was misled by a misconception arising out of the saying in Mark x 39, or that he was misunderstood by the readers to whom the statement in the two late MSS is due. It is certainly strange that early Christian tradition is without a vestige of any other reference to the martyrdom of the Apostle John,[4] and that writers like Eusebius, who had access to the work of Papias, are silent about it. On the whole, then, it is precarious to use this piece of evidence until further light is thrown upon it.

But putting aside for the present De Boor's discovery, and relying only upon the undoubted witness of early Christian writers, we do not appear to have any convincing proof of the identity of the Apostle John with John of Ephesus, or even of the residence of the former at Ephesus towards the end of the first century. Whether John of Ephesus is to be identified with the πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης of Papias is uncertain; that he was an Apostle in the narrower sense, is at least 'not proven'. The gradual application to him of the title 'apostle' with or instead of ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ κυρίου seems to have arisen from a loose use of the higher designation, coupled with a desire to do honour to the memory of the greatest teacher the Asian Church had known after the passing of St Paul.

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[1] The other MSS of this writer have ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀνεπαύσατο.

[2] *S. R.* p. 212.

[3] *Intr.* iii p. 206.

[4] Polycrates indeed speaks of John of Ephesus as μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος, but μάρτυς may refer to John xxi 24, or to the exile to Patmos.

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Μετεσχημάτισα 1 COR. iv 6.

Ταῦτα δέ, ἀδελφοί, μετεσχημάτισα εἰς ἐμαυτὸν καὶ Ἀπολλὼν δι' ὑμᾶς, ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν μάθητε τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἃ γέγραπται, ἵνα μὴ εἷς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἑνὸς φυσιοῦσθε κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου.

THE word *μετεσχημάτισα* 'transferred in a figure' has exercised a good deal of influence on the historical interpretation of 1 Corinthians. On it has been based the idea, originated apparently by Chrysostom, that the Paul, Apollos, and Peter parties never really existed and that the Corinthian factions were really headed by other men, whose names were veiled under Paul, &c. here and in chapter i. This theory is, I think, now generally discredited,[1] and the view which I believe to be substantially right, that by the example of his and his colleague's names he intended to teach a *general* lesson of humility, seems to be usually adopted. Nevertheless, I imagine, the ordinary reader is still pulled up sharp by the word. He understands that the names of Paul and Apollos are used 'figuratively', and he has a difficulty in fitting the explanation sketched above into the associations of the words 'figurative' and 'figure'.

I think I may go a step further and say that some of the commentaries I have looked at, while recognizing that a rhetorical 'figure' is alluded to, suggest that the writers have no clear conception what such a 'figure' is. And occasionally I find traces of what I hope to shew is a wrong conception. Thus Dr Plummer in the 'International Critical Commentary' writes: 'The meaning then will be "I have transferred these comments to myself and Apollos for the purpose of a covert allusion and that for your sakes, that in our persons you may get instruction".' The *μετασχηματισμός* therefore consists in putting forward the names of those not really responsible for the *στάσεις* instead of the names of others who were more to blame. This is not, of course, the Chrysostom theory, but it agrees with it in so far as it attributes a certain amount of unreality to the names Paul and Apollos.

The fact, I think, is that the English word 'figure' and the Latin

[1] Though it still goes out to the world under the authority of a great university. The Cambridge Bible and Greek Testament for Schools Editions say, on i 12: 'St Paul plainly states in iv 6 that he had replaced the names of the antagonistic teachers at Corinth by those of himself and Apollos in order to secure his rebukes from assuming a personal form.'

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'figura' have been misleading. 'Figura' is merely one of the many failures of Latin terminology to express the Greek. Many, if not most, of the Latin grammatical and rhetorical terms are merely clumsy, literal, and often misleading attempts at a Greek word, as for instance the absurd 'genitivus' for γενικός. 'Figura' Englished as 'figure' has naturally acquired the idea of likeness, symbol, or image, and implies that the thing mentioned really stands for something else. But the Greek σχῆμα has no such associations. It means arrangement or formation. The conception may be put thus. Besides the direct, obvious way of stating a thing, there are generally other ways less obvious and direct, but for various reasons more effective. Any of these is a σχῆμα. But it does not follow that these less direct ways use words in a non-natural sense. When words or phrases are used in any but the natural sense, we get not a 'figure', but a 'trope'. 'Trope' is defined by Quintilian as 'sermo a naturali et principali significatione translatus ad aliam ornandae orationis gratia'.[1] Thus not only a metaphor is a 'trope', but the term includes 'synecdoche' when we use 'roof' for 'house', or 'metonymy' when we use 'Bacchus' for 'wine', and other such variations. On the other hand, a 'figure' is a 'conformatio orationis remota a communi et primum se offerente ratione'. In fact it is an essential, though not of course the main, characteristic of a 'figure', that the words which compose it should be used in their natural and literal meaning. They may suggest more than they say, but they do mean what they say.

Figures are always divided into 'figures of speech' (σχήματα λέξεως) and 'figures of thought' (or perhaps better 'of meaning') (σχήματα διανοίας). The former need not detain us long. They include such things as repetition ('O Corydon, Corydon'), antithesis, and the like. In such cases change the words or their arrangement and the figure is gone. No doubt many rhetoricians made great play with them. I might illustrate their spirit from a passage in Arnold Bennett's story 'A Great Man'. The hero, then a small schoolboy, has won a prize for an essay on 'Streets'. An older cousin derisively recites the essay. There appears in a passage on the unpaved streets of the past 'it was not an unfrequent occurrence', &c. Says the cousin, 'Where did you steal "not an unfrequent occurrence" from'? 'I did not steal it', says Henry, 'I thought of it.' 'Then you will be a great writer.' No doubt many a Greek and Roman schoolboy received similar, though more serious, encouragement from his teacher. But to the wiser minds 'figures of thought' were far more important.

A 'figure of thought' is found when a whole passage is cast in a way which departs from the obvious and thereby serves some

[1] Quintilian ix 1. 4.

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effective purpose. Thus irony is sometimes a 'trope', sometimes a 'figure of thought'. When Cicero speaks of an accomplice of Catiline as 'virum optimum' he uses a 'trope'.[1] So does St Paul in his ἐπλουτήσατε, ἐβασιλεύσατε, a few verses on. But the irony which runs through the Apology, and I think that of 2 Cor. x–xii, are 'figures of thought'. The Epistle to Philemon has 'figures of thought'. The request for forgiveness to Onesimus might have been made more directly; the delicate manner in which it is actually put is in the rhetorical sense 'figurative'. No doubt one of the favourite 'figures of thought' is ἔμφασις,[2] where a more or less veiled meaning is conveyed by words which, though they do bear their natural sense, may also suggest something more. So far Dr Plummer's remark about 'veiled allusion' might be justified. But there are plenty of other 'figures' which do not come under this head. For instance, Quintilian mentions 'communicatio',[3] where the speaker takes the audience into deliberation with himself. Cato says somewhere, 'What, gentlemen, would you have done in my case?' This 'figure' suggests to the judges that after all they may have the same difficulties to meet as the speaker. By enlisting sympathy it makes our speech more effective and thus fulfils the purpose of a 'figure'.

St Paul seems to me to indicate pretty clearly what the 'figure' in our passage is. He wishes to warn the Corinthians against pride and faction, and to impress upon them that no one has anything to boast of. But as this is depreciatory, and to state it directly might alienate, he employs a 'figure of thought'. He leads up to his point and disarms hostility by speaking of himself and Apollos as nothing more than 'stewards', and instruments. The 'figure' would be described by a rhetorician as follows: 'When you are obliged to make remarks which may be offensive to the pride of the audience, lead up to them by shewing that this depreciation includes yourself.' As a matter of fact I have not found this particular 'figure' in the lists of any rhetorician, and I think for a sufficient reason. They wrote for public speakers, and public speakers usually avoided depreciatory remarks altogether, and therefore did not need 'figures' to lead up to them. But it finds an excellent converse in the 'communicatio' mentioned above, and also in a very similar figure, which Tiberius, a writer on the subject, calls καθόλου.[4] This

[1] Quintilian ix 2. 45.

[2] ἔμφασις is used in this way by Chrysostom in his homily on this passage. There is ἔμφασις or further suggestion in the word σχίσματα. Our modern use of 'emphasis' does not seem to have any foundation in ancient rhetoric. The correct use survived in English till the seventeenth century (*v.* Murray).

[3] Quintilian ix 2. 20.

[4] Spengel *Graec. Rhet.* vol. iii p. 68.

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figure consists in impressing on the judges that you are only asking ὃ βεβούληται τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἕκαστος 'what every one who ever entered a law court has wished'. In this figure, as in 'communicatio', we disarm hostility by shewing that what we claim for ourselves we also claim for those we address. In St Paul's figure we disarm it by shewing that the depreciation we mete out to others extends also to ourselves. The remark which Tiberius makes about καθόλου 'by this figure we can often preserve the requirements of our purpose and at the same time avoid what jars', might very well be applied to St Paul's figure.[1]

Though I have not found this 'figure' in the lists, I am not sure that we may not give it a name. Chrysostom, who in spite of his erroneous theory about the names, treats the whole passage in the spirit of the trained rhetorician, speaks of St Paul's method as συγκατάβασις καὶ οἰκονομία.[2] Both these words are, I think, frequently used theologically of the Incarnation, but the second, at any rate, is also a well-known rhetorical term. It signifies 'organization', the arrangement and adaptation of the material (as opposed to the language) to make it more effective, and therefore covers 'figure of thought', though of course much besides. I should be inclined to guess that συγκατάβασις (Latinized no doubt as 'condescensio') had become in Chrysostom's time a more or less technical term. Christian preaching is an offshoot of pagan rhetoric, but with some *mutata mutanda*. While the forensic pleader is for the moment the inferior, having to persuade those who for the moment are his masters, and therefore needs 'communicatio' to convince them that not only he but they are involved, the preacher starting from the position of the superior, and having some plain speaking to do, requires, if he wishes to conciliate, to shew that he as well as they are involved; and it may well be that συγκατάβασις in the pulpit had become an accepted 'figure'. At any rate it makes a good name for St Paul's figure in our passage.

On the other hand, if the names of Paul and Apollos are simply disguises of the names of Corinthian party leaders we should have not a 'figure', but a 'trope'. For the names are changed 'a naturali significatione ad aliam'. We may go further and say that it is the species of 'trope' called 'allegory'.[3] Quintilian, in his chapter on

[1] Ἔστιν ἐν τῷ σχήματι τούτῳ πολλάκις τὴν χρείαν τοῦ νοήματος τηροῦντα τὸ προσκροῦον φυλάττεσθαι.

[2] *Hom.* 12.

[3] Chrysostom, however, calls it 'hyperbole', which also was a trope not a figure. His idea seems to be 'you name something greater instead of the reality, as e.g. Paul is greater than any Corinthian. But if it is wrong to make the greater into a party leader, how much more wrong must it be to make the less.'

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'tropes', devotes some space to 'allegory',[1] in which he distinguishes two varieties. One consists of a series of metaphors ('continuatae translationes'). Such is the 'allegory' in Hor. *Odes* i 14, where the Roman commonwealth is described as a ship. The other kind is exemplified by Verg. *Ecl.* ix 7–10:—

> Certe equidem audieram, qua se subducere colles
> Incipiunt, mollique iugum demittere clivo,
> Usque ad aquam et veteris iam fracta cacumina fagi
> Omnia carminibus vestrum servasse Menalcan.

Here, as he remarks, there are no metaphors. All except the name is described *propriis verbis*. For the passage is a literal description of Vergil's farm and its retention by the owner. But the name of Menalcas is substituted for Vergil. Here we have a very close parallel to Chrysostom's interpretation of St Paul. In one case the name of some one else is an alias for the writer. In the other the writer's name is an alias for some one else. It will be remembered that St Paul uses the term allegory (ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα) quite correctly in Gal. iv 24.

It would perhaps be rash to say that St Paul is not likely to have confused 'figures' and 'tropes'. Quintilian tells us that even distinguished rhetoricians sometimes ignored such distinctions[2] and that many people, including some professional writers, identified the two.[3] But when we see that (1) St Paul uses ἀλληγορία correctly in Gal. iv 24, (2) that the correct use of σχῆμα makes excellent sense in our passage, while (3) the theory of an incorrect use involves very great literary and historical improbabilities, we are, I think, justified in rejecting that theory absolutely. I would go further than Lake,[4] who says of Chrysostom's view that, though improbable, it is not 'impossible exegesis'.

The question may be asked, how came Chrysostom, who no doubt was well acquainted with scientific rhetoric, to blunder about a common term. I very much doubt whether he did. He certainly bases his idea that Paul and Apollos are used fictitiously on μετεσχημάτισα. But otherwise he seems to me to interpret the passage as if he thoroughly understood it, and I am inclined to think that he found the idea of changing the names not in the ἐσχημάτισα, but in the μετά. I do not think this is 'possible exegesis', but it does not involve any misuse of rhetorical terms. His interpretation then would be if he

[1] Quintilian viii 6. 44.

[2] *Ib.* ii 11. 1. He tells a story of one who, when asked what a σχῆμα was, replied that he had no idea, but 'si ad rem pertineret esse in sua declamatione'.

[3] *Ib.* ix 1. 2. No doubt this applies only to earlier times, before the theory was finally established.

[4] *Earlier Epistles of St Paul*, p. 126.

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expressed himself as a rhetorician, 'I changed (by a trope) the names of the party leaders to Paul and Apollos, and in doing so also used the "figure" of *συγκατάβασις*.' The 'trope' of course, on this view, consisted in using the names of Paul and Apollos instead of the real leaders, the 'figure' in conciliating his readers by suggesting that any depreciation he meted out to them extended also to himself.

F. H. COLSON.

ON 1 CORINTHIANS XV 26.

IT must surely have occurred to others besides the present writer, when listening to the Lesson in the English Burial Service, that the asyndeton in 1 Cor. xv 26 is very odd. 'The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death.' Good: but how is this connected with what goes before? How has it been led up to? And if it be odd in English, a language that easily admits simple juxtaposition of sentences, with no conjunction but their inner logical appropriateness, it is still odder in Greek, which of all languages has most developed the use of connecting particles. The absence of any connecting particle at the beginning of 1 Cor. xv 26 ought to indicate a break in the thought, and yet there is no such break.

I am convinced that the current punctuation is wrong, that a comma should be put at the end of *ver.* 25 instead of a full-stop, and that *τὸ τέλοσ* at the beginning of *ver.* 24 does not mean 'the End of all things' but is adverbial (= 'finally'), as in 1 Pet. iii 8.

The passage will then run:—

'[23] But every one in his own order: Christ as first-fruits, then those that are Christ's at his coming, [24] then finally . . . when he has abolished all rule and all authority and power ([25] for he must reign till he "put all the enemies under his feet") [26] death will be abolished as the last enemy, [27] for "He hath put all things in subjection under his feet".'

It is all one long sentence. The general sense is much the same as before, but the syntax I venture to think is better. And the nomenclature is better, for according to St Paul's presentation *τὸ τέλοσ* in *ver.* 24 is definitely not 'the End'. It is not the beginning of the End, for that surely is the Coming, the *Parusia*, of Christ. Nor again is it the absolute End, for St Paul goes on immediately to speak of a further event after the abolition of death, viz. the subjection of the Son to the Father. But if we take *τὸ τέλοσ* as an adverb, in conjunction with *εἶτα*, and in contrast to *ἀπαρχή* and *ἔπειτα*, all these difficulties are avoided.

In the above I have given an independent translation, in order to make my meaning clear. But all the change that is needed in the

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familiar Authorized Version is to change 'Then *cometh* the end' (*ver.* 24) into 'Then at the end', and to alter the punctuation by putting a semi-colon instead of a full-stop at the end of *ver.* 23, and commas instead of full-stops at the ends of *vv.* 24, 25, and 26.

F. C. BURKITT.

TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

THE subject treated in my note in the January number of the JOURNAL is of so great importance that I am glad that Mr McLean's rejoinder in the April number gives me the opportunity of returning to it. I think there is a difference as to the principles of textual criticism between Mr McLean and myself, and I should like to state quite clearly what my own principles are.

There is, indeed, nothing new in them; they are familiar to every student of the New Testament, but they apply (I believe) equally well to the Old.

(i) In the case which I discussed in January (Ps. xcvii 11) two of these principles are specially applicable. They are (1) Parallel passages are specially liable to corruption by assimilation; (2) The difficult reading is generally to be preferred to the easier. I need not say that both these principles are amply illustrated in the text (e.g.) of the Synoptic Gospels. The state of the Lucan text of the Lord's Prayer illustrates (1); while several rugged passages in the Second Gospel illustrate (2).

But are not these principles to be applied also to the textual criticism of the Psalms? I say without hesitation that it is just, simply just, to keep in mind in the study of the text of the O.T. the danger of textual assimilation of parallel passages. Here is an undeniable case of a near coincidence in language which a scribe would be tempted consciously or unconsciously to make more complete.

Ps. xcvii 11 אור זרע (זרוע v. l.) לצדיק
ולישרי לב שמחה:

Ps. cxii 4 זרח בחשך אור לישרים

The first of these two parallel passages is afflicted with a (presumed) various reading (זרח) which in fact coincides with the reading of the second. When such a case occurs in the New Testament, critics give careful consideration to the possibility that an attempt has been made to assimilate one passage to the other.

The second principle, that of giving preference generally to the harder reading, also applies to Ps. xcvii 11. I think no one will deny

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that אור זרע is the harder reading, which a scribe or a translator would be tempted to change into the dangerously easy emendation אור זרח. On the other hand, the harder reading is in accordance with Hebrew thought[1]: 'Light is sown and gladness (harvest gladness[2]) for the upright in heart.'

The corollary may be added that while it is easy to see a reason why זרע should be corrupted into זרח, it is not easy to see why זרח (with אור standing next to it!) should be corrupted into זרע.

(ii) When Mr McLean goes on to criticize my suggestion about the original reading of the Peshiṭta he overlooks the existence of the parallel passage, and also the existence of the Syro-Hexaplar. I need not defend at length a view which was put forward as a suggestion only, but it is at least worthy of something better than ridicule. (1) ܙܪܥ is an actual Syriac rendering used in this passage, not a fancy of my own brain; (2) it could easily be confused by a scribe reading a worn MS with ܙܪܚ the present reading of the Peshiṭta, especially since (3) the easy reading ܙܪܚ already existed in the parallel passage (Ps. cxii 4) to help the scribe to go wrong.

(iii) The Targum gives דנח ומיטמר, a double rendering, the first word corresponding to זרח, the second to זרע; but Wellhausen contents himself with citing דנח as the rendering of the Targum, ignoring the second word altogether. This, I contend, is unfair, but Mr McLean would justify Wellhausen by maintaining that ומיטמר can only be 'due to revision of the more primitive Targum-text on the basis of the later Massoretic'. I think that Mr McLean has been misled by the mere order of the words, which is by no means decisive as to the priority in time of the first word. Once more it is necessary to remember the disturbing influence of the parallel passage. The Targumist is more than a word-for-word translator; he adds a touch of comment from time to time. Here he remembers two slightly varying promises or assurances and he reconciles them, blending them into one. 'For the righteous and upright', he says, 'light is sometimes spreading its rays, sometimes hiding them', but let the righteous none the less 'rejoice in the Word of JEHOVAH'. I hope it is not necessary to assure Mr McLean that I am 'serious' in thinking that the double rendering of the Targum is due to the double reading of the Hebrew, one in Ps. xcvii 11, the other in Ps. cxii 4.

(iv) In one respect I acknowledge that Mr McLean has caught me. I did not realize the fact that Wellhausen in his critical edition of the Book of Psalms *nowhere* gives more than the evidence for readings

[1] See *Journal*, p. 156.

[2] The Heb. שמחה is a common word, but it is not without significance that it is applied to *harvest* joy (Isa. ix 2; xvi 10).

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differing from MT. It is an unpleasant shock to one's feeling of what is due to scholarship to realize that this is Wellhausen's method. To my mind few tasks are more difficult than the task of stating fairly *one side* only of the evidence in a textual problem. When one side only is stated, the statement can hardly fail to give a false impression. It is often difficult to extract a simple *Yes* or *No* from a textual authority, particularly if that authority be a version. Wellhausen's curt note with its '𝔊 𝔖 𝔗 𝔎' certainly gives one the impression that there is practically no evidence to be alleged for the MT of Ps. xcvii 11 (beyond the MT itself), and that the evidence for זרח, the supposed reading of the LXX, is overwhelming. But this is a false impression. The witness of , certainly here in the Psalter, is more probably an echo of 𝔊 than a piece of independent evidence. 𝔗's reading, *which Wellhausen has mis-stated*, tells at least as much in favour of MT as against it. 𝔖 (on comparison with the parallel place) lies under a textual doubt, slight perhaps, but real, and not to be simply blown aside. Lastly, as regards 𝔊 itself, it must be remembered that the rendering ἀνέτειλεν is no conclusive proof that the Seventy found the reading זרח in the Hebrew copy or copies from which they translated. The existence of a parallel passage has influenced the Alexandrine translators in other places, notably in one discussed briefly below (Zech. i 8). That the Seventy themselves felt that Ps. xcvii 11 and Ps. cxii 4 are kindred passages is sufficiently shewn by their renderings:

(*a*) φῶς ἀνέτειλεν τῷ δικαίῳ
καὶ τοῖς εὐθέσι τῇ καρδίᾳ εὐφροσύνη
(Ps. xcvii 11; Swete following B).

(*b*) ἐξανέτειλεν ἐν σκότει φῶς τοῖς εὐθέσι (Ps. cxii 4; Swete following ℵ).

In the light of this close parallelism it cannot safely be asserted that the LXX read זרח in Ps. xcvii 11. If they had had before them the reading found in all but all of our Hebrew MSS (an entirely probable assumption), they would nevertheless have been sorely tempted to emend this harder reading (זרע) into the easier reading of the parallel passage. Their business was to make a popular and readable translation.

A similar case of the corrupting influence of a parallel passage is found in Zech. i 8, 10, 11. Here Wellhausen does *not* go with LXX, at least in the book before me (*Skizzen*, fünftes Heft, 1892, § 39). The prophet narrates eight visions, the first (i 7 ff) and the eighth (vi 1-8) being somewhat similar in imagery. In the first a mysterious horseman, behind whom were horses of different colours, stood 'among the myrtle trees' (הדסים). In the eighth four chariots drawn by horses of different

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colours, representing the winds of heaven, were seen coming out 'from between two mountains' (ההרים). The two different notes of place are thus kept distinct for the two visions in MT, but the distinction is obliterated in the LXX. In the Greek the mysterious horseman of the first vision stands ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν (+ δύο cod. A in *v.* 8) ὀρέων (i 8, 10, 11); the chariots of the eighth vision proceed ἐκ μέσου δύο ὀρέων. *Mountains* are more common than *myrtles* in the imagery of O. T. visions, and the Hebrew equivalent of the former occurs some hundred times as against three occurrences of the latter in O. T. So the Greek translators again follow the line of least resistance. They submit to the disturbing influence of a parallel passage, and once more they give their preference to the more 'ordinary' reading.

Looking back over the points of our discussion I feel that I have very little to withdraw: that little is the assumption that Wellhausen's statement of the evidence was intended to be in some sense complete. I learn from Mr McLean that it was intended to be *ex parte*. Looking back again at my own presentation of the textual facts (JOURNAL, p. 156) I see nothing to change, though I should be glad to add 𝔖 (for Jerome's *Psalterium iuxta Heb.*) within brackets to the authorities quoted for זרח. But the brackets must not be omitted, for the reading is word for word that of the Gallican Psalter, which is only a revision of an Old Latin version of the LXX. Jerome, therefore, may be only echoing the Seventy in this passage.

Mr McLean and I are 'out', I gather, on three matters of principle. I hold (1) that in the O. T. as in the N. T. the danger of corruption from a parallel passage is very great; (2) that the *prima facie* case is in favour of a harder reading; (3) that the reading of the MT counts as a reading, while *prima facie* the 'reading' of the LXX is only an interpretation or an emendation. Interpreters are more likely to change what they see than scribes, so evidence is needed to raise a rendering of the Greek to the position of a witness to a various reading of the underlying Hebrew text. Mere suspicion of the MT cannot be counted as evidence. Mr McLean passes very lightly over these considerations. Finally we differ on a matter of degree. By all means let the evidence (or supposed evidence) of the LXX be received and tested. But let the facts as to the origin of the version and its transmission in early days be duly weighed. Something can be learned from an ignorant witness and even from one who has been 'handled' by an Origen or a Lucian, but his evidence must be severely sifted. The bulk of it will dwindle sorely in the process, and we may be thankful if out of ten passages of the MT which seem to us to need emendation, the LXX gives us trustworthy help in one.

W. EMERY BARNES.

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ON *CELTIS* 'A CHISEL': A STUDY IN TEXTUAL TRADITION.

ONE of the earliest Biblical various readings discussed at the Revival of Learning was whether in the Latin Vulgate text of Job xix 24 we should read *vel celte* or *vel certe*. F. Lucas of Bruges wrote an interesting Note upon it in his Animadversions, published in 1580, which is still worth reading. The question has come up again, because M. Havet in his quite admirable *Manuel de Critique Verbale* (1911), par. 898, has championed *vel celte* on internal grounds. The discussion of this reading is therefore of some interest for the student of textual criticism in general, and I propose to examine it somewhat fully.

(§ 1) The Hebrew of Job xix 23, 24 presents no difficulty: sense and language are alike clear. A literal translation is

> Oh, that now my words might be written!
> Oh, that in a deed they might be inscribed!
> With a pen of iron and lead
> For ever on the rock might they be engraved!

It is not quite clear, and in a poetical style it is not necessary to be clear, whether Job is thinking of one inscription, or of alternative methods. Probably the latter; perhaps he suggests three alternatives: (i) a written roll, (ii) a leaden tablet, incised with an iron stylus, (iii) an inscription cut on a stone.

(§ 2) The oldest known rendering of the passage is the LXX, the true text of which has

τίσ γὰρ ἂν δῴη γραφῆναι τὰ ῥήματά μου, τεθῆναι δὲ αὐτὰ ἐν βιβλίῳ εἰσ τὸν αἰῶνα ἢ ἐν πέτραισ ἐγγλυφῆναι;

This is the text attested by the Sahidic version and the Syro-Hexaplar, which for the Book of Job are our best authorities. Most Greek MSS (including B) insert *ἐν γραφίῳ σιδηρῷ καὶ μολίβῳ* after *εἰσ τὸν αἰῶνα*, but our Hexaplar authorities expressly warn us to read these words under asterisk, i. e. we are to understand that they are among the 400 half-lines originally left untranslated in the original Greek version and first inserted into the text by Origen. B* further omits *ἢ ἐν πέτραισ ἐγγλυφῆναι*, but the words are supplied by an early corrector.

The text as given above has the regular characteristics of the old Greek Version of Job, among which may be noted an entire ignoring

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of the Hebrew system of parallelism in poetical style, and a free insertion of Greek particles where, in the opinion of the translator, they were needed to make the sense clearer. Here δέ carries on the action of writing down Job's words, while ἤ indicates where one of the alternatives is reckoned to begin. The translator chose badly; εἰσ τὸν αἰῶνα ought to go with ἐν πέτραισ ἐγγλυφῆναι, as is shewn by the balance of the clauses in Hebrew and as is recognized by the Massoretic accentuation.

Origen made things worse: not seeing that εἰσ τὸν αἰῶνα ought to belong to ἐν πέτραισ, he made his insertion after these words instead of before them; then after ἤ he inserted εἰσ μαρτύριον from Theodotion, which is an alternative rendering of the Hebrew already translated εἰσ τὸν αἰῶνα, but with another vocalization (*lĕ'ĕd* for *lā'ad*).

These remarks on the Greek text are given by way of a parenthesis: the main point is that 'engraved on the rock' was regarded as a clause by itself, and was separated from the rest by the particle ἤ, to which in the original there is nothing to correspond.

(§ 3) St Jerome edited the text of Job in Latin twice; the first edition was a revision of the Old Latin from Origen's Hexapla, the second is a new translation of his own, professedly from the Hebrew, but that generally meant an eclectic choice of the Greek renderings of Aquila, Symmachus, or Theodotion, with occasional new renderings of the Hebrew given him by his Jewish tutors. Jerome's first rendering of our passage is 'Quis mihi tribuat ut scribantur sermones mei et ponantur in libro in perpetuum *in stylo ferreo* et plumbo, aut *in testimoniis* in petris sculpantur?' This follows the fullest Greek: the words here in italics are marked in our MS under asterisk, and there can be no doubt that *et plumbo aut* should be included also with them.

The second edition, now the Vulgate, runs in Codex Amiatinus:

> Quis mihi tribuat ut scribantur sermones mei?
> quis mihi det ut exarentur in libro
> stylo ferreo et plumbi lammina,
> uel certe sculpantur in silice?

If these words be compared with the English rendering of the Hebrew given above it will be noticed that they are a very literal translation. In only two points is there material divergence. The Hebrew has 'and lead'; it is uncertain whether this means with a leaden pen, or with leaden lettering, or on a leaden tablet. St Jerome inclines to the last hypothesis, which is indeed intrinsically probable, and so introduces his *lammina plumbi*. There is nothing said about a *lammina*, a plate, in the original, or so far as we know in any ancient version. Besides this, 'for ever' is unrepresented: this is irregular, and I can

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only suppose it is an example of the *ignauia Hieronymi* of which Wordsworth and White have collected a certain number of instances. In this case, however, a kind of explanation is to hand: *uel* corresponds to nothing in the Hebrew, and therefore is a relic of the old Greek rendering, which, as we have seen, inserted a disjunctive ἤ immediately before the equivalent for 'graven on the rock'.

(§ 4) In itself *uel certe* is quite satisfactory. *Aut certe* or *uel certe* occurs 13 times in the Vulgate Old Testament, where the Hebrew and Greek have simple 'or'. Two instances may be given:

(i) 2 Chron. vi 36b 'to a land near or far'
VULG. *in terram longinquam* UEL CERTE *quae iuxta est.*
(ii) Job xiii 22 'call and I will answer, or I will speak and answer thou me'
VULG. *Voca me et ego respondebo tibi,* AUT CERTE *loquar et tu responde mihi.*

But in Job xix 24 instead of *uel certe* some MSS and the modern official Clementine text have *uel celte*, in which *celte* is taken to be the ablative of *celtis* (or *celte*) 'a chisel', so that the last line of the verse becomes

'or with a chisel be cut in the rock'.

(§ 5) M. Havet (*Crit. Verbale* § 898) argues in favour of *celte*. His main argument is from the 'principe de banalité'; *certe* is a common word, *celte* a very uncommon word, so that a scribe would be likely to change *celte* into *certe*, unlikely to change *certe* into *celte*. Further a change of ERT into ELT is not graphic.

These are, so far as they go, sound arguments. When M. Havet goes on to say that '*certe* est obscur en soi', I can only express my polite surprise: the thirteen occurrences of *aut certe* and *uel certe*, two of which have been given above, shew quite clearly that St Jerome used these locutions as an equivalent to ἤ, just in the same way as we say 'or else' for simple 'or'. And I do not think he has considered the possibility that a tired scribe with *uelcerte* or *uel c̄te* before him might, by a sort of mental jingle, write *uelcelte* and not notice his blunder.

It may be argued further in favour of *uel celte* that Jerome has introduced the *lammina* in the preceding clause. If he rendered the word *lead* by 'a tablet of lead', he might conceivably render the word *graven* by 'graven with a chisel'.

(§ 6) All this, however, assumes that *celtis* is a real word, meaning 'chisel'. When we ask for examples beyond the doubtful use of Job xix 24, only one example, so far as I know, has ever been [illegible]

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forward. This is the epitaph of one Sertius or Sergius of Pola, described as a *histrio*. The tombstone in this epitaph is described as *malleolo et celte literatus silex*. It was published by the younger Aldus in his *Orthographiae Ratio* (1561) under the word *Cloaca*, and it was gravely accepted by Gruter. But if we look up the word in Forcellini we find that the stone was set up by one Jacobus Baduarius in the 15th century and did not profess to be antique at all. No doubt the author of these facetious lines took his word for 'chisel' out of the text of Job as he knew it. So the authority for the word goes back to the controverted text.

(§ 7) Christian scholars have a great advantage over their Classical *confrères* in the general greater antiquity of the MSS of the works in which they are interested. In the case of the Latin Bible we have the further advantage of a series of quoters, commentators, and glossators. It is therefore sometimes possible to trace the history of a word almost to its source on external evidence alone.

First, then, as to the MS evidence. And here it will be of some interest to take the reading of the three words *lammina uel certe*. The spelling of *lammina* in this place, or elsewhere, has nothing directly to do with the question whether we are to read *celte* or *certe*. But as it happens to be one of the words in which the later centuries tended to use *lamina*, with one *m*, the spelling of the word in our MSS may be regarded as an indication of the worth of the text they contain.

MSS of the Latin Vulgate are extant by hundreds, and I have only attempted to ascertain the readings of a few. The remarkable thing is that so far as I have gone at present I have found nothing but *uel certe* until we come to the 13th century, and (as we might expect) *lammina* is very much more common in these earlier MSS than *lamina*. The facts are :—

lammina uel certe	Cod. Amiatinus (about 700)
	Cod. Palatinus 24 (about 700)
	B.M. Add. 10546 (Wordsworth's K, about 850)
	„ „ 24142 (Wordsworth's H, *saec.* ix)
	„ Arund. 125 (ix)*
	„ Harl. 2805 (ix)**
	„ Royal 1 E viii (ix/x)
	„ Add. 28107 (A. D. 1097)
lamina uel certe	B.M. Add. 14788 (x)**
	„ „ 4773 (xii)**

* This MS has had the first *m* of *lammina* struck out.

** These MSS have had *certe* corrected into *celte* by much later hands.

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For the later MSS I examined 29 in the Cambridge University Library. Of these 15 have *certe*, 8 have *celte*, 4 have *scelte*, Dd xiii 6 has *cërce*, Ff vi 19 has *celpte*. Only one (Dd i 6) has *lammina*, and it is one of the 15 that have *certe*. Those that have *scelte* are

Mm iii 2 (xiii)
Dd xv 35 (xv) This MS reads *aut scelte*.
Ee ii 23 (xiv) This MS has *cërte* in the margin.
Ee vi 26 (xiv)

In two MSS *celte* has been altered to make *certe*, and in two *certe* has been altered to make *celte*. It is perhaps worth while noticing that Mm iv 22 (xiv) reads 'lamina uel celte ſcł|pantur'. If this be taken together with the occurrence of *celpte* in Ff vi 19, it may suggest the possibility that *scelte* is older than *celte*, and that it is nothing more than a miswriting of the first part of *sculpantur* which has somehow taken the place of *certe*.

I possess two Latin Bibles. One, a 12th-century codex from Bonne Espérance near Cambrai, which elsewhere has good and ancient readings, has *lammina uel certe*; the other, a very ordinary but neatly written 14th-century octavo, has *lamina uel celte*.

Surely it would be a paradox to maintain that *celte* is original and *certe* a correction, if these MSS fairly represent the state of the text in the centuries to which they belong. No external event happened between the 12th and 15th centuries which would tend to resuscitate a genuine reading of St Jerome's version.

(§ 8) From MSS we come to Commentaries. Neither St Jerome himself nor his disciple 'Philip' give any explanation of our passage. It is otherwise with the two great Latin expositions of Job, viz. the 'Moralia' of St Gregory and the Commentary of St Thomas Aquinas. St Thomas clearly read *uel certe*, as Lucas Brugensis points out.[1] As for St Gregory, it is a pity that none of the ancient codices of the *Moralia* in the British Museum is extant for Job xix (= *Moralia* lib. xiv c. 53/25), but even without their help it is evident that Gregory also read *uel certe*, as the Benedictine editors saw (Migne *P. L.* lxxv 1071 B and 1074 B). They point out that St Gregory has an elaborate explanation of the leaden 'lammina'—it signifies the weight of avarice!—and he also remarks on the iron pen and on the hardness and durability of 'silex', but he says nothing about a 'chisel'. The only MS I have seen, the 12th-century Cambridge MS (Dd i 32), agrees with the conclusions of the Benedictines, for it has *plumbi lammina uel*

[1] Lucas *Notitiones in Sacra Biblia*, p. 97 f. The Cambridge MS of St Thomas's Commentary (Kk vi 31) has clearly *certe sculpantur* (fol. 119 *vmd.*).

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certe sculpantur in silice (Migne 1071 B) and *in plumbi lammina uel certe in silice scribit* (Migne 1074 B).

Rupert of Deutz (Migne clxviii 1046) has *uel certe* in both places where the verse is explained. St Bruno (Migne clxiv 618), on the other hand, has *uel celte* in the printed text, but though he explains *stylo*, *plumbum*, and *silice*, he gives no explanation of *celte*, so that very likely he read *uel certe* also. The evidence of Cardinal Hugo is discussed below.

(§ 9) So far the evidence is almost all one way. It is a little different with the quotation of Job xix 22 ff in Jerome *aduersus Ioh. Hierosolymitanum* 30 (Migne *P. L.* xxiii 381 C). Here Vallarsi prints *lamina uel celte*, and his note seems to say that neither of his MSS have anything else. The only MS I have had access to (*C UL* Dd vii 2) reads *lamina uel celte*. This MS is of the 15th century; I do not know what age Vallarsi's MSS were, but he does not lay any stress upon their antiquity. The context is quite neutral, and Jerome makes no further reference to our verse, which is only quoted to introduce the following words where Job, according to the Latin text, professes his expectation of a bodily resurrection (*de terra surrecturus sum*). We have seen that from the 13th century onward *uel celte* had a certain tendency to be substituted for *uel certe*. It is therefore quite possible, if all our MSS of the treatise *Against John of Jerusalem* are late, that the mediaeval editor of this work, from whom our MSS are descended, was already accustomed to read *uel celte* just in the same way as he was accustomed to spell the word for a plate with one *m*. He may therefore have introduced *celte* into the text of Jerome's tract.

If I were to be employed to defend *celte* against *certe* in the Latin text of Job I think there is only one way to do it with any approach to plausibility. I should say *celtis* (or *celte*) was a very rare word used by St Jerome for some reason in this passage, though the word was so rare, and therefore obscure, that *certe* was immediately substituted for it. But St Jerome quoted his own translation accurately, and the tradition of this quotation, preserved in a work little read and rarely copied, survived uncorrupted. Then a couple of centuries before the invention of printing some one corrected his Bible to agree with St Jerome's quotation, and from this corrected copy the reading *celte* spread and was finally printed.

But all this seems to me very artificial. Moreover, it does not explain the variant *scelte*, or oddities like *celpte*. And the fact remains that, now we have got rid of the 'inscription' that took in the precocious young Aldus, the omnivorous Gruter, the careless editor of the last edition of Du Cange, and a good many other people ancient and modern, there is no evidence that the word *celtis* or *celte* ever existed—

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at least, not until the late mediaeval period, when the familiar context of Job xix 23 suggested that it must be some sort of a rock-cutting tool. Isidore *Etymologiarum Liber* xix 7 and xx 4 (Migne *P.L.* lxxxii) enumerates for us the stock-in-trade of a mason. He has nothing to say about *celtis*, but his humanist editor did not fail to bring the word to our notice, quoting Job xix 23. By such artificial means words are made still to walk, like ghosts.

(§ 10) I have spoken of the 'familiar context' of Job xix 23. It was particularly familiar to mediaeval churchmen, for it comes in the 8th of the Nine Lections from Job in *Dirige*, the Mattins for the Dead (*Pelli meae*, Job xix 20–27). These Lections, once known in England as 'Petty Job', were almost as frequently recited and copied as the Psalms themselves. They occur in all the Breviaries, the Manuals, and the countless Books of Hours, that were so multiplied during the two centuries preceding the Reformation. And it is in these books, copied and recopied from one another without any check from the influence of rational exegesis, and recited day after day by clerks whose independent knowledge of Latin was small, that the reading *uel celte* is most at home. I have examined a great number of those in Cambridge, dating from the 14th and 15th centuries: of these 50 have *celte*, 7 have *scelte*, 5 have *certe*. Service-books earlier than the 14th century are not nearly so plentiful: I have only come across two in the collections now accessible, *viz.* Fitzwilliam 13 and *C U L* Ii iv 20, both of the 13th century[1]; there is also the *Portiforium Oswaldi* (Parker 391), written about 1064, of which the reading has been kindly ascertained for me by the Master of Corpus. All these three have *uel certe*.

So far as I have seen, not one of these Service-books has *lammina*; they all have *lamina*, with one *m*. On the other hand more than half do not spell *silice* right, for I have noted 23 which have *scilice* and 11 which have *cilice*!

I venture to think that we may draw two conclusions from these striking figures. In the first place, the fact that *certe* occurs at all, and that in all the oldest MSS, shews us that the Office itself is older than the change of *certe* into *celte*. In the second place, the misspellings *scilice* and *cilice* for *silice* prove that neither the scribes who multiplied these Service-books, nor the clerks and lay-folk who used them, were careful or learned enough in the 14th and 15th centuries to know the difference between what was Latin and what wasn't. By this time the new modern languages were acquiring a fixed shape, and a vernacular literature was springing up. Latin had become what it is now, a dead language, something that had to be conventionally

[1] Ii iv 20, an Ely Breviary, is so dated by Mr Bannister.

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learned, so that instinct was gone and *mumpsimus* sounded as likely to be right as *sumpsimus*.

(§ 11) But if *celte* had wriggled its way into the text, and had become familiar by countless repetition, then if any one tried to construe our verse, the context suggested that it was something in the ablative or instrumental case, and that it was, in fact, an instrument for 'sculping'. This is how Cardinal Hugo de Sancto Charo, the inventor of the Corcordance, puts it in his gloss on Job xix 23: *Celtes instrumentum est (ut dicunt) quo literae uel imagines sculpuntur in silice.* Notice the *ut dicunt*, and the fact that Hugo guesses the nominative to be *celtes*. Hugo died in 1263, so he was a contemporary of Aquinas: his Note, so evidently drawn only from the context, is the earliest witness I can find for the reading with *celte*.[1]

The next in order is Richard Rolle of Hampole, who wrote a Latin Explanation of 'Petty Job'. He says: *Celtis enim ex metallo conficitur quod citius frangitur quam curuatur.*[2] This is good evidence that Richard read *celte* in his Dirge-book, but he almost seems to imply that '*celtis*' is the material out of which the durable inscription is made. In any case the explanation, like Cardinal Hugo's, is derived solely from the context.

(§ 12) However this may have been, the reading *celte* became widely spread in the 14th century, and so the vernacular versions of the Bible made then all support it.

The Old French (Fitzwilliam 9) has: *que mes paroles soient escriptes ou liure de greffe de fer · ou pieces de plon eu soient adcertes establiees & entailliees en pierres dures par chisel.*[3]

The Wycliffite Bible has: 'who geueth to me that thoo be writen in a book with an yren poyntel eithir with a plate of leed either with a chisel be grauen in a flynte?' Various MSS shew variation in spelling here, but they all speak of a 'chisel'.

Finally, the Dutch Books of Hours, which in the 15th century are often written wholly in Dutch, bring in a *beitel*, i. e. a chisel.

(§ 13) Thus in the 16th century, at the Revival of Learning, when the mechanical art of printing fixed texts as they had never been fixed before, the word *celte* had become firmly ensconced in the text of *Dirige*. To those who derived their Latin from the Service-books themselves it seemed as natural a word as any other in the familiar Offices. I have explained in the early part of this Paper the rather

[1] I quote from the edition of 1498: I have not seen a MS of the *Postillae*.

[2] So the Paris ed. of 1510. The Cambridge MS Dd iv 54 (*s.* xiv) agrees.

[3] I do not know the history of this version: *par chisel* is decisive for *celte*, but *adcertes* looks like the equivalent of *certe*. Is it possible that the text is a doublet caused by revision?

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indirect process by which any alternative particle found its way into the Latin text of this verse: it was not obvious by glancing at the Hebrew text, with a Humanist's knowledge of Hebrew, whether *certe* or *celte* was necessarily right. So the Clementine Editors let *celte* stand in the text, and there it stands to this day. Let us hope that Abbot Gasquet and his coadjutors will have the courage to restore *certe* to its rightful place!

For my own part I feel as sure that St Jerome wrote *uel certe* as I am sure he wrote *lammina*, both in the text of his translation of Job and in his quotation of it in the book against John of Jerusalem. I feel sure that *scelte* and *celte* are late mediaeval corruptions, that came into the text I don't quite know how. And I think the moral of it all is that textual corruptions do sometimes arise by stupidity and accident, not according to rules and formulae, not always according either to the *ductus litterarum* or the procedures of an imagined scribal psychology. And therefore there is no royal road to textual emendation. The neatest correction is not always right, the most ingenious psychology of the cause of an error is not always a true account of it. The age that turned *sumpsimus* into *mumpsimus* may equally well have changed *uel certe* into *uel celte*.[1]

[1] When the above paper was read before the Cambridge Philological Society it was pointed out by Professor Housman that quite lately *celtis* has been foisted into the text of the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, a Latin work of the 4th or 5th century A. D., edited by E. Oder in 1901 from a single 15th century MS now in the Munich Library. In this work (§ 26) we read, concerning a horse's swollen veins that require lancing, *percutiuntur trauerse securi celle uel flebotomo.* Bücheler here emends *celle* into *celte*, whereby we learn that the vet. is expected to 'cut across with an axe, a chisel, or a lancet!' And similarly in § 693, where the MS has *sanguinem . . . emittito de securi cella*, the editor changes the last words into *de securi uel celta*, in which *celta* is a supposed by-form for *celtis*.

Professor Housman pointed out that these heroic operations were required neither upon the animal nor upon the text of the *Mulomedicina*. All that is necessary is to take *securicella* as one word, meaning (as may be gathered from the context) some special sort of knife, perhaps shaped something like a small axe-head. In any case *celtis* is not in the text as transmitted by the MS, and in neither place does the context suggest the use of anything like a 'chisel'.

F. C. BURKITT.

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THE HOUSE IN WHICH THE LAST SUPPER WAS HELD.

MAY I make a humble remonstrance against Professor Burkitt's hypothesis that it was in the house of Mary the mother of Mark that the Last Supper was held; and that Barnabas was not only the οἰκοδεσπότης, but also the 'man bearing a pitcher of water'? When Mary and her house are mentioned in Acts xii 12, it is evident that she was a widow, the house being called hers; whereas in Mark xiv 14, we hear of the 'goodman of the house' (οἰκοδεσπότης), and that usually means the husband of its mistress, not her wealthy brother from abroad. Possibly, of course, Mary's husband may have died in the interval between the two events. Houses are even with us Westerns called by the name of a wife only in the most colloquial way, and not in important narratives. For this reason I think Martha of Bethany must also have been a widow, else why did her house not belong to Lazarus? There were many houses open to the Disciples before Peter's imprisonment, as we see from the expression κατ' οἶκον in Acts v 42, and κατὰ τοὺς οἴκους in Acts viii 3; so there was no reason why Peter should be confined in his choice of a haven to the house already consecrated by having been the scene of the Last Supper.

It is extremely improbable that a man in the position of Barnabas would condescend to carry a pitcher of water. Professor Burkitt knows well that this is woman's work in all Semitic lands. Not even the meanest of the traveller's servants will put a hand to it. Your dragoman has always to give a *para* to some woman for the purpose. No doubt Barnabas, after the Resurrection, would have been ready to demean himself in any way for the sake of the Risen Lord; but it is very doubtful if he could have so early reached such a height of Christian perfection as the performance of this act implies. Is it not more likely that it was done by some Gibeonite?

MARGARET D. GIBSON.

THE PRAYER FOR THE CONSECRATION OF A BISHOP IN THE CHURCH ORDER OF HIPPOLYTUS.

IN the JOURNAL for July 1915 (Vol. xvi pp. 542 ff), Mr C. H. Turner restores the Greek prayer for the consecration of a bishop in the Church Order of Hippolytus, and would, with Dr Frere (April 1915) consider that this prayer really comes from Hippolytus himself.

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Dr Vernon Bartlet, however (April 1916), argues that the original prayer did not contain the clauses which refer to 'the function of high-priesthood and propitiation of God, and authority to forgive sins in the high-priestly spirit, to distribute offices, and to loose every bond according to the authority given to the Apostles'. This is part of a wider argument in which Dr Bartlet is concerned with the ordering of presbyters also, and any proper discussion must be directed to the argument as a whole. Yet I wish to offer, very tentatively, a reason for thinking that (if there was a separate prayer for bishops) these clauses might have been part of its primitive form as it came from Hippolytus.

It might, indeed, be supposed that the last two words in the recorded title of the treatise which Hippolytus is known to have written—*περὶ χαρισμάτων ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις*—go far to guarantee some of the clauses in question. However that may be the 'high-priestly' phraseology seems to bear the same relation to the Epistle to the Hebrews as do the like allusions in Clement. As in Clement's epistle, so here, the words are associated with less obvious reminiscences of Hebrews; are co-ordinated with phrases from other schools of apostolic writing; and shew no sign of the writer's having appreciated the full significance of the sacrificial conception. The bishop's high-priesthood is like Christ's as the ruler of the Church, not as the offerer of his own Blood. Even where that idea is approached, in the verb *ἱλάσκεσθαι*, the addition of the accusative, *τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ θεοῦ*, lowers mystery to analogy; there is no awful merging of episcopal function in the ineffable act of Christ.

It is, I suppose, certain that Clement did not, any more than Hippolytus, read Hebrews as Pauline, or what we should now call canonical; though in some places there can be no doubt he quotes from it. But are all the coincidences quotations? The fancy, too rigidly elaborated by Mr J. E. Field, will recur to me, viz. that some may be due to the influence of (Roman) worship on both Clement and the author to the Hebrews. If so, the Rite, however freely varied in those early times, would seem to have enshrined a deeper intention than Clement's *ἐπιείκεια* could interpret. That speculation need not be pursued here. Yet it may possibly suggest something which bears on the matter in hand. This high-priestly language in 'the earliest Ordinal known to us' may be no later addition of developed ecclesiasticism, but an already faded echo of still grander thought in primordial Christian devotion: *ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου.*

A. NAIRNE.

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A JEWISH SANCTUARY IN BABYLONIA.

THE discovery of the Jewish temple at Yeb in Upper Egypt has opened up the possibility that the Jews scattered in other parts also had temples for the worship of Yahweh. Thus Torrey (*Ezra Studies* p. 317) says: 'There were similar religious conditions in other similar colonies, and it may well be that we shall discover, some day, that in Babylonia and elsewhere there were flourishing Jewish temples, in which sacrifice to Yahwè was offered in the time-honored way.'

Is it not possible that Ezra viii 17 contains a reference to such a sanctuary? In MT it runs as follows:—

וְאֲשָׁלְחָה אוֹתָם עַל־אִדּוֹ רֹאשׁ בְּכַסְפְיָא הַמָּקוֹם וְאָשַׂמְתָּה בְּפִיהֶם דְּבָרִים לְדַבֵּר אֶל־אִדּוֹ אָחִיו הַנְּתִינִים בְּכַסְפְיָא הַמָּקוֹם לְהָבִיא־לָנוּ מְשָׁרְתִים לְבֵית אֱלֹהֵינוּ׃

The words אִדּוֹ אָחִיו הַנְּתִינִים 'Iddo his brother the Nethinim' need some sort of emendation before they can be translated, and undoubtedly the simplest is merely to divide the words differently and read אדו אחי והנתינים 'Iddo my brother and the Nethinim'. Considerable difficulty has been found in translating the word הַמָּקוֹם, because it seems contrary to Hebrew usage to treat it as merely defining the town Casiphia as is done in RV 'the place Casiphia'. L. W. Batten (*ad loc.*) says: 'It is best to regard the ungrammatical המקום as a marginal note to show that the unknown Casiphia was a place; it is employed like the Bab. determinative. We might easily imagine that this passage was originally written in Bab.' It seems rather a last resort to suggest a Babylonian idiom. May it not be that מקום has here the meaning of 'sanctuary'? We know that in early times the word was used as equivalent to the Arabic مقام meaning 'a shrine' (see Cowley in *J. T. S.* for Jan. 1916, p. 174); and it is most probable that in 2 Kings v 11 it is used without the usual qualifying adjective 'holy' as referring to the temple at Jerusalem ('wave his hand towards the Sanctuary'). Surely if Ezra wanted to get a supply of temple servants the sort of place he would send to would be a sanctuary. If this is accepted then it will be natural to translate הָרֹאשׁ as 'chief priest' as in 2 Chron. xxiv 6. For the construction בכספיא המקום = 'in the sanctuary at Casiphia' cf. the frequent בְּשׁוּשַׁן הַבִּירָה 'in Shushan the castle', i. e. 'in the castle at Shushan', Neh. i 1, Dan. viii 2, &c. The verse may then be translated, 'And I sent them to Iddo the chief priest in the sanctuary at Casiphia;

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and I put in their mouth words to speak unto Iddo my brother and the Nethinim in the sanctuary at Casiphia, to bring unto us servants for the house of our God.' It is not, of course, surprising to find that Ezra the priest was the brother of the chief priest of this Babylonian sanctuary.

As to the historical value of this verse in Ezra it should be noted that it is a part of the narrative, the so-called 'Ezra-Memoirs', written in the first person, and therefore has at least as great historical probability as any other part of the Ezra story. If it is admitted that Ezra was a historical person, the first-person narrative is the part to which value can most reasonably be attached. Even if it is not the work of Ezra himself, it is certainly older than the Chronicler who inserted it into his book.

Whatever views may finally come to be accepted with regard to the Priestly Code, it does certainly seem that there was a ritual developement during the years when the temple at Jerusalem lay in ruins, and it is not easy to think that such a developement could have taken place apart from the actual offering of sacrifices The history of the Jews since the final destruction of the temple at Jerusalem suggests that without a sanctuary they might preserve the memory of the sacrificial cultus, but would not be likely to elaborate it.

LAURENCE E. BROWNE.

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THE STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK OF OBADIAH.

THE book of Obadiah is the shortest in the Old Testament, but in proportion to its length it has aroused more discussion than any other. And in spite of the work of Wellhausen, and, more recently, of Marti, Duhm, and Bewer, it cannot but be felt that the last word is still far in the future as regards the structure of the book.

The first problem is raised by the presence of vv. 1–5 in Jer. xlix. There the verses are not in the same order as in Obadiah, and there are not a few textual divergences, which may best be illustrated by placing the two together, the M.T. of Obadiah in large type, and that of Jeremiah in smaller type beneath it:—

.1 a	שמועה שמענו מאת יהוה	וציר בגוים שלח
.14 a	שמועה שמעתי מאת יהוה	וציר בגוים שלוח
.1 b	קומו ונקומה עליה	למלחמה
.14 b	התקבצו ובאו עליה	וקומו למלחמה
.2 a	הנה קטון נתתיך בגוים	בזוי אתה מאד
.15	כי הנה קטון נתתיך בגוים	בזוי באדם
.3 a		זדון לבך השיאך
.16 a	תפלצתך השיא אתך	זדון לבך
.3 b	שכני בחגוי סלע	מרום שבתו
.16 b	שכני בחגוי הסלע	תפשי מרום גבעה
.3 c	אמר בלבו	מי יורידני ארץ
.4 a	אם תגביה כנשר	ואם בין הכוכבים
.16 c α	כי תגביה כנשר קנך	
.4 b	שים קנך משם אורידך	נאם יהוה
.16 c β	משם אורידך	נאם יהוה
.5 a	אם גנבים באו לך	אם שדדי לילה
.9 b α	אם גנבים בלילה	

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.5 b איך נדמיתה	הלוא יגנבו דים
.9 b β	השחיתו דים
.5 c אם בצרים באו לך	הלוא ישאירו עוללות
.9 a אם בצרים באו לך	לא ישאירו עוללות

It is hardly to be doubted that these two texts represent two forms of the same original. The question then arises, which of the two is nearer to that original, and how far can it be reconstructed? It is generally held now that the text of Jeremiah is better preserved in this passage than that of Obadiah. The justice of this view can be illustrated by the application of two criteria, that of the text of the LXX in both books, and that of the metrical scheme.

Referring to the first of these, it is seen at once that the LXX read the singular for the awkward שמענו of Obad. 1, thus bringing the text into accord with that of Jeremiah. On the other hand they did not vocalize שלח as a passive participle, and therefore had not yet the ו which appears in the M.T. of Jeremiah. In Jer. xlix 14 b the LXX do not seem to have had the ו before קומו, thus agreeing with both texts of Obadiah. In ver. 15 the same authority omitted not only כי but also הנה. The LXX of Obad. 4 b seems to have read תשים for שים. In Jer. xlix 16 c α they read (wrongly) קנה for קנך, and omitted נאם יהוה. In this last point they may well have preserved the original text, the addition having first appeared in the text of Obadiah, and having found its way at a later date into the M.T. of Jeremiah. Finally for השחיתו דים in Jer. xlix 9 b β, ישיתו ידם seems to have been before them. Here, however, their reading is hardly to be preferred.

A glance at the double text as set forth above shews that the prevailing metre, to be detected almost everywhere in one or other of the authorities and sometimes in both, is the elegiac rhythm so commonly employed by the prophets, i. e. a 3 : 2 rhythm with an occasional 2 : 2. The chief exception is the first line of the poem, which in both texts may be scanned as either 3 : 3 or 4 : 3. The latter arrangement involves placing the stress on מאת, which does not usually carry a full beat. But it does so in Mic. v. 6 and possibly elsewhere, and it is doubtful whether the 3 : 3 line ever occurs in combination with 3 : 2, whilst Budde admitted the 4 : 3 as a regular variation of the elegiac metre, though certainly not a common one.[1] The difficulty might be met by regarding בגוים as a later insertion from Obad. 2 a, but the word is represented in ver. 1 both in the LXX and the M.T. of both prophets. The wide variations between the two texts seem to shew a

[1] Compare also Ley's view that the beginning or end of a strophe is frequently marked by a 'long verse'.

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fairly long divergent history, and the archetype of both must be held to be very ancient. Under these circumstances it is distinctly precarious to suggest a conjectural emendation where all authorities are in such close agreement. Of the three possible explanations the least objectionable seems to be to regard the line as 4 : 3. Obad. 1 b might be read as 2 : 2, but the first person is awkward and the LXX form of the text of Jeremiah (with קומו for the M.T. וקומו) is to be preferred. In the next line the 3 : 2 is unmistakeable, the הנה or כי הנה, if retained, being regarded as extra-metric. In the second part of this line אתה is superfluous and מאד corrupted from אדם which is certified by the parallelism with בגוים. The ב in the text of Jeremiah is probably due to a desire to complete the parallel. Metrical considerations at once give the preference to Jer. xlix 16 a as against Obad. 3 a, though it might be better to read תפארתך [1] for the almost unintelligible תפלצתך, and the suffix of Obadiah looks more natural Hebrew than אותך השיא. The line thus becomes the quite permissible 2 : 2. In Jer. xlix 16 b גבעה, which breaks the metre and is not represented in Obadiah, is probably a gloss on מרום. On the other hand שבתו looks like a corruption of the תפשי of Jeremiah. Obad. 3 c has no representative in Jeremiah, and though in itself it conforms to the dominant rhythm, yet the structure of the poem as a whole shews that it is probably a gloss derived from a comparison of 4 b with such passages as Isa. xlvii 7, 8. Obad. 4 can hardly be reduced to the elegiac rhythm, for while 4 a might be squeezed into a 2 : 2 line, it would be more naturally scanned 2 : 3, and 4 b as it stands can be nothing but 2 : 2 : 2. Jer. xlix 16 c, however (omitting with LXX the final נאם יהוה), is beyond criticism on metrical grounds, and escapes the somewhat clumsy construction of Obad. 4. The extra words in Obad. 4 (ואם בין הכוכבים) may have been inserted from a desire to give a more obvious antecedent to משם than the text of Jeremiah supplies. So far the general superiority has declared itself to be on the side of the text of Jeremiah. But Obad. 5 (= Jer. xlix 9) can hardly have stood at the head of the poem, and it is necessary to assume a deliberate dislocation in Jeremiah, where the poem has been woven in with other matter. On the other hand the order of the clauses within the verse in Jeremiah commends itself rather than that of Obadiah. The repetition of באו לך in Obadiah is somewhat awkward, and is due to the need for a verb in the first clause. This need again arose with the transposition of the clauses from their original order, for in Jeremiah the verb stands naturally in its proper place. The איך נדמית of Obad. 5 is clearly a marginal exclamation which has crept into the text, and the words אם שודדי can be

[1] Giving a better parallel to זדון than תפלתך.

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spared. The הלוא of Obad. 5 b, c runs counter to the prevailing rhythm, and in the first case is unsupported by the text of Jeremiah. The interrogative may have been prefixed in the second case in order to soften down the completeness of the doom pronounced. In Obad. 5 b, as between the הלוא ינגבו of Obadiah and the השחיתו of Jeremiah, it may be pointed out that in the parallel line the same root (בצר) is not repeated in the second part of the line. Strict parallelism would then demand the employment of two different roots in the first part of the line also. The LXX read an Imperfect, and both the reading of Obadiah and that of the LXX in Jeremiah may have arisen from a word which had become illegible. Perhaps ישחיתו stood here originally.

We are thus left with a short poem in regular pairs of elegiac couplets with a 4 : 3 (?) line at the head :—

שמועה שמעתי מאת יהוה — וציר בגוים שלח
התקבצו ובאו עליה — קומו למלחמה
(כי הנה)
קטן נתתיך בגוים — בזוי אדם
תפארתך השיאתך — זדון לבך
שכני בחגוי הסלע — תפשי מרום
כי תגבהו כנשר קנך — משם אורידך
אם בצרים באו לך — לא ישאירו עוללית
אם גנבים בלילה — ישחיתו דים

The poem thus presents a regular and symmetrical whole, both in rhythm and in sense. After the introductory couplets announcing the doom in general terms, the prophet turns to Edom and gives the reason for her destruction—she is to be punished for her pride. This theme is further developed in the third section of the poem, where her confidence in her rock castles is condemned, and the poem closes with a statement of the completeness of the doom which will fall upon her.

Yet the unity and separateness of this poem has hardly been recognized. It has generally been concluded at ver. 4, and vers. 5–7 taken together. A connexion has been noted between Jer. xlix 10 and Obad. 6, and between Jer. xxxviii 22 and Obad. 7. The connexion lies in the former case in the words נחפשו עשו (אני חפשתי עשו, Jer.), and in the latter case in the words הסיתוך ויכלו לך אשני שלומך (Jer.). But the LXX of Obadiah has not לך but לא, and places the negative after הסיתוך. Further, a glance at the arrangement of the verses in Obadiah makes it probable that the original form is to be sought here, and the parallel with Jer. xlix 10, if not accidental, is to be

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explained by supposing that it is the author of the last-mentioned passage who has been the borrower. Yet even in Obadiah there is probably some textual corruption. The words run in the M.T. :—

6. איך נחפשו עשו נבעו מצפניו
7. עד הגבול שלחוך כל אנשי בריתך
השיאוך יכלו לך אנשי שלומך לחמך
ישים מזור תחתיך אין תבונה בו

בהם was the reading of the LXX for the last word, and this looks correct. So also ישימו for ישים. The whole is clearly a dirge in proper form. Such dirges were often short—cf. Jer. ix 20, xxxviii 22—and a favourite word for the beginning was איך or איכה. The first, second, and fourth lines need no alteration, except that the last should be read as by the LXX. The third line, however, is meaningless as it stands. The crux of the line is to be found in the word לחמך, which has no construction and does not look likely to have been a gloss. It may, of course, be omitted as a doublet of שלומך, but it is tempting to suppose that some word like אכלי (cf. Ps. xli 10) once stood before it. We have thus the line

השיאוך אנשי שלומך אכלי לחמך

If this were the original reading, אכלי may easily have been misplaced and then altered into יכלו as a reminiscence of Jer. xxxviii 22. The phrase אנשי שלומך (אנוש) is too common a one in Hebrew to establish a definite connexion between the two passages. The use of the dirge by the author of Jer. xlix may indicate that he drew on Obadiah, and that the corruptions in the earlier verses are due to the development of the smaller book. But it is more likely that there was a third source or group of sources from which both forms were taken.

Verses 8–11 are in some confusion. Ver. 8 opens in the manner of an apocalyptic passage. 8 b, 9 a (down to איש) look like a fragment from some longer oracle in trimeter rhythm directed against Edom. The words מהר עשו in 9 b are not likely to have stood there originally, so soon after the same phrase in 8 b. They were probably inserted from the previous verse to complete the sense left incomplete by the mutilation of the verse. The word מקטל looks like a gloss on the מחמס at the beginning of ver. 10. Verses 10, 11 might possibly be described metrically as 3 : 3, but are more naturally 3 : 4. This, however, is an extremely rare rhythm, and it is possible that we have here also either a mutilated fragment or an extremely corrupt conclusion to vers. 8, 9. In either case, reconstruction can only be attempted with difficulty.

Verses 12–14 again once belonged to a longer oracle. The first two lines of ver. 12 might be read either as 2 : 2 : 2 or as 3 : 2; the

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unmistakeable 3 : 2 of the rest of the passage substantiates this metre throughout. A curious feature of the poem is that the second part of each line (except 14 a) begins with ביום, and that every line begins with אל or ואל. This is hardly stylistic elegance, still less so is the occurrence of the triple איד of ver. 13. The matter is not wholly remedied by the substitution of אבד in one or more places. The poem was evidently a warning to Edom to take no part in attacks made on Jerusalem.

It is with ver. 15 that the later additions to the book are usually supposed to begin. And it cannot be denied that vers. 15–18 have an apocalyptic tone similar to that so often to be noticed in works of a comparatively late date. But within these verses two smaller divisions are to be observed. Verses 15, 16 were not originally connected with the two verses which follow. The former are in elegiac rhythm, with what appears to be 3 : 3 or 4 : 3 in 15 b. The former, however, is practically never found in connexion with 3 : 2, and the latter is a less natural way of reading the passage. But this is not the only difficulty involved. 15 a, 16 allude to the nations in the third person. The LXX, which seems to have had the right text in ver. 16, read only :—

כי באשר שתית　　על הר קדשי
ושתו ולעו והיו　　כלא היו

Here it is Israel who is addressed in the second person, and is told that as she has suffered in Jerusalem, so her oppressors shall suffer in turn. In 15 b, on the other hand, it is Edom or some other sinful nation that is addressed and told that requital will fall upon her. These considerations make it possible that this line has been misplaced or so corrupted that the original meaning has become obscured.

Verses 17, 18 are in the prophetic hexameter rhythm, i.e. 3 : 3 alternating with 2 : 2 : 2. It is curious to find the 2 : 2 : 2 of ver. 17 immediately followed by a single 3-beat line. The isolated 3-beat line usually occurs only after 3 : 3. But it is possible that this line belonged to vers. 19–21 and has been somehow misplaced. The theme of the poem from which these two verses were taken was similar to that of the two preceding ones, but the metre shews them to be fragments of different oracles.

Verses 19–21, as they stand, defy metrical arrangement. Ver. 21 is probably a trimeter tristich, and, unless it is to be separated from the two preceding verses, it may be conjectured that there was a hexameter basis underlying the present text. 19 a may undoubtedly be scanned as 2 : 2 : 2—as may also portions of 19 b, but the verse as a whole is a mere prosaic catalogue of the conquests that Israel will make in the latter days. The second line of ver. 20 may still preserve certain recognizable elements of its original form. The phrase אשר בספרד is

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somewhat of an enigma, especially when it is noted that the LXX had apparently עד אפרתה. The first part of the verse is beyond redemption. Any reconstruction that will give a metre and a meaning must be a matter of pure conjecture. Perhaps the original line may have contained the following words:—

ונלת ישראל . . . . . ירשו כנענים עד צרפת

The LXX had ארץ for אשר, but a verb seems to be needed.

The book of Obadiah is thus seen to be a collection of fragments of longer poems, probably dating from different periods, but all referring with more or less directness to Edom. The importance of this study of the book lies less in the results it enables us to reach with regard to Obadiah itself, than in the light it throws on the material from which the prophetic books were compiled. These fragments must have been 'circulated' in isolated form for a long time before they were finally brought together. The parallel between the first of them and Jeremiah shews how far the text suffered in the course of transmission when not protected by inclusion in some larger volume. It must be regarded as an accident—and a very fortunate one for us—that these verses were taken up into the collection of oracles against foreign nations which was ultimately included in the book of Jeremiah. We have a fleeting vision of torn and scattered leaflets, of scraps of writing material with a few oracular sentences on them, preserved by accident and copied from time to time as the spring of prophecy died down. The conditions of prophetic ecstasy make it probable that oracles were generally brief, and if preserved separately were liable to mutilation and corruption of the most serious kind. Even the greater prophets did not escape, and much of the work of Isaiah reflects in its state of preservation similar conditions. It was only where the writer definitely made a book of his own prophecies, as did Ezekiel, and possibly Haggai, that the work is to be found in what may be regarded as substantially its original form. And even this did not secure the book from the manifold dangers of transcription, as the text of Ezekiel shews. When one considers the conditions, the wonder is not that the prophets form so difficult a study, but that the difficulties are not increased a thousandfold.

T. H. ROBINSON.

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REVIEWS

Le Dogme de la Rédemption: Étude théologique. Par JEAN RIVIÈRE (Paris, Gabalda, 1914.)

IN this volume Professor Rivière provides the natural sequel to his earlier admirable historical study of the same subject. Even more than the former work, it gives scope for the appearance of that sanity of judgement and able literary presentation of a case in which the author so well continues the best traditions of his country, so that it deserves a warm welcome and, like its predecessor, the honour of a translation into English for those students of theology who may be unfortunately precluded from reading it in its native form. The book, exceeding 500 pages in length, is, in its central thesis, a statement and defence of the orthodox Roman Catholic doctrine of vicarious satisfaction as against 'rationalistic subjectivism' on the one hand, and the 'external objectivism of the Reformation' on the other. While M. Rivière does not deny that penal expiation is an element in the mystery of the Atonement—'even in His holy person suffering and death keep their material character of penalty, and of penalty for sin . . . but are, according to God's will, the penalty for the sins of others'—he entirely subordinates it to the idea of an adequate reparation to God in the life and death of Christ through an 'equivalent homage of submission and love'. Such a moral theory of the Atonement in no way detracts from its objective value in the sight of God, while avoiding those excesses of thought and statement for which the early Reformers, and not Anselm or Thomas Aquinas, were responsible. Undoubtedly M. Rivière is right in urging that the important thing in the redemptive work of Christ, and in the Cross as its climax, is His holy obedience and not the endurance of a *quantum* of suffering; only I think that the idea of expiation belongs more truly to the moral order than he appears to allow; accordingly, the notions of satisfaction and expiation should be synthesized, rather than contrasted. And if he rightly accuses the Reformers of ultra-objectivism, his own view, which is that of the 'Catholic system', treats redemption as primarily directed towards the cure of *original* sin, a purely objective conception. M. Rivière's account of the Socinian doctrine, of the Grotian presentation of the death of Christ as a penal example, which, as he observes, lacks

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'the piety and the grandeur' of the original Protestant doctrine, and of recent soteriological schemes in different countries, is full of interest, and lacks neither lucidity, nor fair, and often sympathetic, criticism. Many readers will probably share my surprise in finding Moberly's characteristic notion of Christ as the perfect Penitent so exactly anticipated in a work which E. de Pressensé composed in 1867 (p. 529), and wonder whether the Frenchman owed anything to the influence of M°Leod Campbell.

The War and the Kingdom of God. Edited by G. K. A. Bell, M.A., Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1915.)

To deliver, as they see it, the message of the Church at this time, is the common object of the authors of this book. The result is a volume slighter, and altogether less philosophical than the volume edited by Dr Foakes Jackson, but more passionately religious, and as bold a facer of immediate practical needs as the other book is of metaphysical ones. Yet the writers are by no means at one; indeed, to pass from Canon Goudge's chapter on 'Christianity and War' to the following pages in which Canon Green treats of 'The Humiliation of War' is almost like hearing first one side and then the other of an animated debate. Canon Goudge handles the problem of non-resistance with very great skill; he avoids the pitfalls which await those who are content to assert that our Lord did not quite mean what He said, or that His teaching applies only to individuals and not to states. But he argues—and his dialectic is almost uniquely, in my experience, free from special pleading—that the Christian individual is one with many different duties and spheres of action, which are not exclusively Christian, and necessarily demand from him conduct which cannot always be brought within the letter of the precepts given by Christ, not to the world, but to his followers; while, as to the State, not till the Christian nation is a fact will specifically Christian conduct on a national scale be possible. Yet even so, this war may fairly be described as a fight for Christianity 'since we are fighting for those principles of justice and mercy which have entered into the texture of our corporate life'.

Canon Green writes with conspicuous sincerity and depth of feeling; but I do not consider his essay powerful, while one who, both in this book and elsewhere, is so free with his censures of other people and things, might subject his own position to rather more searching criticism than he seems to have done. His way out of the difficulty of believing both that England was morally bound to declare war, and that war is always morally wrong, is to urge that on occasions the choice is between evils; only in the choice of the lesser of the two is right action possible.

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Especially does the guilt of past misdoing prevent a plain present moral choice between good and evil. Now if this means that present war means past sin, and *may* mean past sin on both sides I should agree; nevertheless it does not follow that a nation declaring war, as England did in August 1914, is tripped up in its own guilty past or that its war-making brings in any way or degree whatsoever guilt upon it. Canon Green has involved himself in an unnecessary difficulty owing to his second premiss—'War always morally wrong'. War as a very appalling physical phenomenon is no more 'morally wrong' than is an earthquake; but because war is more than this, is also a moral phenomenon, the outcome of one or more of the lusts of the flesh against which we are warned, the act of making war implies sin on one side, and may imply sin on both. When I say, as Canon Green says, that we were morally bound to make war, I imply not 'that war had in some way become morally right', a generalization to which I can attach no meaning, but that the whole procedure of war-making had become for England a solemn duty, that she was right to make inevitable as between herself and Germany an appalling mass of physical phenomena. Among other points in this chapter which invite criticism I will choose one. Canon Green maintains that no 'professed servant of the Prince of Peace'—he is thinking of the clergy in time of peace—'was right to support war or warlike preparations', this à propos of the clergy obtaining recruits for the army. Why does Canon Green beg the question, and beg it very badly, by his choice of words? Supporting 'war or warlike preparations' sounds very different from 'supporting the means necessary for the waging of a just defensive war', and some such form of words as the latter alone meets the truth of the situation. Does Canon Green really believe that, had we made fewer preparations, war, which is 'always morally wrong', would have been less probable? And if a clergyman may not secure a recruit on the grounds he gives, may a Christian layman join the forces in times of peace? On Canon Green's principles it looks as though the army ought to be composed of the riff-raff of the population. I think that Canon Green has a case against the Church, that as a peace agency the Church might and should have done more, but I very much doubt whether his contribution to this book deserves to, or in point of fact will, achieve its object.

Neither Canon Simpson's essay on 'The Church in time of War', nor Canon Scott Holland's on 'The Church after the War' is particularly striking, though the former seems to me entirely right in bringing us back to the Gospel of the Cross, for that Gospel, and that alone, can carry, without sinking, the terror of these times. Dr Holland looks to the needs of peace time, to the heroic ideals that will then be required, and laments our present lack of Sons of Thunder among Christians.

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But the final chapter—by Canon Goudge—on 'The Prayers of the Church in time of War' is excellent, as good in its way, though a different way, as his former one. In particular, he makes one feel that God has a place and use for German prayers just as for English ones; and he shews how prayers for our enemies are neither incompatible with the prayer for victory over them, nor involve feelings of self-conscious superiority. To have been successful in these points is to have done something quite difficult and very necessary.

Mr Bell's introduction is a beautiful piece of writing, and, brief as it is, it is perhaps the best thing in the book after Canon Goudge's work.

Conduct and the Supernatural, by L. S. THORNTON. (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1915.)

IN this work, which was awarded the Norrisian prize at Cambridge in 1913, Mr Thornton gives first a discussion of modern ethical systems which agree, if in nothing else, at least in rejecting Christianity as an authoritative guide, and secondly a statement of what he conceives to be the leading principles in Christian ethic, applied, in a final chapter, to the problem of sex. It is a valuable and well-written contribution to apologetics, though not all those who agree with Mr Thornton's destructive criticism will be able to follow him in his positive evaluations and in the importance he attaches to the principle of asceticism. Yet I think that Mr Thornton's real ability is more convincingly displayed in the second half of the book. Any clever writer can make a convincing display of the numerous inconsistencies which beset Nietzsche's scheme at almost every point in its developement (though full justice is done to the spiritual value of Nietzsche's reaction against mere utilitarianism), of the immense gap which separates the professed Christianity of Mr Houston Chamberlain from the real Christianity of the New Testament, of Mr Shaw's vacillations between instinct and moral discipline, of the uncertainty which attaches to Mr Wells's methods and the futility which besets his ends. It is indeed patent that ethical systems based on naturalism must make shipwreck on the individual's constant inclination to please himself rather than to further the remote advantages of society, while the vision of the Superman carries with it the admission of an existing disease, but hardly the promise of a practicable remedy. It is far more difficult to shew what is really involved in 'Christian' ethic, and how it is possible for its root principle of personal love to penetrate the whole fabric of society. Mr Thornton has not met all possible objections, nor even the greatest of all, which is that the 'other-worldly principle' on which he lays such stress is mere myth, that he assumes a basis of ethics which, as a Christian he needs, but which, in point of fact does not exist. The real opponent of

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Christian ethic is not Nietzschean or 'Shavian' ethic, but no ethic at all, a surrender of the world to mechanical values because moral values are but one more instance of erroneous subjectivism. At this point Mr Thornton's testimony to Christian conduct as rooted in experience of the Person of Christ is necessarily unconvincing to the stranger to any such experience. But in the working out of his principle of the supernatural plane Mr Thornton is always bold, and sometimes profound, while Christian ethic, as he interprets it, possesses at least these two great characteristics—richness of content, and relevance to common life.

Church and Nation. The Bishop Paddock Lectures for 1914–1915. By WILLIAM TEMPLE. (Macmillan & Co., London, 1915.)

MR TEMPLE, as a writer, can both stimulate and irritate. One is happy to recognize in this volume much more of the former than of the latter characteristic. The book is opportune, both in its bearing on our conception of the State as a moral force, and in relation to those ecclesiastical problems which arise from the question 'What is the Church, and what are the criteria of its *esse*?', but it is not opportune as merely ephemeral literature can be opportune. The lecture, entitled 'Church and State', is marked by real insight and judgement, especially in the handling of the difficult problem of the reconciliation of the loyalty which a Christian man owes to his nation with that which he owes to his Church. Among the great things which the mediaeval Church accomplished the christening of 'the instinct of nationality' was not included—the results of this omission upon the international situation being obvious and disastrous. The chapter on 'Holiness in the Church' gives a clearer and more careful expression than any other writing of his which I have seen, of Mr Temple's attitude towards the principles of the controversy summarized in the word 'Kikuyu'. He submits six principles, of which the fourth, as coming very near to the heart of the question, seems to me to deserve special mention—'the whole question of Orders and Sacraments must be considered in reference to the Church's life through the ages, and not with direct reference to the gift received by any individual at any given time'. And the conclusion which Mr Temple draws as to the relationship between Orders and sacramental grace is a confident incredulity that 'faith in the full doctrine of sacramental grace can survive through the centuries, if it is once separated from the whole order which expresses it'. This is strong ground, and the writer's position is not weakened by his next principle that, 'in any scheme for practical reunion no man must be required to repudiate his own spiritual ancestry'. There is much else in these lectures to which I should like to refer, but in the

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present instance the reviewer's office will have been mainly fulfilled if he can convert the casual reader of a review into the thoughtful reader of the book.

J. K. MOZLEY.

The Commonitorium of Vincentius of Lérins, by the REV. R. S. MOXON, B.D. (University Press, Cambridge, 1915.)

THIS book consists of an edition of the *Commonitorium* based on a new collation of the available manuscripts, of textual and explanatory notes, and of an Introduction which occupies nearly ninety pages. The subjects dealt with in the Introduction are the authorship and contents, the latinity and style, the history of the text, of the *Commonitorium*; the relationship between that treatise and the 'Athanasian' Creed; the relation of St Vincent to Augustinianism; the Vincentian Rule—its difficulties and its bearing on modern Christianity.

The whole of the book is written lucidly and concisely. The Introduction seizes the salient points of past controversies and contains a useful compilation of learning and opinion gleaned from the best authorities of more or less recent date; the notes are to the point and evince careful scholarship. Mr Moxon has adequately met the requirements of the majority of the class of readers for which the 'Cambridge Patristic Texts' are intended, and has contributed a serviceable addition to the series.

Some readers, however, will be disappointed to find that the chapter in the Introduction dealing with the Vincentian canon ignores certain recent needs. The author raises here no new points for discussion. He does not deal with the question, for instance, whether the value and applicability of the Vincentian rule is affected by the developement of the modern science of Biblical criticism; nor does he consider the bearing of Modernist theology on the subject. His discussion runs on lines laid down at times when other issues were to the fore. There is also a conspicuous lack of independent thought and an absence of fresh insight. Mr Moxon's positive teaching, and his criticism of such opinions as he rejects, are sound; but they are those of previous writers whom he has consulted. His indebtedness to Professor Stanton's work *The Place of Authority in Religious Belief* is marked, and indeed more extensive than is expressly acknowledged. Similarly the chapters on St Vincent's relation to Augustinianism and the relationship between the *Commonitorium* and the 'Athanasian' Creed, though they perhaps serve the purpose of the book of which they form a part, offer no new criticism or suggestion. Mr Moxon has produced a sound guide to more or less elementary study, but has not made any contribution to theological science.

F. R. TENNANT.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, April 1916 (Vol. lxxxii, No. 163: Spottiswoode & Co.). H. KELLY German Idealism—H. C. BEECHING Shakespeare as a Churchman—BISHOP OF LICHFIELD The National Mission of Repentance and Hope—M. W. T. CONRAN The National Mission: a suggestion—A. T. COLDMAN Some moral problems of the War—J. O. F. MURRAY The Empty Tomb, the Resurrection Body, and the Intermediate State—A. C. HEADLAM The Russian and English Churches—R. GRAHAM Life at Cluny in the eleventh century—J. W. LEGG The paenula and chasuble—A. H. BAYNES Our Lord's view of the future—The War: the task before us—A. NAIRNE The poetry of Mr Wilfrid Blunt—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, April 1916 (Vol. xiv, No. 3: Williams & Norgate). L. P. JACKS An interim religion—E. W. HALIFAX The self-revelation of the German War-party before the War—W. GASCOYNE-CECIL German Patriotism—The Apocalypse of War—AUTHOR OF *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* Veni Creator Spiritus—W. TEMPLE The love of God our hope of immortality—H. ELLIOT A defence of scientific materialism—R. K. WILSON 'Education has saved the State'—E. T. WEBB Madame Montessori and Mrs Holmes as educational reformers —G. G. COULTON The plain man's religion in the middle ages—F. W. ORDE-WARD Prolegomena to an essay on Miracles—J. MOFFATT 'The empty purse'—M. W. HOYT The tyranny of benefactors—Discussions and Reviews.

The Expositor, April 1916 (Eighth Series, No. 64: Hodder & Stoughton). J. H. BERNARD The Descent into Hades and Christian Baptism: a study of 1 Pet. iii 19 ff—C. W. EMMET Romans xv and xvi: a new theory—R. H. STRACHAN The birth of a new message: Isaiah xl 1–11—W. MORISON Christ's confidence in His doctrine of the Fatherhood of God—A. MINGANA Remarks on the Hebrew of Genesis —J. E. MCFADYEN The Mosaic origin of the Decalogue: the fourth Commandment.

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May 1916 (Eighth Series, No. 65). G. EDMUNDSON The enigma of Titus—W. TURNER and A. SIMPSON The physical cause of the death of Christ—J. M. THOMPSON The interpretation of John vi—F. GRANGER The Semitic element in the Fourth Gospel—F. R. M. HITCHCOCK 'Every creature' not 'all creation' in Rom. viii 22—J. E. MCFADYEN The Mosaic origin of the Decalogue: the second Commandment.

June 1916 (Eighth Series, No. 66). J. H. BERNARD The Gates of Hades—J. MOFFATT St Augustine's advice to an army officer—H. F. MOULE The Greek text of Erasmus—F. H. COLSON The divorce exception in St Matthew—H. A. A. KENNEDY The regulative value for the Pauline theology of the conception of Christian sonship—B. H. TOWER St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians: a paraphrase.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, April 1916 (Vol. xx, No. 2: Chicago University Press). G. B. FOSTER The contribution of critical scholarship to ministerial efficiency—G. E. WOLFE Troeltsch's conception of the significance of Jesus—J. W. THOMPSON The German Church and the conversion of the Baltic Slavs—S. H. MELLONE Degrees of truth—A. C. WATSON The logic of religion—F. EAKIN Aorists and perfects in first-century papyri—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, April 1916 (Vol. xiv, No. 2: Princeton University Press). B. B. WARFIELD 'Redeemer' and 'Redemption'—C. W. HODGE What is a Miracle?—H. W. RANKIN Philosophy and the problem of Revelation—Reviews of recent literature.

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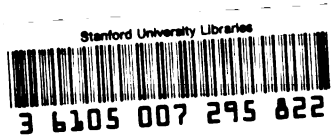

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